

TO HEAL THE WOUNDED NATION'S LIFE



African Americans and the Robert Gould Shaw/54th Regiment Memorial

KATHRYN GROVER



The Battalion of Survivors at the unveiling, photograph in *Harper's Weekly*, 12 June 1897. The men with swords were probably the white officers of the 54th, 55th, and 5th Cavalry; the first group behind them were probably the 65 men of the 54th. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

**To Heal the Wounded Nation's Life:
African Americans and the Robert Gould Shaw/
54th Regiment Memorial**

**Special History Study
Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park**

KATHRYN GROVER

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Cover: African American Civil War veterans at the Shaw Memorial, 1897, photograph by Elihu Vedder. Courtesy Commonwealth of Massachusetts, State House Art Commission (see fig. 6.2).

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Preface

In the summer of 2018, Augustus Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park in Cornish, New Hampshire, initiated a Special History Study to examine the African American dimensions of the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial, created by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and unveiled on Boston Common in May 1897. The study aimed to examine the extent to which the idea for the monument emerged among African Americans, including whether any member or members of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry might have conceived it. The study examines the degree of African American involvement in the monument's design and financing and in practical efforts to realize it, as well as their reactions to the monument once it was installed and their uses of and expressed feelings about it since that time. Overall the study aims to inform how interpreters of the Shaw Memorial understand its meanings to different African Americans over time and to enhance how they present the monument to those who contemplate it.

Given that focus, this study has relied upon African Americans sources whenever possible. In Boston in 1895, the African American author, journalist, and settlement worker Victoria Earle Matthews argued that because of the “impious wrong” African Americans had experienced and the “very marked difference in the limitations, characteristics, aspirations and ambitions of this class of people, in decidedly strong contrast with the more or less powerful races which dominate it” a “race Literature” was desirable, possible, and necessary “to dissipate the odium conjured up by the term ‘colored’ persons.” When that literature developed, Matthews asserted, it would be “different in all essential points of greatness, true heroism and real Christianity from what we may at the present time, for convenience, call American literature.”¹ Still, while African American sources are perhaps more abundant than one might suppose, they are not as plentiful from the time the Shaw Memorial was unveiled as one would want. There was, for example, only one African American newspaper in Boston at the time the Shaw Memorial was unveiled, the *Boston Courant*, but only one issue of it has survived in any public repository. *The Woman's Era*, established by Matthews's colleague and native

1. Victoria Earle Matthews, “The Value of Race Literature: An Address Delivered at the First Congress of Colored Women of the United States, at Boston, Mass., July 30th, 1895,” Beinecke Library Digital Collections, <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3724631>.

Bostonian Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin in 1894, stopped publication in January 1897; the first issue of Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins's *Colored American Magazine*, which began its life in Boston, was May 1900, and William Monroe Trotter's *Guardian* did not begin publishing until November 1901. Neither of the two great African American chroniclers of the 54th, James Henry Gooding and George E. Stephens, lived to see the monument unveiled, nor did any of the African American Bostonians who were most involved in or likely knew the most about it—Joshua Bowen Smith, William Cooper Nell, Lewis Hayden, and Leonard A. Grimes in particular. By 1897 black Boston had new leaders, some of them Civil War veterans, but if any but a few recorded their impressions of the Shaw Memorial those documents have not yet surfaced.

Thus in some instances this study has used white-written and published accounts in several ways. Though they were not unerring in this regard, Boston newspapers often quoted, or closely paraphrased, the addresses of African Americans at various events over time, and I have used them when they seem faithful; fortunately, because at any given time two or more Boston newspapers covered the same events, it has often been possible to check the reliability of accounts in that way. This text notes important instances when these accounts are not reliable, as when Boston newspapers failed to mention the criticism African Americans voiced of Booker T. Washington at one meeting when the African American *New York Age* cited it as a persistent theme of the gathering. In addition, certain white Americans—John Albion Andrew, Charles Sumner, George Luther Stearns, the Hallowell brothers, Lydia Maria Child, and the Shaw family—are relevant to the African American story of the Shaw Memorial. At critically important junctures the ideas of some cohered with those African Americans expressed. And this manuscript notes when the ideas of others central to the story, among them Edward Atkinson, John Milton Forbes, and Henry Lee, did not reflect African American views.

A great deal has been written about Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment, but this study endeavors to follow a particular African American path into the story that has not yet been heavily traveled. To try to plumb the meanings of service to one's country—a concept understood in vastly differently ways among African Americans than among the ruling elites of the country who accepted, relied upon, and benefited from their service—this study begins with the formation of the 54th Regiment itself. Chapter One covers the efforts of African Americans in Massachusetts to be permitted to fight for their country and how, once they were authorized to do so, whites in power continually sought to shape

and constrain their participation and the rewards accruing to them for it. The chapter also covers the 54th Regiment's experience at Fort Wagner and its attitudes toward their colonel. Chapter Two deals with the legacy of Robert Gould Shaw, the 54th Regiment, and the assault on Fort Wagner as it was expressed in institutional and personal names, veterans' reunions and anniversary events, and literature and art before the Shaw Memorial was unveiled. Chapter Three describes the efforts to develop a sculptural memorial to Shaw, the regiment, and African American Civil War troops up to 1897. Chapter Four deals specifically with the development of the Shaw Memorial from the time Augustus Saint-Gaudens was commissioned to create it in 1882, in particular with the inclusion of African American soldiers and the debate over the wording of inscriptions on the memorial.

Chapter Five describes the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial and its related ceremonies and focuses most closely on African American presence and activity at these events. It also places the unveiling in the context of 1890s Boston and the United States, why it was possible for even Booker T. Washington to speak of the memorial as both a site of honor and of unfulfilled promise. As the hopes of the postwar constitutional amendments and Reconstruction withered, veterans of the 54th and other African American regiments were among those who sought redress for discrimination and terrorism North and South. Chapter Six describes the continuing influence of Shaw and the 54th, both through and apart from the Shaw Memorial. It follows the men of the 54th and its comrade regiments (the 55th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry and the 5th Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry) as they gathered at the Shaw Memorial—*their* memorial—for reunions and anniversaries until their last members passed away in the early 1940s. Before that time but more decidedly afterward, the Shaw became a symbolic reference point and stage for any number of equal rights rallies, demonstrations, and protests involving race, gender, housing, and education; paradoxically, but perhaps because it expressed interracial unity, the memorial was also the site of antiwar protests. And because of its interracial character it attracted negative uses during Boston's long struggle with busing and desegregating its public schools.

The study includes five appendixes that may be considered working documents, all of them compiled in the course of research. They are not comprehensive; instead they provide a foundation for further biographical work and new research on poetic tributes. The first appendix features transcriptions of verse and song written by African

Americans that in any number of ways invoke Shaw, the 54th Regiment, and the Shaw Memorial. The second includes transcriptions of poetry and song written by white Americans on the same subjects. In some few cases relevant excerpts of very long poems that deal only marginally with these subjects have been included. The final three appendixes are biographical and are formatted as I have organized biographical data for many years; a key details the abbreviations I have used. Appendix C offers background on those African Americans members of the 54th, 55th, and 5th Cavalry regiments and the Navy who are known to have taken part in the Shaw Memorial unveiling or who were alive in 1897 and lived close enough to Boston to have taken part. This compendium emerged from frustration at not finding anywhere the names of the sixty-five members of the 54th who were part of the unveiling procession's "battalion of survivors." This omission from the historical record may never be fully rectified, but this compilation offers a start, at least, for gathering information about many people who seem almost to have failed to reach its notice. Appendix D presents biographical background on Joshua Bowen Smith, while the final appendix offers background on the key players in the creation and use of the Shaw Memorial.

Acknowledgments

My thanks first go to Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park, in particular to superintendent Rick Kendall and curator Henry J. Duffy, for choosing me to undertake this study. Though I have been working in African American history for thirty years, neither the Civil War nor the period following it had ever been a focus of mine. This project helped fill a gap in my knowledge and understanding, though a surprisingly fair amount of work I have done on African Americans in antebellum Massachusetts came into play in this study as well.

I am grateful to my old friend Carol Rugg, who went out of her way to search the Chadwyck-Healey African American Poetry database at the University of Michigan for the text of George Clinton Rowe's "The Old Flag." And my thanks also go, as they often do, to Carl Joseph Cruz of New Bedford, Massachusetts. His great-grandmother, Lillia Mendez Gonsalves, was the niece of the 54th's William Harvey Carney, certainly the most well known of the African American men who served in the regiment. He has collected and read widely in African American history, particularly that of New Bedford, and since my own time in New Bedford and into the current day I have often gone to him when I need to puzzle things out in this field.

Thanks go as well to the uniformly helpful curators, archivists, and others I consulted for this study—Dalton T. Alves at Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park; Brenda M. Lawson, Anna Clutterbuck-Cook, Hannah Elder, and others at Massachusetts Historical Society; Mary Warnement and Patricia M. Boulos at Boston Athenaeum; Lynn Ansaldo at Lamont Library, Harvard University; Samantha Dodgen at Northeastern University Library Archives and Special Collections; Jay Moschella at Boston Public Library; the great Marta Crilly at Boston City Archives; Jay Satterfield at Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College; David J. Vecchioli of Boston National Historical Park and Boston African American National Historic Site; Joyce Kelly at the Historical Society of Watertown; Rachel Dworkin at Chemung County Historical Society; the reference librarians at the South Carolina History Room, Charleston County Public Library; Harvard University Archives; the James Michael Curley Papers at the College of Holy Cross; Kimberly Toney at American Antiquarian Society; Rebecca Carpenter at Dedham

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Introduction

This Special History Study examines African Americans' involvement in, reactions to, and uses of the Robert Gould Shaw/54th Regiment Memorial, unveiled on Boston Common on 31 May 1897. The idea for a sculpted memorial to Shaw emerged soon after his death at Fort Wagner on Morris Island near Charleston, South Carolina, on 18 July 1863, and all accounts maintain that the notion originated with Joshua Bowen Smith (1813-79), an African American caterer who had been living in Boston since about 1835. Smith, never candid about his place of birth, was very likely born in slavery, but little is documented about his early life. He may have been orphaned as a young teenager, and he was working in domestic service by the early 1830s. "In those days," he recalled much later, "I was a servant in a family traveling through the South. They stopped in Washington, and I there saw for the first time, men, women and children sold on the auction block as cattle are sold." One evening he waited on the family while they were dining at a place in "the country" and witnessed an African American girl being whipped and asking God for mercy. "It was the first prayer I had ever heard," Smith said, "and there I swore eternal hatred to slavery."

Smith's first job in Boston was probably waiting table at the Mount Washington House, a large but short-lived hotel in South Boston, and he is there said to have met Robert Gould Shaw's father Francis George Shaw. He then served, and may briefly have lived, in the home of Francis and Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw on Bowdoin Street, on the east edge of the African American West End. He met Charles Sumner, then a young attorney, while working for the Shaws, and over time the two became friends. Smith, though not one for correspondence generally, wrote to Sumner in 1851 after he left Boston to serve in the United States Senate, and as Sumner's public advocacy of racial equality grew more steadfast and less susceptible of compromise Smith came almost to idolize him. The fact that in the 1870s he moved freely in the world and heard "no word of insult" was due entirely to Sumner, Smith declared in an address to the state legislature after the senator's death:

I have lived out two generations, and have tasted the bitter fruit of the seed planted by our fathers eighty years ago. I have had the doors of the church and the State House shut in my face but I have lived to enjoy the blessings of liberty and to-day I stand the

peer of every man in this House, and this, as I believe, through the life and labors of Charles Sumner. . . . Five and twenty years ago the anti-slavery sentiment of New England fixed upon Sumner as the man to go to Washington to strike the first blow. You speak of Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea as a great victory. But that was nothing compared to the success of Sumner. Sherman had the nation at his back. Sumner had simple justice. Sherman had a hundred thousand men. Sumner fought single-handed and alone. Sherman had the wealth of the nation laid at his feet, and Sumner had only the prayers of the poor.¹

Because their lives told the story of American compromise, large and small, over and over, African American Bostonians valued above all else Sumner's refusal to circumscribe in any way the legal achievement of racial equality. African American men hesitated to enlist

1. "Speech of Joshua B. Smith before the Legislature of Massachusetts," *Boston Journal*, 11 March 1875, 1. Smith's varying reports of birthplace to census takers and clerks—Coatesville, PA; Virginia; the District of Columbia; even "unknown" in the 1850 census—is a prevarication that frequently connotes fugitive status, and Smith himself seemed to declare, sometimes obliquely, his onetime enslaved status on several occasions. In "Declaration of Sentiments of the Colored Citizens of Boston on the Fugitive Slave Bill," *Liberator*, 11 October 1850, 2, Smith's statement during a meeting protesting the just-passed Fugitive Slave Act was paraphrased: "He advised every fugitive to arm himself with a revolver—if he could not buy one otherwise, to sell his coat for that purpose. As for himself, and he thus exhorted others, he should be kind and courteous to all, even the slave-dealer, until the moment of an attack upon his liberty. He would not be taken ALIVE, but upon the slave-catcher's head be the consequences. When he could not live here in Boston, a FREEMAN, in the language of Socrates, 'He had lived long enough.'" After Sumner's death in 1874, a time no longer dangerous for fugitives, the *Boston Globe* paraphrased Smith's address at a mass meeting: "Mr. Smith spoke of the time when he emerged from slavery into the world's cold atmosphere, like a chrysalis prematurely launched into an air too chill for its winged existence" until Sumner began to work of behalf of enslaved Americans. See "The City's Mourning," *Boston Globe*, 16 March 1874, 1, 2. Robert T. Teamoh, *Sketch of the Life and Death of Col. Robert Gould Shaw* (Cambridge, MA: Grandison & Son for the author, 1904), 11, stated that Smith was "an escaped slave"; it is likely that Teamoh knew Smith personally. "Obituary. Joshua B. Smith," *Boston Post*, 7 July 1879, 3, states that Smith was a servant of John C. Craig, which whom he traveled in the South; "J. B. Smith Dead: The Career of Boston's Well-Known Colored Caterer," *Boston Herald*, 5 July 1879, 1, mentions Craig by last name only. "Idea of a Colored Man: Joshua Benton [*sic*] Smith, a Warm Admirer of Col Shaw, First to Suggest an Equestrian Memorial," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7, states that Smith "escaped from slavery in Virginia" and implies that he escaped during his travels with Craig. Only two men bearing this name have been identified in early censuses and newspapers. One John C. Craig owned numerous horses at his estate in the Roxborough district of Philadelphia and raced them avidly. He died in 1837 at the age of 35 while traveling abroad; slavery was illegal in Pennsylvania by the 1830s, which would indicate that Smith, if working for this John C. Craig, was employed and not enslaved by him. And given that Smith often claimed to be from Pennsylvania, this Craig is the more likely to have been the man for whom he worked. The other, John Coffey Craig, was born in 1793 in Lancaster County, SC, moved to Lincoln County, TN, about 1826, listed two enslaved people in his household in 1830, and moved to Tippan County, MS, about 1836; he owned more than 1000 acres in Mississippi before he died in 1882. The Mount Washington House became the second home of the Perkins Institute and Massachusetts Association for the Blind in 1839.

in the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, the first federally authorized African American regiment raised in the North, because the federal War Department refused to commission African American officers. But the abolitionist Wendell Phillips argued that if they did not enlist African American commissions would never be realized. “If you cannot have a whole loaf,” he asked them, “will you not take a slice?” Even Frederick Douglass, who complained often about the North’s “accommodation and truckling” to the South and was as dismayed as anyone by the War Department’s position, asserted that blacks must join the Union forces “by any door open to him, no matter how narrow.” The men who accepted these arguments and enlisted in the 54th served with fidelity even as racism confronted them everywhere—in the fight for equal pay, in their consignment to fatigue duty, in blatant hostility to them during and immediately after the war, in the federal refusal to promote from within the ranks. For their officers, one 54th sergeant wrote to African American Bostonian William Cooper Nell in August 1864, “We want men whose hearts are truly loyal to the rights of man” instead of “a crowd of incompetent civilians and non-commissioned officers of other regiments” sent to take the place of officers killed or wounded. The sergeant cited Boston’s Irish American newspaper and its regular racist vitriol and asked Nell how African American troops could “have confidence in officers who read the Boston Courier and talk about ‘Niggers?’” Not until the fall of 1864 were African American soldiers paid their due. Not until early in 1865 did a handful of African Americans of the 54th and 55th earn commissions. And not until 1948 were the United States armed forces desegregated.²

As soon as Shaw fell on the parapet at Fort Wagner and was buried in a trench with his men, Joshua Bowen Smith suggested to Sumner that a monument be erected to Shaw. About the same time Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, the son of western Massachusetts abolitionists and the military governor of South Carolina, proposed that African Americans pledge “the first proceeds of your labor as freemen” to creating such a monument on the Morris Island ruins of the fort. Addressed to both soldiers and “freedmen” in the Army’s Department of the South, Saxton’s letter did not address the fact that the soldiers had not yet been paid. In Boston Sumner urged Smith to hold off on the monument idea until the war was over; in South Carolina concern emerged

2. Douglass quoted in James M. McPherson, *The Negro’s Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted during the War for the Union* (1965; reprint, New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), 9. The letter to Nell appeared in the *Liberator*, 4 October 1864.

that the proposed site was unstable and in hostile territory. James Henry Gooding, a corporal in the 54th, may have been the first to articulate the singular folly of a South Carolina monument, and he might have done much to propel the movement for a Boston monument to his colonel and his regiment. Yet Gooding did not return with his regiment: he was wounded and captured at the Battle of Olustee and died at the Confederacy's Andersonville prison in July 1864.³

Evidence suggests that Joshua Bowen Smith almost single-handedly began to raise funds for the monument after Massachusetts Governor John Albion Andrew convened a meeting of Bostonians interested in the idea. Though African American Baptist minister Leonard Grimes attended the meeting, neither he nor any of the ten white Bostonians appointed to a committee to raise funds for it are cited as having done so; Smith was in fact not named to that committee. Edward Atkinson, the committee's treasurer, disliked the idea of soliciting funds at all, but he noted that Smith had himself pledged five hundred dollars and received pledges from other African Americans. The *Boston Transcript* reported that an unnamed "colored association of 800 members" was expected to contribute to the fund as well. Joshua Bowen Smith, owed money for provisioning a white Massachusetts regiment during the war, died in straitened circumstances in 1879, and with his death what pledges or actual contributions African Americans had made to the memorial disappeared from the record.

When Sumner first publicly advocated a monument in the fall of 1865, he spoke as much of the 54th as he did of Shaw. Shaw had "turned away from all the blandishments of life to consecrate himself to his country"; his regiment had similarly consecrated itself "to the redemption of a race." He declared that Fort Wagner was the African American soldiers' Bunker Hill: "Though defeated, they were yet victorious. The regiment was driven back, but the cause was advanced. The country learned to know colored troops and they learned to know themselves. From that day of conflict nobody doubted their capacity or courage as soldiers."⁴ Still, in his mind's eye Sumner, and apparently Joshua Bowen Smith,

3. James H. Gooding was born in 1837, possibly in Troy, NY, and was in New Bedford by 1856, when he shipped out on the whaling vessel *Sunbeam*. He served on the crew of one more whaling voyage and a trading voyage before he enlisted on 14 February 1863 in the 54th; he was the eighth man from New Bedford to do so. Gooding's letters to the *New-Bedford Mercury* were published nearly every week between 3 March 1863 and 22 February 1864 and have been reprinted and annotated in Virginia Matzke Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom: A Black Soldier's Civil War Letters from the Front: Corporal James Henry Gooding* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991).

saw only Shaw on a horse, not Shaw with his regiment, even as the Shaw family urged a more inclusive conception. And still, in conflict after conflict, the government and the public at large continued to doubt the capacity and courage of African American men as soldiers.

Almost as soon as the war ended African Americans suspected that the cause of equal rights might not advance. Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Minnesota had refused the elective franchise to African American men, and widespread racial hostility in the South impelled New England African Americans to meet in Boston in December 1865. The convention resolved to send a delegation to Congress so that its actions “may not give ‘color to the idea that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect.’” It affirmed that until all Americans without regard to color enjoyed equality before the law “there will be kept up an agitation, a conflict as intense, as wide-spread, and as all-absorbing as that which marked the history of the anti-slavery warfare, which will materially affect all the material interests of the land.”⁵ Though that was not quite to be, hope strengthened when the nation ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, federal Reconstruction promised to promote and protect African American rights in the South, and Congress passed the Equal Rights Act of 1875, shortly after Sumner’s death.

In historic terms, however, those achievements were ephemeral. As early as 1866 Harriet Jacobs, former fugitive, freed people’s aid worker, and author, told Lydia Maria Child of the vast betrayal already underway in the South:

Don’t believe the stories so often repeated that the negroes are not willing to work. They are generally more than willing to work, if they can get anything for it. But the ex-slaveholders try to drive such hard bargains with them, it is no wonder they sometimes refuse to sign the contracts. Some of the planters propose to the freedmen to raise a crop of rice, corn, and cotton, and give them two-thirds of the crop, paying for their own rations, clothing, and doctor’s bills out of the remaining third, which

4. “S.,” “Monument to Colonel Shaw,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 2 October 1865, 2, and *Liberator*, 22 December 1865, 2; the latter identified the author as Sumner.

5. “The New England Convention of Colored Citizens,” *Anglo-African*, 23 December 1865. The quoted section within the quote was from U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney’s 1857 decision in *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, which asserted that because Scott was enslaved he was not a citizen and had no right to file suit in a federal court.

has to be divided between seventy or a hundred laborers. One of these laborers told me that, after working hard all the season to raise the master's crop, the share he received of the profits was only one dollar and fifty cents. . . . I visited some of the plantations, and I was rejoiced to see such a field of profitable labor opened for these poor people. If they could have worked these lands for two years, they would have needed no help from any one. But just as they were beginning to realize the blessings of freedom, all their hopes were dashed to the ground. President Johnson has pardoned their old masters, and the poor loyal freedmen are driven off the soil, that it may be given back to traitors. These masters try every means in their power to make the condition of the freed people worse than it was in slavery, if possible. I am in hopes that something will yet be done for them by Congress.⁶

In 1872 Congress passed, and President Ulysses S. Grant signed, the Amnesty Act restoring the right to vote and hold office to all but five hundred Confederate officers, thus nullifying Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment; all but Jefferson Davis were restored to full citizenship four years later. "If the officers and men who did the fighting on the Union side from 1861 to 1865 could have foreseen that in 1879 the Confederates would have a majority in both branches of Congress," the *Boston Journal* noted that year, "it would have been pretty hard to prevent them from stacking arms and quitting the service."⁷ In 1877 Grant's successor Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South, essentially turning the government's back on its promise of protection to African Americans as they voted and attempted to lead lives unaffected by terrorism. And in 1883 the United States Supreme Court declared the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. Compromise again seized hold of the government. Chester Alan Arthur continued what Hayes began by appointing former rebels to federal jobs with the expectation that, as Frederick Douglass stated, "this conciliation policy would arrest the hand of violence, put a stop to outrage and murder, and restore peace and prosperity to the rebel States." In his third and last autobiography, published late in 1892, Douglass wrote that the administration of Hayes was "to the loyal colored citizen, full of darkness and dismal terror" exceeded only by the administration of Arthur, whose "indulgence, indifference, and neglect of opportunity, allowed the country to drift (like an oarless

6. Harriet Jacobs to Lydia Maria Child, quoted in *The Independent* (New York), 5 April 1866, and transcribed in Jean Fagan Yellin et al., eds., *The Harriet Jacobs Family Papers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 2: 663–64.

7. *Boston Journal* quoted in Heather Cox Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 159.

boat in the rapids) toward the howling chasm of the slaveholding Democracy.” Douglass stated, “The sentiment that gave us a reconstructed Union on a basis of liberty for all people was blasted as a flower is blasted by a killing frost. . . . When the Republican party ceased to care for and protect its Southern allies, and sought the smiles of the Southern negro murderers, it shocked, disgusted, and drove away its best friends.”⁸ In 1899 African Americans in Massachusetts sent an open letter to President William McKinley reproaching him for his “incomprehensible silence” as African Americans “everywhere throughout the South” found their rights denied, “violently wrested from us by mobs, by lawless legislatures, and nullifying conventions, combinations, and conspiracies, openly, defiantly, under your eyes, in your constructive and actual presence.” McKinley, they asserted, sought to expel Spain from Cuba in the espoused interest of freedom and independence for Cubans as he turned a blind eye to injustice in his own country:

The struggle of the negro to rise out of his ignorance, his poverty and his social degradation . . . to the full stature of his American citizenship, has been met everywhere in the South by the active ill-will and determined race-hatred and opposition of the white people in that section. Turn where he will, he encounters this cruel and implacable spirit. He dare not speak openly the thoughts which rise in his breast. He has wrongs such as have never in modern times been inflicted on a people, and yet he must be dumb in the midst of a nation which prates loudly of democracy and humanity, boasts itself the champion of oppressed peoples abroad, while it looks on indifferent, apathetic, at appalling enormities and iniquities at home, where the victims are black and the criminals white.⁹

By the 1890s a younger generation of African Americans in Boston, many of them born in the South and a good share of them veterans of the Massachusetts regiments, had begun to fight independently and through both major political parties to lobby all levels of government to stop the massive violation of African American rights everywhere. African American attorney James H. Wolff, a Civil War Navy veteran, was among those who signed the letter to McKinley; so did Isaiah D. Barnett, who served in the 41st United States Colored Troops. Charles Lewis Mitchell, a native of Hartford, Connecticut, may

8. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass Written by Himself* (1893) in *Frederick Douglass: Autobiographies* (New York: Library of America, 1994), 963–64.

9. *Open Letter to President McKinley by Colored People of Massachusetts* (3 October 1899), Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/lcrbmrp.t1722/?sp=14&r=-0.854,0.536,2.707,1.444,0>.

have been among the “others” who signed the letter but whose names were not printed with it. Mitchell was a printer who had worked for Garrison at the *Liberator* before he enlisted in the 55th Regiment four days before the attack on Fort Wagner. In 1864 he had been detailed to serve as the post printer at Morris Island, but when he learned that the 55th would take part in an expedition designed to cut the Charleston and Savannah Railroad off in order to aid General William T. Sherman’s march to the sea, he asked to return to his regiment. At Honey Hill Union forces came across Confederate forces blocking the road, and in the fighting that ensued most of Mitchell’s right foot was blown off and the ankle damaged; the lower third of his leg was later amputated. One account in *Colored American Magazine* noted that as Mitchell was being carried away from the field on a stretcher, he rose up as his lieutenant colonel passed, “saluted and cheered him, and bade him ‘go ahead.’” Near the end of the war Mitchell also succeeded in capturing two Confederate cannons (“Napoleon guns”) during the siege of Charleston. His actions at Honey Hill earned him the rank of second lieutenant in 1865. Mitchell was one of the few African American soldiers to receive an officer’s commission during the war, though because of his disability he was never mustered in at that rank.

After the war Charles Mitchell returned to Boston with “that added grace, the halting which is the stateliest step of the soldier,” as Wendell Phillips put it, and began his forty-four-year career at the Boston Custom House, where he was for some time a respected statistician. In 1866 Mitchell ran successfully for the state legislature; he and Edwin Garrison Walker, the son of antebellum activist David Walker, were the first two African Americans elected to that body. “These men are chosen, not as a joke or a satire, but in honest earnest, because they are fit for the position,” the *Berkshire County Eagle* asserted, “and because they have rights which white men at last respect.”¹⁰ Mitchell was marshal of the procession at Sumner’s funeral and printed the proceedings of the memorial meeting held in Boston for the late senator. He and Lewis Hayden were among the pallbearers at Garrison’s funeral five years later. And he was president of the Wendell Phillips Club, one of the Boston’s main African American political associations. Mitchell was present at virtually all of the postwar political gatherings of African American Bostonians, and he spoke at an 1899 meeting protesting the lynching of African Americans in the South.

10. *Berkshire County Eagle*, 8 November 1866, 2; Phillips quoted in “Mr. Charles L. Mitchell,” *Colored American*, 20 October 1900, 6.

Charles L. Mitchell was also an avid participant in many of the reunions of the Massachusetts African American regiments. He helped organize the earliest ones and managed the more formidable effort to locate veterans for the Shaw Memorial unveiling procession; Mitchell was one of Norwood P. Hallowell's five African American aides in that parade. He was also committed to Company L of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment, formed in 1878 from Companies A and B of the 2d Battalion of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. He had spent the last three afternoons of the regiment's stay at its South Framingham training camp with the men, and he followed them on foot to the train station as they left for the front. This walk at a military pace strained Mitchell's Civil War wound, already exacerbated by his effort some time earlier to save his wife when her clothing caught fire as she cleaned gas lamps in their home. Mitchell had worn a prosthetic for years after the war, but these two events made it necessary to amputate the leg entirely, in the summer of 1898. While the company served in Cuba in 1898 Mitchell created a fund to support the soldiers' wives and children, and when men in Company L won commissions as officers Mitchell declared he had at last been compensated "for leaving a leg in South Carolina in the Civil War."¹¹ When he died, Mitchell warranted a four-paragraph obituary in the *Boston Globe* and one paragraph in the *Herald*, and for all his activism and dedication he is scarcely remembered today.

With the notable exception of William H. Carney, all of the African Americans of the 54th and 55th Regiments lived and died in far greater obscurity than Mitchell did. But while they lived untold numbers of them returned to Boston on Memorial Day or the dual anniversary of Shaw's death and the Fort Wagner assault to congregate at the Shaw Memorial. Just as American American educator and diarist Charlotte Forten thought of Robert Gould Shaw as "our colonel, *ours* especially," by some silent agreement the Shaw Memorial became for African American veterans their memorial.¹² They came to

11. This last statement appears in Anthony W. Neal, "Captain William J. Williams," *Bay State Banner*, 7 August 2015, <https://www.baystatebanner.com/2015/08/07/captain-william-j-williams-lawyer-war-veteran-first-african-american-elected-to-the-chelsea-board-of-aldermen/>. On this incident in Mitchell's life see "Colored Veteran was Loyal," *Boston Globe*, 28 June 1898, 12, and "Distress of Soldiers' Wives," *Boston Globe*, 8 August 1898, 5. Other background on Mitchell appears in "Famous Negro Fighters," *Leslie's Weekly Illustrated*, 23 June 1898, 407; "First Colored Company," *Boston Globe*, 17 May 1898, 5; "Honors for Colored Soldiers," *ibid.*, 16 May 1898, 12; "Mr. Charles L. Mitchell," *Colored American*, 20 October 1900, 6; and "Charles L. Mitchell," *The Crisis*, July 1912, 118-19. See also Appendix C.

12. Charlotte Forten, diary entry for 20 July 1863, in Brenda Stevenson, ed., *The Journals of Charlotte Forten* (New York: Oxford Press, 1988), 494.

see each other again at the Shaw Memorial. There they relived their wartime strife and camaraderie and shared what they believed their service had and had not accomplished for African Americans generally. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper asserted in the fall of 1863 that those of the 54th who had fallen at Fort Wagner had died “not in vain / Amid those hours of fearful strife; / Each dying heart poured out a balm to heal the wounded nation’s life.” The memorial itself symbolized and may have acted as such a balm at particular historical points. Art historian Kirk Savage has argued that public monuments “are the most conservative of commemorative forms precisely because they are meant to last, unchanged, forever. While other things come and go, are lost and forgotten, the monument is supposed to remain a fixed point, stabilizing both the physical and the cognitive landscape.” But while the Shaw stands physically now as it did then, the cognitive landscape around it has often shifted. Because it depicts a moment of interracial unity, the Shaw Memorial became a touchstone for protests of school segregation, wage discrimination, continued racial animus, even the Kent State massacre and the Vietnam War. And as Americans celebrated Shaw, the regiment, and the memorial itself, African Americans particularly must from time to time have seen it much as Booker T. Washington did when he stated in 1897 that it stood “for effort, not victory complete.” Very nearly a century later, the Rev. Peter J. Gomes cited Booker T. Washington’s statement when he spoke at the memorial’s rededication. By its very presence, Gomes declared, the Shaw Memorial continues to mark “how far it is we have to go until black and white can live side by side, and in peace.”

TO COLORED MEN.

**54th
REGIMENT!**

MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,

OF



AFRICAN DESCENT!

\$100 BOUNTY!

At the expiration of the term of service.

PAY, \$13 A MONTH!

AND

STATE AID TO FAMILIES.

RECRUITING OFFICE,



Cor. Cambridge & North Russell Sts., Boston.

Lieut. J. W. M. APPLINGTON, Recruiting Officer.

J. E. FARWELL & Co., Steam Job Printers, No. 37 Congress Street, Boston.

Fig. 1.1. Boston recruiting poster for 54th Regiment, 1863, printed by J. E. Farwell and Company, Boston. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

CHAPTER 1

Confronting “the Great National Sin”

On 5 March 1858, one year and one day after the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Scott v. Sandford* that Americans of African descent were not citizens and “so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect,” Bostonians met at Faneuil Hall to commemorate the eighty-seventh anniversary of the Boston Massacre. The massacre had not been marked on its actual March anniversary in Boston since 1783, when the town clerk ruled that the annual rite should be subsumed in Fourth of July celebrations because the reasons for observing the precise date “now no longer exist in their primitive force.”

William Cooper Nell might have accepted that contention before the Dred Scott decision, as *Scott v. Sandford* was popularly known, but his abiding fury over the court’s action impelled him to organize a revival of the massacre’s March commemoration. The 1858 event was being held, he said, “especially in memory of Crispus Attucks, the earliest martyr of American Independence” (fig. 1.2). Nell was a natural historian who had only a few years earlier written about his youthful wonder at historical relics. “I was born on Beacon Hill,” he wrote early in his *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*, “and from early childhood, have loved to visit the Eastern wing of the State House, and read the four stones taken from the monument that once towered from its summit.”¹ For the massacre commemoration Nell had enhanced the speakers’ platform with artifacts documenting African Americans’ part in American military history—a cup that Attucks owned; a print or painting of Washington crossing the Delaware that showed New Hampshire’s Prince Whipple “pulling the stroke oar”; Washington’s printed June 1783 discharge from the revolutionary Army of Brister Baker; the flag John Hancock presented to “the Bucks of America,” a Boston-based African American military company (fig. 1.3); another flag belonging to the “Protectors,” a group of black Bostonians who guarded merchant properties during the Revolution. A lifelong Bostonian, Nell also arranged the attendance

1. Wm. C. Nell, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with Sketches of Several Distinguished Colored Persons: to Which is Added a Brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans* (Boston: Robert F. Wallcutt, 1855), 10.

Fig. 1.2. Nell featured Attucks as the first fatality of the American Revolution in this broadside for his 1855 *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*, a long sheet featuring advance reviews of the book. Courtesy Wendell Phillips Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



of elders whose memories stretched to Revolutionary days. The oldest was “Grandmother Boston,” thought to be 105. “Father Vassall,” then 88 years old, also took part. Ninety-two-year old Eunice Ames, whose husband Prince had fought at Bunker Hill and in other Revolutionary battles, was also present; so was the daughter of Cornelius Haskell, said to have been killed and buried at Bunker Hill, and the daughter of the unnamed Bucks of America ensign to whom Hancock had presented the flag.²

Nell then introduced one of the commemoration’s principal speakers, John S. Rock, who extended Nell’s military theme. Born in Salem, New Jersey, about 1826, Rock had graduated from the American Medical College in Philadelphia in 1852, came to Boston the next year, and worked as a dentist and physician; he initially boarded in the home of fugitives and fugitive assistants Lewis and Harriet Hayden. When he spoke at the Attucks celebration, Rock had just begun to study law.³ “We ought not to come here simply to honor those brave men who shed their blood for freedom, or to protest against the Dred Scott decision, but to take counsel of each other, and to enter into new vows of duty,” Rock told his audience. “Our fathers fought nobly for freedom, but they were not victorious. They fought for liberty, but they got slavery. The white man was benefitted, but the black man was injured. I do not envy the white American the little liberty which he enjoys. It is his right, and he ought to have it. I wish him success, though I do not think he deserves it.”



Fig. 1.3. The Bucks of America flag, about 1785–86. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

Rock preferred, he said, that all men be free. And despite the 1792 federal proscription against enrolling men of African descent in militias, Rock predicted a civil war in which black soldiers would give the lie to the Dred Scott decision:

2. W. C. Nell, “Commemorative Meeting in Faneuil Hall,” *Liberator*, 5 March 1858, 3; “The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770. Commemorative Festival in Faneuil Hall,” *ibid.*, 12 March 1858, 2, based on “phonographic recording for the *Liberator* by Mr Yerrinton.” Grandmother Boston was Catharine Boston, who was born enslaved in either Reading or Littleton, MA, and lived at 24 Southac Street, on the largely African American north slope of Boston’s Beacon Hill; when she died in 1860 her death record and newspaper obituaries placed her age at “about 108,” 111, and 115 years. “Father” Vassall was Darby (sometimes Derby) Vassall, born in 1769 and the son of Anthony Vassall, enslaved coachman of John Vassall Jr., who built what is now the Craigie-Longfellow House in Cambridge. After he died in October 1861, one obituary noted that Darby Vassall “had an intelligent appreciation of the Anti-Slavery movement, and loved to speak with and of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips.” “Mrs. Brown,” the daughter of Cornelius Haskell, and “Mrs. Kay,” the daughter of the Bucks ensign, have not yet been identified through censuses, directories, or newspaper accounts. Neither Haskell’s nor Prince Ames’s names appear in Nell, *Colored Patriots*; George Quintal Jr., *Patriots of Color, “A Peculiar Beauty and Merit”: African Americans and Native Americans at Battle Road & Bunker Hill* (Report, National Park Service, February 2002); or *African American and American Indian Patriots of the Revolutionary War* (Washington, DC: National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 2001). The last title cites “Bristol” Baker of New Haven, however, as among those African Americans from Connecticut who served in the Revolution; Nell, *Colored Patriots*, 134, cites Baker as part of the second company of the 4th Connecticut regiment, and the volume includes a facsimile of Washington’s certificate of Baker’s discharge, no doubt taken from the certificate Nell displayed at the 1858 commemoration. The facsimile is shown opposite page 132 but is not legible in digital copies of the book. Eunice Ames died 24 February 1864, and in his brief obituary for her Nell noted that her son Alexander had fought in the War of 1812 and a grandson and two great-grandsons were Civil War soldiers. See W. C. N., *Liberator*, 25 March 1864, 3. On Prince Ames see “Reminiscences,” *Woman’s Era*, July 1894, Boston Public Library.

3. Rock was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1861. On 1 February 1865 Charles Sumner introduced a motion at the U.S. Supreme Court to permit Rock to practice there, and on the same day he became the first person of African descent to argue a case before that body. He died at the age of 40, of tuberculosis, in December 1866.

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Sooner or later, the clashing of arms will be heard in this country, and the black man's service will be needed: 150,000 freemen capable of bearing arms, and not all cowards and fools, and three quarter of a million of slaves, wild with the enthusiasm caused by the dawn of the glorious opportunity of being able to strike a genuine blow for freedom will be a power which white men will be "bound to respect." Will the blacks fight? Of course they will. The black man will never be neutral. He could not if he would, and he would not if he could. Will he fight for this country, right or wrong? This the common sense of every one answers; and when the time comes, and come it will, the black men will give an intelligent answer.⁴

The 1792 federal law banning the service of African Americans in militias postdated the earliest known black military organizations, including the Bucks of America and the Protectors. Its passage stuck in the craw of Boston's African Americans in the 1850s, given what they knew about black participation in past American conflicts and their sense of impending emergency. The law remained a barrier to African American participation in the nation's military at all levels until the federal government authorized the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in January 1863. Yet the 54th did not spring full-blown from the exertions of politicians at that time; it had arisen from the repeated and theretofore fruitless offers of African Americans to demonstrate both their fidelity and their ability to serve their country in a military capacity.

4. "An Act for Revising and Consolidating the General Statutes of the Commonwealth," which embraced all statutes enacted by state government to that point, included the revision of militia law sought by Massachusetts African Americans, but on 28 December 1859 Massachusetts Governor Nathaniel P. Banks vetoed the act. Banks argued that the revision was "plainly in contravention of constitutional law," meaning to indicate the 1792 federal militia law. See Massachusetts State Library Archives, <https://archives.lib.state.ma.us/bitstream/handle/2452/753041/>. Critics of the veto insisted that Massachusetts was not bound by federal law in composing its volunteer militia. See in particular F. W. Bird, *Review of Gov. Banks' Veto of the Revised Code, on Account of Its Authorizing the Enrolment of Colored Citizens in the Militia* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1860), Samuel J. May /Anti-Slavery Collection, Cornell University, <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=maya%2Fantislavery;idno=12851312;view=image;seq=1>. Bird argued that Massachusetts law from 1675 forward had never featured a racial qualifier for military service. See also James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted during the War for the Union* (1965; reprint, New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), 19–20, 23. Massachusetts did not delete the word "white" from its militia law until 8 February 1864; see Donald Yacovone, ed. *A Voice of Thunder: A Black Soldier's Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 30.

“The Black Arm of the Republic”

The agitation in Massachusetts began with the Bucks but was revived in the early 1850s after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, which convinced many African Americans that armed conflict over slavery was imminent and unavoidable. In 1852, 1853, 1858, and 1861 African American attorney Robert Morris and scores of other men of color petitioned the state legislature “that the word ‘white’ may be struck out of the militia law of the Commonwealth” and to permit the formation of a black military company.⁵ Nell, who chronicled black military presence in his *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* of 1855, carefully followed these campaigns for the abolitionist *Liberator* newspaper. Failing legislative authorization Massachusetts African Americans nevertheless formed the short-lived Massasoit Guards in 1854 (fig. 1.4), and African Americans in other cities also stepped around the federal proscription—the Hannibal Guards of New York City and Pittsburgh, the National Guards of Providence, the Henry Highland Garnet Guards of Harrisburg, the Native Guards of New Orleans, the Attucks Guards of Cincinnati—to serve in whatever way they might be permitted. The hostility that greeted such groups is well documented in Boston and elsewhere. In November 1857 “a tremendous crowd of idle men and boys” insulted and threw bricks and other missiles at the first public procession of the Liberty Guards, organized in August that year among African American Bostonians despite their inability to attain a charter. Boston hackman Lewis Gaul, the group’s commander and active in African American military affairs until he died in 1884, instructed the troops not to break ranks under any condition, but the large group of African American men and women who followed in the guard’s train fought back after the third and last assault. At a dinner and ball afterward African American Boston women presented the guard with a silk flag bearing its name. “Under the constitution of our Commonwealth you cannot get a charter with the big seal of the State attached,” Sarah Hill stated when she presented the flag, “but this day has proved that you can exist without a charter. . . . You and your Officers have been placed in a position to-day which required the exercise of great self-control, and you have behaved like gentlemen, and true, brave soldiers.”⁶

5. See William C. Nell, “Matters and Things Pertaining to the Anti-Slavery Cause,” *Liberator*, 11 March 1853, 3; “Colored Military,” *ibid.*, 10 September 1858, 3; W. C. N., “Equal Rights for Colored Citizens,” *ibid.*, 24 May 1861, 3.

6. “First Public Parade of the Liberty Guard,” *Boston Herald*, 17 November 1857, 2, provides a detailed account of the parade and its opposition, reprinted as “Miscellany: First Public Parade of the Liberty Guard. From the Boston Herald,” *Liberator*, 27 November 1857, 4. Gaul, born in Danbury, CT, in



Fig. 1.4. "Petition of John P. Coburn and 25 others for a charter to form a Military Company in the City of Boston" to be named the Massasoit Guards, submitted by Robert Morris, petitioners' attorney, 1853–56. The fourth signer in the first column, Americus C. Tabb, was among the first men to join the 54th Massachusetts in 1863. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

After the attack on Fort Sumter, African Americans again offered their services, this time as hometown defense. Ten days after the fort fell New Bedford's African Americans, facing the certain departure of white troops to the South, created the New Bedford Blues. "The citizens of New Bedford would naturally have a feeling of insecurity for their persons and property in the excited state of the public mind incident upon the existence

1819, settled in Boston with his parents Abraham and Catherine Bush Gaul by 1842. By 1860 he became a messenger to Massachusetts Adjutant General William Schouler, and he worked at the Massachusetts State House until he died. His son and namesake was a private in the African American 5th Massachusetts Cavalry and was taken sick toward the end of the war; he died in Boston less than two months after his October 1865 discharge. After Gaul's death in 1884 African American state legislator Julius Chappelle introduced a bill to give the rest of his year's salary to Gaul's family. On Gaul see his obituary in *Boston Herald*, 26 May 1884, 2, and "The Legislature," *Worcester Daily Spy*, 28 May 1884, 2. Sarah Hill has not been definitively identified, but she may have been the daughter of trader Ira Hill and his wife Emeline, who lived in the largely African American West End.

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of actual war,” they stated in their meeting in late April 1861, and they pledged themselves “as true and loyal citizens (although exempt by law from military duty,) . . . in readiness to organize military companies to be officered and equipped, and to drill regularly for the protection and maintenance of peace and good order, and for the security and defense of our city and State against any and all emergencies.”⁷ About a week later Rock, Morris, and other black Bostonians formed a “Home Guard” on the same grounds. “Though denied by the laws of this Commonwealth and of the United States the privilege of forming a part of the militia,” its meeting stated, “we will not take advantage of the fact in this hour of our country’s danger, but will show even to our enemies that we have the best wishes for our country’s prosperity, and while others go forth to vindicate the *right*, we stand ready to defend the lives and property of the people of Massachusetts.”⁸

After Fort Sumter, agitation to permit the enlistment of African American troops intensified among both black and white commentators. Several arguments emerged favoring the proposition, all of them based on the compelling concept of military necessity. Frederick Douglass pointed out in May 1861 that Southerners freely used African Americans to support their rebellion.

The slaveholders have not hesitated to employ the sable arms of the negroes at the South in erecting the fortifications which silenced the guns of Fort Sumter, and brought the star spangled banner to the dust. . . . they have neither pride, prejudice nor *pity* to restrain them from employing negroes *against white men, where slavery is to be protected and made secure*. Oh! that this Government would only now be as true to liberty as the rebels, who are attempting to batter it down, are true to slavery.

In *Iola Leroy*, her 1892 novel about the Civil War, African American novelist, poet, and critic Frances Ellen Watkins Harper had her Maine-born Union Captain Sybil state, “Had we freed the slaves at the outset, we wouldn’t have given the Rebels so much opportunity to strengthen themselves by means of slave labor in raising their crops, throwing up their entrenchments, and building their fortifications.” In December 1861 the *New York Times* agreed that using enslaved people to do the work of the Confederacy freed up southern white men to fight. “Without the black engineers and laborers that

7. *New Bedford Standard*, 24 April 1861, quoted in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, xviii–xix.

8. *Liberator*, 3 May 1861, 71. About 125 men signed the pledge to defend the city at the meeting, and the *Liberator* noted that similar groups were being formed in New York, Providence, and New Bedford.

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South Carolina impressed into her service, Major Anderson might have remained in Sumter till doomsday,” the *Times* declared.⁹ After the Lincoln administration authorized enrolling black troops, General Ulysses S. Grant voiced his advocacy for “arming the negro. This, with the emancipation of the negro, is the heaviest [*sic*] blow yet given the Confederacy. . . . By arming the negro we have added a powerful ally. They will make good soldiers and taking them from the enemy weakens him in the same proportion they strengthen us.”¹⁰

Northern capitalists applied essentially the same argument but on different pragmatic grounds: using men of color in the Union’s forces would, as John Murray Forbes put it, “economize our home resources rather than draw on Northern skilled labor.” Even after the war cut off southern cotton supplies, Massachusetts was the most industrially prosperous state in the nation, and keeping white men in its factories, where men of color were generally not employed, was the only way to sustain this progress. Forbes, who was close to Massachusetts war governor John Albion Andrew and invested himself from the beginning of the war in enlisting and mobilizing Union troops, felt that enrolling both southern and northern men of color “is better than draining our artisans and free laborers” and continued to argue the point even after the 54th and 55th Regiments had been deployed. After the 1863 Conscription Act, Boston cotton merchant and self-identified abolitionist Edward Atkinson worried that the Bay State’s “resources are being crippled by the withdrawal of so many working men.”¹¹

Racial ideology underlay two other arguments proffered exclusively by white advocates of the policy. One rested on the common assumption that people of African descent were inured to, and best situated within, hot places. On Christmas Day of 1862 Massachusetts abolitionist senator Charles Sumner wrote Forbes to report that President Lincoln “let

9. “How to End the War,” *Douglass’ Monthly*, May 1861, 3; Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, *Iola Leroy; or, Shadows Uplifted* (1892; reprint, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 131; *New York Times*, 6 December 1861, 2, quoted in Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, 10. Anderson was Robert Anderson, who had without orders moved two First U.S. Artillery companies from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, which, though begun in 1829, was not finished when South Carolina seceded late in 1860.

10. Ulysses S. Grant to Abraham Lincoln, 23 August 1863, quoted in McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 196.

11. Forbes and Atkinson quoted in Richard H. Abbott, “Massachusetts and the Recruitment of Southern Negroes, 1863–1865,” *Civil War History* 14, 3 (September 1968): 197–99, and in Nick Salvatore, *We All Got History: The Memory Books of Amos Webber* (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1996), 17.

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me know last evening of his plan to employ African troops to hold the Mississippi River, and also other posts in the warm climates, so that our white soldiers may be employed elsewhere.” In 1863, Forbes sought to raise funds among Boston’s affluent for African American troops by declaring the policy would not only keep white workers “fully and profitably employed” in New England’s factories but would also send “acclimated troops to unhealthy localities.” Frederick Douglass was one among African Americans who recognized the ruse that lay back of this assertion. Black troops, Douglass observed, were to “garrison forts in yellow-fever and otherwise unhealthy localities of the South, to save the health of white soldiers.”¹²

Finally, based on the popular notions that African Americans were neither apt nor fit to fight, white advocates asserted that black soldiers might support the Union as they did the Confederacy—by doing the labor necessary to free white men to fight. Massachusetts abolitionist George Luther Stearns, who coordinated the recruitment of African American soldiers west of New England for Governor Andrew, was furious that the Union Army was impressing men of color in Tennessee into fatigue duty. “Negro troops should be put in camps of instruction and prepared for the duties of the field,” Stearns stated, and at one Nashville meeting of prospective black troops he urged them “that rather than be dragged into the trenches and fortifications, they had better volunteer.”¹³ African American historian George Washington Williams asserted that David Hunter, one of the strongest advocates of African American military service in the Union Army, hoped to use them for garrison and “fatigue” duty and as “a basis of supply for an operating army.” “The policy of arming Negroes was never contemplated by the Government until military necessity lifted her stern voice,” Williams noted.¹⁴ Whites involved in raising the 54th Regiment were well aware of the tendency of the army to use African American troops in this way and were sanguine about Hunter, for they tended to regard his command as their best hope. In April 1863 Governor Andrew pointed out to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton that “our 54th. is being raised and officered, for active not for fatigue duty, and

12. Sarah Forbes Hughes, ed., *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1899), 1:349; Richard H. Abbott, *Cotton & Capital: Boston Businessmen and Antislavery Reform, 1854–1868* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), 124–25; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 777–78.

13. George Washington Williams, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888), 160–61.

14. Williams, *Negro Troops*, 122–23.

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unless active operations of a brilliant sort are contemplated in No. Carolina, in which they as a portion of the troops in that command could be allowed to engage; then I pray you send the 54th. to So. Carolina, where, under Genl Hunter negro troops will be appreciated and allowed a place in onward and honorable movements of the war.”¹⁵ Ten days before the 54th left for the South, Robert Gould Shaw wrote to his mother, “General Hunter wanted us, and I told the Governor I thought the men would have a better chance for work than with Foster. The latter, as likely as not, would make us do all the digging of the department.”¹⁶

African Americans recognized clearly that for most white Americans the war was not about slavery but about asserting the primacy of the Union and the North’s threatened hegemony over national affairs by fighting the extension of slavery to the territories. “We do not affirm that the North is fighting in behalf of the black man’s rights, as such—if this was the single issue, we even doubt whether they would fight at all,” the African American newspaper *Anglo-African* stated in 1861. Americans of African descent had witnessed the North’s repeated concession to the “slave power” and the Lincoln Administration’s particular timidity in confronting it. As Douglass put it, “For fifty years the country has taken the law from the lips of an exacting, haughty, and imperious slave oligarchy.” The Republicans, John S. Rock stated in January 1860, “have no idea of abolishing slavery. They go against slavery only so far as slavery goes against their interests.” Illinois African American H. Ford Douglass stated on 4 July that year, “So far as the principles of freedom and the hopes of the black men are concerned, all these parties are barren and unfruitful; neither of them seeks to lift the negro out of his fetters, and rescue this day from odium and disgrace.” As African American author Archibald Grimké later put it in his biography of Charles Sumner, the free states “loved the Union; they had no love for the slave. To preserve the one they were ever disposed to sacrifice the freedom of the other.”¹⁷ Alfred M. Green, an African American teacher in Philadelphia, wrote in the *Anglo-African* in October 1861, “We are fully aware that there is no more soul in the present administration on the great moral issues involved in the slavery question and the present war, than has characterized previous administrations.” To Rock, Douglass, and many others, Lincoln’s

15. Ira Berlin, ed., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, ser. 2, *The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). 130-31.

16. Russell Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 333. Foster was Major General John Gray Foster, who, according to Duncan, was never convinced of the need to recruit black soldiers.

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actions and inaction on the question of raising African American troops proved that “he is on the side of this Slave Power . . . that has possession of the Federal Government,” as Rock stated; Douglass maintained that the government’s “slavery policy . . . is simply and solely to reconstruct the union on the old and corrupting basis of compromise, by which slavery shall retain all the power that it ever had, with the full assurance of gaining more, according to its future necessities.”¹⁸

Though willing to serve on principle, some African Americans argued that they should not take part unless the administration openly proclaimed the Civil War as a war to end slavery. “We have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by entering the lists as combatants,” one African American resident of Troy, New York, wrote in the *Anglo-African* in 1861. “. . . We are in advance of our fathers. They put confidence in the word of the whites only to feel the dagger of slavery driven still deeper into the heart throbbing with emotions of joy for freedom. We are not going to re-enact that tragedy. Our enslaved brethren must be made freedmen. . . . We of the North must have all rights which white men enjoy; until then we are in no condition to fight under a flag which gives us no protection.” George E. Stephens, an African American abolitionist, cabinetmaker, and *Anglo-African* correspondent then serving as cook and servant to an officer in the 26th Pennsylvania Regiment, argued similarly in December 1861:

Let the American people but say we are their brethren, and the millions of our race will flock to the national defence, and seal with blood their love of liberty, and devotion to the natural cause—but call us men and brethren, and all the tears shed and wrongs suffered, all the scoffs, jeers, and persecutions meted out to us ever since Crispus Attucks fell the first martyr to the revolution, shall be buried in the very deep of forgetfulness. . . . Millions of treasure, rivers of blood would be saved if the North

17. *Anglo-African*, either 14 August or 14 September 1861, quoted in McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 31; Rock and Ford quoted in *ibid.*, 5; Archibald H. Grimké, *The Life of Charles Sumner: The Scholar in Politics* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892), 305–6.

18. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 5, 8, 10, 32, 47. Donald Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 12, has noted that “merely opposing the extension of slavery, as Republicans proposed, meant little or nothing to black leaders.” Robert Gould Shaw’s brother-in-law George William Curtis noted the absence of a moral imperative in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton: “There is very little moral mixture in the ‘Anti-Slavery’ feeling of this country. A great deal is abstract philanthropy; part is hatred of slaveholders; a great part is jealousy for white labor, very little is consciousness of wrong done and the wish to right it.” Curtis quoted in Joan Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 40.

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would fortify themselves on all sides with justice and reconstruct their government upon the foundations of equity and truth.¹⁹

Though he later actively recruited for the 54th Regiment, Frederick Douglas made the same point in May of that year. “Until the nation shall repent of this weakness and folly, until they shall make the cause of their country the cause of freedom, until they shall strike down slavery, the source and centre of this gigantic rebellion, they don’t deserve the support of a single sable arm, nor will it succeed in crushing the cause of our present troubles.”²⁰ Douglass begged the administration to alter its course:

LET THE SLAVES AND THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE BE CALLED INTO SERVICE, AND FORMED INTO A LIBERATING ARMY, TO MARCH INTO THE SOUTH AND RAISE THE BANNER OF EMANCIPATION AMONG THE SLAVES. . . . Every consideration of justice, humanity and sound policy confirms the wisdom of calling upon black men just now to take up arms in behalf of their country.

We are often asked by persons in the street, as well as by letter, what our people will do in the present solemn crisis in the affairs of the country. Our answer is, would to God you would let us do something! We lack nothing but your consent. We are ready and would go, counting ourselves happy in being permitted to serve and suffer for the cause of freedom and free institutions. But you won’t let us go. . . . The colored citizens of Boston have offered their services to the Government, and were refused. There is, even now . . . weak and contemptible tenderness towards the blood-thirsty, slaveholding traitors, by the Government and people of this country.

In the retrospective view of George Washington Williams, despite the fact that the secessionist South was “guilty of treason,” the Lincoln Administration’s “conservative, vacillating, hand-to-mouth policy held sway for nearly two years, with but one exception,” that being Union General Benjamin F. Butler’s late April 1861 designation as “contraband of war” three enslaved men who had escaped to his lines at Fortress Monroe in Virginia. Williams quoted one of Butler’s captains to have warned him days before that fugitives from slavery would soon “commence swarming to your lines”; to accept those who had been put to building fortifications for the Confederate Army, he advised Butler, was just as important “as it is to destroy the arsenals or any other war-making element of the rebels, or to capture and destroy the batteries themselves.” The three fugitives

19. Stephens, near Budd’s Ferry, MD, to *Weekly Anglo-African*, 6 December 1861 (published 28 December 1861), in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 152–53.

20. McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 33, 34; “How to End the War.”

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told Butler that their enslaver intended soon to send them to the North Carolina coast to build Confederate forts, so Butler instead put them to work for the Union Army, thereby, as Williams said, “depriving the enemy of the services of these slaves, delaying the construction of his fortifications, and securing valuable aid to the Union forces.”²¹

Even after the federal government approved the confiscation of property—including enslaved people—used “for insurrectionary purposes” in early August 1861, Lincoln continued to hedge on the larger question. Later in the same month, when General John C. Frémont declared Missouri under martial law and freed its enslaved people, Lincoln nullified his action on the grounds that it would “alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us.” He removed Frémont from his command and appointed David Hunter, one of Frémont’s officers, in his place.²² In March 1862 Hunter was transferred from the Army’s Department of the West to the Department of the South, and less than two months later he declared martial law in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Martial law and slavery were “incompatible,” Hunter claimed, and asserted that the enslaved peoples in these insurrectionary states were “forever free.” Lincoln rescinded Hunter’s order as well, but he did not remove him from his command, and the federal War Department allowed one company in his regiment to remain. Organized by General Rufus Saxton, it became the First South Carolina Regiment, the first regiment composed of freed men, in late August 1862. About the same time General James H. Lane formed two regiments of fugitive and free African Americans in Kansas (units the government did not recognize until early in 1863), and Butler, then the military governor of New Orleans, recruited free African Americans into the first of three regiments he formed in the Louisiana Native Guards.²³

The existence of these “contraband” forces in Union-held areas of the South and West intensified the drive to form African American regiments in the North. Williams stated that Rhode Island Government William Sprague’s call for African American men in his state to enlist on 4 August 1862 was “the first call for Negro troops in the North,” but Governor Andrew had been working behind the scenes since at least May of that year to

21. Williams, *Negro Troops*, 68–71.

22. Williams, *Negro Troops*, 73; Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 130–31, notes that Robert Gould Shaw and his parents hoped that Frémont’s order would stand. The First Confiscation Act passed 6 August 1861, and Lincoln effectively modified Frémont’s order so that it conformed with this act and applied only to enslaved people who had directly assisted the Confederate army.

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convince Stanton to permit him to raise black regiments in Massachusetts.²⁴ As Douglass had noted, the dictates of federal law had earlier obliged Andrew to turn away offers of New Bedford and Boston African Americans to serve. Immediately after the fall of Sumter Boston's African American community met at the African American Twelfth Baptist Church to declare their willingness to serve not as a home guard but as Union soldiers. The *Liberator* published an account of the meeting.

The resolutions reported state that the colored people are ready to defend the Government, and the flag of the country; and are ready to raise an army of fifty thousand men, if the laws can but be altered to allow them to enlist. It was resolved that companies be immediately formed for drill.

Robert Morris advocated the resolutions in an eloquent and stirring speech. He said that if Government would only take away the disability, there was not a man who would not leap for his knapsack and musket, and they would make it intolerably hot for Old Virginia. (Great applause.)

Wm. Wells Brown opposed the resolutions. The time had not come for the colored man to volunteer. He wanted the colored man to go into the battle-field the equal of the white man.²⁵

“A committee waited on the Governor three days later, and offered the services of these men,” William Wells Brown wrote in his 1866 *Negro in the American Rebellion*. “His Excellency replied that he had no power to receive them. This was the first wet blanket thrown over the negro's enthusiasm. . . . Wherever recruiting offices were opened, black men offered themselves, and were rejected.” Brown also set forth his rationale for opposing the rush to enlistment:

23. Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 216; Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990); T. W. Higginson, “III. Colored Troops under Fire,” *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, new ser. 32, June 1897, 194; Luis F. Emilio, *A Brave Black Regiment: The History of the 54th Massachusetts, 1863–1865*, 2d ed. (1894; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), 1–2; Williams, *Negro Troops*, 99. Williams and McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 19–20, 23, 167, note that the Native Guards had been formed in 1861 and offered itself unsuccessfully to the Confederate Army; the Union took New Orleans in the spring of 1862, and in late August that year Butler organized this force into a Union company of three regiments. The Native Guards “took the field” in November 1862 and were not then recognized by the War Department. On Saxton, a native of Greenfield, MA, and his abolitionist upbringing see Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1964), 152–54.

24. Williams, *Negro Troops*, 99; Salvatore, *We All Got History*, 116.

25. “Sentiments of the Colored People of Boston upon the War,” *Liberator*, 26 April 1861, 67.

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In the struggle between the Federal Government and the rebels, the colored men asked the question, "Why should we fight?" The question was a legitimate one, at least for those residing in the Northern States, and especially in those States where there were any considerable number of colored people. In every State north of Mason and Dixon's Line, except Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which attempted to raise a regiment of colored men, the blacks are disfranchised, excluded from the jury-box, and in most of them from the public schools. The iron hand of prejudice in the Northern States is as circumscribing and unyielding upon him as the manacles that fettered the slave of the South.

Now, these are facts, deny it who will.²⁶

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church agreed with Brown: African Americans, the AME maintained, should "let the government take care of itself and give our labors for the slave and the slave alone," the *Anglo-African* reported in April 1861.²⁷ African American laborer Eli T. Harmon later put it this way in a verse in the AME's weekly newspaper *Christian Recorder*:

If Afric's son do have to fight
They must be heirs to glory;
And till they do receive their rights
I don't think they need hurry.²⁸

Still, Frederick Douglass among others continued to agitate for an African American military presence. In August 1861 his editorial "Fighting Rebels with Only One Hand" again gave voice to his frustration with Lincoln's policy:

Our Presidents, Governors, Generals and Secretaries are calling, with almost frantic vehemence, for men.—"Men! men! send us men!" they scream, or the cause of the Union is gone . . . and yet these very officers, representing the people and the Government, steadily and persistently refuse to receive the very class of men which have a deeper interest in the defeat and humiliation of the rebels, than all others. . . .

26. William Wells Brown, *The Negro in the American Rebellion: His Heroism and His Fidelity* (1866; new ed., Boston: A. G. Brown and Co., 1880), 54, 142.

27. *Weekly Anglo-African*, 27 April 1861.

28. Eli T. Harmon, "The Day is Dawning, Awake, Arise!" *Christian Recorder*, 28 March 1863. Harmon, who lived in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, signed the poem and dated it 9 March 1863. Harmon's may be the first published poem written by an African American on the subject of Civil War black enlistment. See Appendix A.

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What a spectacle of blind, unreasoning prejudice and pusillanimity is this! . . . We would tell him that this is no time to fight with one hand, when both are needed; that this is no time to fight only with your white hand, and allow your black hand to remain tied. . . . While the Government continues to refuse the aid of colored men, thus alienating them from the national cause; and giving the rebels the advantage of them, it will not deserve better fortunes than it has thus far experienced.²⁹

Douglass had grown tired of the Lincoln Administration's search for a way, as he put it, "to use the negro which would the least shock and offend the popular prejudice against him" as well as its refusal to proclaim slavery as the root cause of the conflict. Numerous white abolitionists felt similarly. Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner used an analogy similar to Douglass's. "The Union army, thus far, is like a single blade of a pair of scissors, which though of choicest steel with sharpest edge, must be comparatively useless," he said. "Let the other blade be conjoined, and the instrument will be perfect, warranted to cut." Like many African Americans, Massachusetts Governor John A. Andrew did not accept the popularly accepted premise of the war. "The war has gone on, under protest, as it were, that it was not intended to conquer the South, but to 'restore the Union.' I think all that talk twaddle; but babes must have milk, meat comes afterwards," he wrote to the abolitionist Frank W. Bird in December 1861. ". . . The people now understand the case twenty times better than they did last July—far better than even three months ago. And, in the stern necessity of the logic of the war, they will reach the point of grappling with Slavery, and turning the guns of that fortress against the power of Slavery itself." Abolitionist and author Lydia Maria Child was among the most disgusted at the government's handling of the issue:

From the very outset of this war, I said we should never effectually put down the rebellion till we emancipated the slaves, treated them in a manner to gain their confidence, and made the fullest use of their knowledge of the rebel country, and of their natural antipathy to their masters. We have been woefully, but I trust not *fatally*, blind to our own *interest*, to say nothing of the great principles of *justice* and *humanity*. I wish the North had been great and good enough to have met this crisis in a spirit as devoted to freedom, as the South is to slavery. But long subservience to an unprincipled oligarchy had too far demoralized the people to admit of their being worthy champions of a great universal idea of human rights.³⁰

29. Quoted in McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 164.

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By May 1862 Andrew had begun to put his case for raising black regiments to the Secretary of War much as African Americans conceived it. Massachusetts men, he wrote, would not be willing to serve unless the federal government made emancipation a stated aim of the war and recruited black men to fight it.³¹ In the same month Robert Gould Shaw appears first to have entertained the concept of African American troops. Shaw was then serving in the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment with Robert Morris Copeland, a native of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who was assistant adjutant general to the 2nd's commander Nathaniel P. Banks. Copeland, Shaw wrote, thought only of slavery, "and he is always fuming and raging about it." Committed to the idea of enlisting black troops, he wrote to Stanton proposing it early in May. When he received no reply he took Shaw, then a lieutenant, with him to call on Massachusetts congressmen and convince them of its merit. These men, Copeland said, "nearly all discouraged the plan, commending the idea, but deciding that nothing could be successfully done about it." Copeland, undeterred, then went directly to Stanton, as Shaw reported in a letter to his father:

You will be surprised to see that I am in Washington. I came down with Major Copeland to see if I could assist him at all, in a plan he has made for getting up a black regiment. He says, very justly, that it would be much wiser to enlist men in the North, who have had the courage to run away, and already have suffered for their freedom, than to take them all from contrabands at Port Royal and other places. . . . Copeland wants me to take hold of the black regiment with him, if he can get permission to raise it, and offers me a major's commission in it. . . . Copeland thinks that the raising [of] black regiments will be an era in our history, and the greatest thing that has ever been done for the negro race.³²

30. "Emancipation. Its Policy and Security as a War Measure," *Liberator*, 10 October 1862, 2. See also Grimké, *Life of Sumner*, 351–52. Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew Governor of Massachusetts 1861–1865* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1904), 2:3; Lydia Maria Child, Wayland MA, to William Lloyd Garrison Haskins, 30 April 1863, in Milton Meltzer and Patricia G. Holland, eds., *Lydia Maria Child: Selected Letters, 1817–80* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 427.

31. Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, 2:18; Abbott, *Cotton & Capital*, 94. In a letter dated 1 May 1862, Andrew acknowledged that "no official information has been had concerning the plans for raising colored regts. for garrison duty." If Andrew then shared the widely held view that black soldiers would be used only in that capacity, by 1863 he did not. See Andrew to Francis H. Fletcher, 1 May 1862, reel 13, Records of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment (hereafter 54th Records), Massachusetts Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

32. Robert G. Shaw, Maryland Heights, to Mrs. Sarah B. Shaw, 8 August 1861, quoted in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 125. Duncan (ibid. 24–25, 202) states that after Stanton refused to authorize such a regiment Copeland published an "open letter" in an unnamed Boston newspaper urging Stanton to reconsider his refusal, a letter that resulted in his dismissal. On 27 May 1867 "An Appeal from Gen.

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Stanton refused Copeland's suggestion, and the administration made no move to address it for several months. But Shaw clearly saw Copeland's logic and voiced it at the time in a letter to New York abolitionist and family friend Sydney Howard Gay:

Isn't it extraordinary that the Government won't make use of the instrument that would finish the war sooner than anything else,--viz. the slaves? I have no doubt that they could give more information about the enemy than any one else, and that there would be nothing easier than to have a line of spies right into their camp. What a lick it would be at them, to call on all the blacks in the country to come and enlist in our army! They would probably make a fine army after a little drill, and could certainly be kept under better discipline than our independent Yankees.³³

On 17 July 1862 Congress passed the Militia Act, which repealed the 1792 ban on African American military service and authorized Lincoln to "receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent, persons of African descent" who would when "enrolled and organized . . . receive ten dollars per month and one ration, three dollars of which monthly pay may be in clothing." The act also stated that any African American male enslaved to an individual who had borne arms against the United States was free, as were his mother, his wife, and his children. On the same day Congress enacted the Second Confiscation Act, which authorized the president "to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of the rebellion" and to recruit them for

Banks. To the Men of Massachusetts," signed by Copeland, was published in the *Boston Herald*, the *Boston Traveler*, and the *Springfield Republican*. This appeal urges enlistment but does not mention African American enlistment. Copeland was discharged without explanation, but he suspected his appeal was at the root of it for seeming, as he put it, "to censure my superior officers." See *Statement of R. Morris Copeland, Asst. Adjutant-General and Major of Volunteers, Discharged from Service August 6, 1862* (Boston, Prentiss and Deland, 1864), HathiTrust, which reprints "An Appeal to Massachusetts" (15–17).

33. Robert G. Shaw, Maryland Heights, to Mr. [Sydney Howard] Gay, 6 August 1861, quoted in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 122–23, and, with slightly different wording, in *Lay This Laurel: An Album on the Saint-Gaudens Memorial on Boston Common, Honoring Black and White Men Together Who Served the Union Cause with Robert Gould Shaw and Died with Him July 18, 1863 [with Photographs by Richard Benson and an Essay by Lincoln Kirstein]* (New York: Eakins Press, 1973), unpaginated. Sydney Howard Gay, a native of Hingham, MA, was then on the staff of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*; he became its managing editor in 1864. Gay was long active in New York City's Underground Railroad and was a neighbor of Shaw's parents on Staten Island.

34. David Herbert Donald, *Charles Sumner* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996), 2: 62–63, 388; McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 28, 41, 48, 167.

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military and naval service. In September, five days after the Union victory at the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued a draft of his proclamation to free all enslaved persons in the seceding states if these states did not return to the Union fold by 1 January 1863.

The draft Emancipation Proclamation also recommended eventual compensation to enslavers in those states that returned to the Union and endorsed all efforts “to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there.”³⁴ To African Americans, these provisions again demonstrated Lincoln’s ambivalence about them. Douglass stated that the proclamation’s colonization clause showed Lincoln to be “a genuine representation of American prejudice and Negro hatred,” and five days after the draft proclamation was issued Frances Harper lambasted it in the *Christian Recorder*.

Heavy is the guilt that hangs upon the neck of this nation, and where is the first sign of national repentance? The least signs of contrition for the wrongs of the Indian or the outrages of the negro? . . . You wonder at the blindness of the nation in refusing the negro’s aid, in rejecting the services of men acquainted with both the enemy and the country, who might have, ere this, led their stumbling feet to victory. I am not surprised. It looks as if the nation, stultified by its crimes, with the loss of its moral power, had also parted with its mental perceptions. . . . The country needs a leader, high and strong, and bold and brave; his heart the home of great and noble purposes, who would count the greatest victory worse than a shameful defeat, if resubjugation of the South would only mean a reconstruction of the Union on its old basis. . . .

The President’s dabbling with colonization just now suggests to my mind the idea of a man almost dying with a loathsome cancer, and busying himself about having his hair trimmed according to the latest fashion. I anticipate no fresh trouble to our people from this new movement. Let the President be answered firmly and respectfully, not in the tones of supplication and entreaty, but of earnestness and decision, that while we admit the right of every man to choose his home, that we neither see the wisdom nor expediency of our self-exportation from a land which has been in a measure enriched by our toil for generations, till we have a birth-right on the soil, and the strongest claims on the nation for that justice and equity which has been withheld from us for ages—ages whose accumulated wrongs have dragged the present wars that overshadow our land.³⁵

35. Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 18; “Mrs. Frances E. Watkins Harper on the War and the President’s Colonization Scheme,” *Christian Recorder*, 27 September 1862. Harper also argued that the nation could not afford to lose such a large part of its population: “Even were we willing to go, is the nation

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Still, a significant number of whites and African Americans believed that the proclamation, which freed only those enslaved in the rebellious states and not those in the loyal states, was the best policy they were likely to see from the Lincoln Administration. “For myself,” Sumner said at Faneuil Hall meeting on 6 October, “I accept the Proclamation without note or comment. It is enough for me, that in the exercise of the war power it strikes at the origin and mainspring of this rebellion, for I have never concealed the conviction that it mattered little where we struck slavery, provided only that we struck sincerely and in earnest.” As African American spokespersons had long done, Sumner summoned the legacy of their heroism as justification for their enlistment:

Wherever I turn in this war, I find the African ready to be our savior. . . . It is now as at earliest stages of our history. The African is performing his patriotic part, so far as you will let him. At the famous massacre, when the first blood of the Revolution reddened the ice-clad pavements of Boston, Crispus Attucks, an African, once a slave, was among the victims. At Bunker Hill, where our homely troops first stood against British valor, Peter Salem, also an African once a slave, was conspicuous for courage, to the cost of the royal officer who scaled the rampart, so that History names him with honor, and Art presents him in the fore-front of the battle. . . . But there are others like him, ready now to do the same service.³⁶

Governor Andrew and Sumner continued to pressure Stanton on this point. So too did George Luther Stearns, who soon after the draft Emancipation Proclamation was issued visited Sumner on one of his trips home to Boston and urged him to advocate raising black regiments. Sumner advised Stearns that the question should be put to Lincoln only after he had made the Emancipation Proclamation official. Stearns, a native of Medford, Massachusetts, and a wealthy manufacturer of linseed oil and lead pipe, was among those who worked to aid the emigration of free whites to the Kansas territory in the 1850s, among those who provided John Brown with rifles to use in the Kansas “border ruffian war,” and, in 1859, among the “Secret Six” who financed Brown’s raid at Harper’s Ferry. In December 1862, according to his son and biographer, Stearns advocated raising black

able to part with us? What Christian land under heaven is able to part with four millions of its laboring population? And should this country ever emerge from this dreadful war, with its resources diminished, its strength crippled, and industry paralyzed, will it not want our labor to help rebuild the ravages of war and the wastes of carnage?”

36. *The Works of Charles Sumner* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1874), 7: 197–236.

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troops at his own town meeting and “was hissed for his pains by the same men who were afterwards saved from the conscription of 1863 by the negroes whom he recruited.”³⁷

For his part, Robert Gould Shaw saw the draft proclamation “as an act of justice, and to have real effect, it ought to have been done long ago. . . . but still, as a *war-measure*, I don’t see the immediate benefit of it, and I think much of the moral force of the act has been lost by our long delay in coming to it.”³⁸ Many agreed. In a late October 1862 letter to Shaw’s mother, Lydia Maria Child questioned why the proclamation did not take effect immediately and declared, “The ugly fact cannot be concealed from history that it was done reluctantly and stintedly, and that even the degree that *was* accomplished was done selfishly; was merely a war-measure, to which we were forced by our own perils and necessities; and that no recognition of principles of justice or humanity surrounded the politic act with a halo of moral glory. This war has furnished many instances of *individual* nobility, but our national record is *mean*.”³⁹ The day before Lincoln made the proclamation official, George E. Stephens believed the “pro-slavery pressure” on Lincoln might force its being withheld. He wrote on 31 December 1862 from his camp near Fredericksburg, “If military necessity, three months ago, required emancipation, the military necessity of the present time must require it still the more. The battle of Fredericksburg placed it beyond a doubt, and if it be withheld, it will be because slavery is preferred to honor, country, or right.”⁴⁰ Later, when he was a lieutenant in the 54th Regiment, Stephens was much harsher in his evaluation of the proclamation:

United States Emancipation is a nondescript. It is prospective and walled around with conditions—a creature—an abortion wrung from the Executive womb by necessity—“brought into this world not half made up”—the dogs laugh at it as they pass. It being

37. Frank Preston Stearns, *The Life and Public Services of George Luther Stearns* (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1907), 44, 58, 88–89, 119, 133, 137, 140; see also Edward J. Renehan Jr., *The Secret Six: The True Tale of the Men who Conspired with John Brown* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1995). Donald, *Sumner*, 2:119, states that Sumner “persistently demanded the enrolling of Negro troops and personally interceded with Lincoln to support officers like General Rufus Saxton who promoted the enlistment of freedmen in the army” during the 1862–63 congressional session. Lydia Maria Child was Stearns’s aunt through marriage.

38. Stearns, *Stearns*, 285; Shaw to Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw, 5 October 1862, d in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 252.

39. Lydia Maria Child to Sarah Saw, 30 October 1862, in Meltzer and Holland, ed., *Lydia Maria Child*, 419.

40. Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 218.

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no purpose of the Administration to touch the Divine (!!) Institution, and its heart so tender and sensitive of the slaveholders' interests it would not think of such a thing. . . . United States Emancipation is the fulmination of one man, by virtue of his military authority, who proposed to free the slaves of that portion of territory over which he has no control, while those portions of slave territory under control of the Union armies is exempted, and slavery receives as much protection as it ever did. . . . United States Emancipation fails to accuse the Giant Criminal of any of its manifold crimes—its atrocious guilt—from the shambles on the Coast to the plantations in the South, including the fearful sufferings of the middle passage; its piracy, its murder, its lust, its cruelty, its moral debasement, and finally, its encroachment, its insolence, and its rebellion and warfare against the nation that has so tenderly nursed it and still feeds it with the pap of indulgence. Verily, the Emancipation Proclamation is a symbol of national selfishness, an indice of a blind infatuation, and a fulmination of Executive folly and indecision.⁴¹

In late December 1862, Sumner met with Lincoln and Stanton and wrote home to assure his friends and supporters that Lincoln would indeed issue the Emancipation Proclamation. On Christmas Day he wrote to Joshua Bowen Smith, “I am happy to assure you that the President will stand firm. He is now in favor of employing colored troops to occupy the posts on the Mississippi River, South Carolina, and the Southern places.” He was more candid in a letter he wrote three days later to John Murray Forbes. “I find Stanton unusually sanguine and confident. He says that he shall have 200,000 negroes under arms before June, holding the Mississippi River and garrisoning the ports, so that our white soldiers can go elsewhere. The President accepts this idea.”⁴² As soon as Lincoln issued the proclamation on 1 January 1863 (essentially the same as the draft but without the compensation and colonization clauses), Andrew renewed his campaign for a Massachusetts African American regiment. Either he or his emissary Forbes, or both, went to Washington to meet with Stanton. “Our Rulers . . . seem at last open to the necessity of using the negro for our own salvation first and secondly for his own,” Forbes wrote to Andrew from Washington. A week later the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society declared that the proclamation, “while essential to the salvation of the country,” was not enough. “The exigencies of the country, moral consistency, and the highest

41. Stephens, Morris Island SC, to *Anglo-African*, 1 April 1864, in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 18, 323–24.

42. Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881), 4:113; Hughes, *Forbes*, 1:353.

political wisdom demand the immediate suppression of the remaining portion of slavery, exempted in the President's Proclamation," the society resolved. William Lloyd Garrison, who had long advocated "disunion with slaveholders," declared himself "now a tenacious Unionist. I am not willing, now, that the South shall go; for I think God has delivered her into our hands (loud applause)—not to do her any evil, but to save her from their deadliest curse and her colossal crime; and it will be to the everlasting condemnation of the Government, if it allow this sublime opportunity to pass without breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free throughout the land."⁴³

Raising the 54th

On 26 January 1863, Edwin Stanton authorized two efforts to recruit African American soldiers, one North and one South. He sent Brigadier General Daniel Ullman, captured and held at Libby Prison after the Battle of Cedar Mountain, to Louisiana to form four African American infantry regiments and a battalion of "mounted scouts."⁴⁴ And he permitted Andrew to raise regiments that "may include persons of African descent, organized into special corps."

Andrew, an abolitionist for years, may certainly have arrived at the idea of African American troops on his own, but several sources claim that Lewis Hayden first proposed it to him. Hayden, born enslaved in Kentucky about 1815, had escaped in 1844 to Canada, resettled in Detroit, and then, anxious to be closer to the center of antislavery agitation, came East to New Bedford and finally to Boston by the late 1840s (fig. 1.5). He was a clothing dealer whose home on Southac (now Phillips) Street in the African American West End sheltered scores of fugitives. Always an active abolitionist, Hayden had become a messenger for the Massachusetts Secretary of State in 1858 and knew Andrew well. According to one of Hayden's 1889 obituaries, "Mr. Hayden used to say, with a good deal of pride, that the first Thanksgiving dinner that Gov. Andrew ate after his election as the chief magistrate of the state was at his (Hayden's) house on Phillips street." This obituary and Stearns's biographer both assert that Hayden "claimed the credit" for

43. "Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," *Liberator*, 6 February 1863, 2.

44. Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 20; Williams, *Negro Troops*, 102–4; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 2–3; *Memorial R. G. S.* (Cambridge: University Press, 1864), 2–3. Forbes had been interested in raising black troops in the South since the fall of Sumter.



Fig. 1.5. Lewis Hayden, undated photograph. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

having suggested that Andrew organize an African American regiment, though Andrew's biographer did not mention Hayden's role.⁴⁵

African Americans may have been involved as well in Andrew's selection of Robert Gould Shaw, then a captain in the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry, to command the prospective regiment. At least one account states that Andrew "sought out" Joshua Bowen Smith, who suggested Shaw, whom he had known since he was a boy. John Murray Forbes, Shaw's

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distant cousin, recommended Shaw as well as the brothers Norwood Penrose Hallowell and Edward Needles Hallowell, sons of Quaker abolitionist and Philadelphia merchant Morris Hallowell; Forbes, with his usual flippancy, described Edward as “a tip top man, a regular Negrophile.”⁴⁶ On 30 January 1863 Andrew wrote to Shaw’s father Francis George Shaw, who had moved his family from West Roxbury, Massachusetts, to Staten Island in the late 1840s, to ask him to offer the position of colonel to his son. Andrew stated that the “colored regiment” he was about to raise was “perhaps the most important corps to be organized during the whole war,” and he told Shaw that its officers “must necessarily be gentlemen of the highest tone and honor; and I shall look for them in those circles of educated antislavery society, which, next to the colored race itself, have the greatest interest in this experiment.”⁴⁷ Shaw’s reluctance to accept the offer has been well chronicled, as has his decision ultimately to accept it. He articulated the realization to which he had come in a letter to his fiancée, Annie Haggerty, on 8 February:

You know by this time, perhaps, that I have changed my mind about the black regiment. After Father left, I began to think I had made a mistake in refusing Governor Andrew’s offer. . . . It is needless for me to overwhelm you with a quantity of arguments in favour of the negro troops; because you are with Mother, the warmest advocate the cause can have. I am inclined to think that the undertaking will not meet with so much opposition as was at first supposed. All sensible men in the army, of all parties, after a little thought, say it is the best thing that can be done; and surely those at home, who are not brave or patriotic enough to enlist, should not ridicule, or throw obstacles in the way of men who are going to fight for them. . . . You know how many eminent men consider a negro army of the greatest importance to our country at this time. If it turns out to be so, how fully repaid the pioneers in the movement will be, for what they may have to go through! And at any rate I feel convinced I shall

45. “Death of Lewis Hayden,” *Boston Herald*, 8 April 1889, 1; Stearns, *Stearns*, 285–86. Stearns described Hayden as “the colored janitor at the statehouse.” Hayden’s work with fugitives is amply documented, in particular in [Francis Jackson], “The Boston Vigilance Committee Appointed at the Public Meeting in Faneuil Hall October 21st 1850 to Assist Fugitive Slaves Treasurers Accounts” (facsimile of account book, Boston Athenaeum, n.d.) (hereafter [Jackson], “Treasurers Accounts”).

46. “Idea of a Colored Man: Joshua Benton [*sic*] Smith, a Warm Admirer of Col Shaw, First to Suggest an Equestrian Memorial,” *Boston Daily Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7; Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 21, 28. John Murray Forbes’s mother Margaret Perkins Forbes was the sister of Elizabeth Perkins Sturgis, great-grandmother of Robert Gould Shaw.

47. Gov. John A. Andrew, Boston, to Francis G. Shaw, Staten Island, NY, 30 January 1863, in Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 3, and *Memorial R.G.S.*, 2–5.

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never regretting having taken this step, as far as I myself am concerned; for while I was undecided I felt ashamed of myself, as if I were cowardly.⁴⁸

Shaw's reference to his mother is telling, as most accounts suggest that he changed his mind about the commission because she believed he should. Though never cited as prominent in the movement and not, as one of their daughters later asserted, "among the earliest abolitionists in Massachusetts," Francis George Shaw (1809–82) and Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw (1815–1902) were committed abolitionists from at least 1838, when they joined the five-year-old American Anti-Slavery Society.⁴⁹ British novelist Elizabeth Gaskell stated that the Shaws were not fanatical about antislavery but were rather "deeply impressed with the sense of a great national sin, in which they themselves were, to a certain degree, implicated." Lydia Maria Child, a close friend of the couple since at least that time, asserted on unstated grounds that abolitionism had deeper roots in the Shaw family. In October 1863, three months after the death of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, she wrote in the *Liberator* that in 1853 Shaw's dying grandfather, also Robert Gould Shaw (1776–1853), told two of his grandsons, one of them being Robert, "to use your example and influence against intemperance and slavery." Child added that in his final moments the elder Shaw "seemed dreamily to pass into a land of vision, and his lips murmured words of recognition to departed friends and relatives, as if he already saw them in the spirit world. One of these murmuring recognitions indicated the kindly sympathies of his great, good heart. 'Ah,' said he, 'here is an old negro just come into this world. He has been a slave. Poor fellow! how much he has suffered!'"⁵⁰

48. Robert Gould Shaw, Stafford Court House, VA, to Annie Haggerty, 8 February 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 285–86.

49. See Lydia Maria Child, Northampton, MA, to Francis G. and Sarah S. Shaw, 17 August 1838, in Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Lydia Maria Child*, 85–86, which makes plain how unfamiliar the Shaws then were with organized abolitionism. In this letter Child clarified that the American Anti-Slavery Society did not "require abstinence" from the products of enslaved labor, though some individual members, including herself, did abstain as a matter of conscience. In 1833 Child had written to Francis Shaw's then-unmarried sister Sarah thanking for her donation to the antislavery cause, so "Frank" may have been committed to the reform for some years before joining any organized society. See *Letters of Lydia Maria Child* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1883), 12. His daughter's statement is cited in Joan Waugh, "'It was a Sacrifice We Owed': The Shaw Family and the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment," in Martin Blatt, Thomas J. Brown, and Donald Yacovone, eds., *Hope and Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press with Massachusetts Historical Society, 2001), 65.

50. Mrs. Gaskell, "Robert Gould Shaw," *Macmillan's Magazine* 9 (December 1863): 114; Mrs. Child, "A Tribute to Colonel Robert G. Shaw," *Liberator*, 21 August 1863, 4, restated in part in Teamoh, *Life and*

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In 1842 Francis George Shaw effectively retired from the family maritime and mercantile business and moved his family to West Roxbury, next to the utopian community Brook Farm. The Shaws were part of the Unitarian parish of abolitionist Theodore Parker, and after the family moved to Staten Island between 1846 and 1848 they lived near and associated closely with Sydney Howard Gay (1814–88), a native of Massachusetts who was the editor of the American Anti-Slavery Society’s newspaper *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (beginning in 1843), a general agent for the society, and an active assistant to fugitives escaping slavery as secretary of the New York City Committee of Vigilance.⁵¹ On 1 November 1850, less than two months after the Fugitive Slave Act became federal law and only days after the fugitive-assisting Boston Vigilance Committee was revived as a consequence, Francis G. Shaw was one of the first twenty people to contribute to its work.⁵² The family was in Europe from 1850 to 1856, the height of antislavery agitation, but their correspondence with Child and other abolitionists kept them well abreast of the

Death of Shaw, 10, and in “‘Forward, Fifty-Four!’” *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1897, 33, which Teamoh probably wrote. Robert Thomas Teamoh (1860–1912) was born in Boston and was the son of Thomas and Margaret Patterson Teamoh, formerly enslaved in Norfolk, Virginia; his father’s half-brother was the fugitive George Teamoh (see F. N. Boney, Richard L. Hume, and Rafia Zafar, *God Made Man, Man Made the Slave: The Autobiography of George Teamoh* [Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1990]). Robert Teamoh was a reporter for the *Boston Globe* from 1889 until he died. The tale of the deathbed meeting may be apocryphal. Although Child states that the 14-year-old Robert Gould Shaw was one of the two grandsons present at his grandfather’s death, Joan Waugh has noted that he was probably not there. He wrote to his mother about a month later from his school in Switzerland, “The reason I didn’t say anything about grandfather’s death was because I didn’t know what to say.” See Robert Gould Shaw to Sarah Blake Shaw, 24 June 1853, in *Letters: Robert Gould Shaw*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, cited in Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer*, 248 n. 32.

51. See Don Papson and Tom Calarco, *Secret Lives of the Underground Railroad in New York City: Sydney Howard Gay, Louise Napoleon, and the Record of Fugitives* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2015); Kathryn Grover, “The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts: Statement of Historic Context” (Report, Massachusetts Historical Commission, 2004), https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/upload/MassUGRR.pdf. Gay’s “Record of Fugitives” is in the Sydney Howard Gay Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

52. See [Jackson], “Treasurers Accounts.” Unaccountably, Shaw is listed as of “West Roxbury” even though he had moved to Staten Island. Joan Waugh, “‘Sacrifice We Owed,’” 58, states that Sarah Shaw was a member of the “women’s auxiliary to the New England Anti-Slavery Society, formed by Maria Weston Chapman,” but that society had no women’s auxiliary. Waugh probably meant the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, which Chapman did help to found, but Sarah Shaw’s name is not shown among its members on the website American Abolitionists and Antislavery Activists, www.americanabolitionists.com. During and after the war Francis Shaw was a key mover in work among newly freed people and was a vice president and executive committee member of the American Freedmen’s Union Commission. He had lobbied the US Congress at least twice, once to urge the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and later to create the Freedman’s Bureau. See Waugh, “‘Sacrifice We Owed,’” 72, and *Unsentimental Reformer*, 89–90.

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movement. The Shaws returned to Staten Island, and by January 1862 Francis Shaw had begun gathering money, food, clothing, and supplies for contrabands. In November of the same year Sarah Shaw gave former fugitive Harriet Jacobs a financial contribution toward her work among refugees from slavery in Alexandria, Virginia, then part of the District of Columbia.⁵³ As the war wore on Sarah Shaw called slavery a “dreadful curse” that “has so permeated the people, and . . . had caused such a rot in society, that it still holds many in its horrid grasp.” Every Union defeat, she stated, “opens hundreds of blind eyes to the fact that slavery is at the bottom of all.”⁵⁴

Governor Andrew’s decision to ask Robert Gould Shaw to command the Massachusetts 54th was very likely based more on what he knew of Francis and Sarah Shaw than of what he knew of Robert. In his 30 January 1863 letter to Francis Shaw, Andrew admitted that he knew little about their son except what he had learned of “his general character and reputation.” Andrew sought “young men of military experience, of firm antislavery principles, ambitious, superior to a vulgar contempt for color, and having faith in the capacity of colored men for military service”—characteristics the young Robert Gould Shaw did not fully possess at that time but that his parents, less the military service, demonstrably did.⁵⁵ When in early February Shaw accepted the colonelcy his mother wrote to him, “Now I feel ready to die, for I see you willing to give your support to the cause of truth that is lying crushed and bleeding.”⁵⁶

With the 54th’s commander and some supporting officers in place, Andrew set about raising the troops, and in mid-February he appointed a committee to manage that task. The committee included, among others, Stearns, Forbes, the Hallowells’ brother Richard Price Hallowell, and Francis G. Shaw, who was to oversee recruitment in and around New York City.⁵⁷ No people of color were on the so-called “Black Committee,” a fact that Robert Gould Shaw noted in a letter to his mother in late February. “At the meeting Richard Hallowell said it would please the coloured population to have some influential

53. See Lydia Maria Child, Wayland, to Francis Shaw, 28 January 1862, and to Sarah Shaw, 11 November 1862, in Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Lydia Maria Child*, 401, 420. See also Jean Fagan Yellin, *Harriet Jacobs: A Life* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2004), 157–61.

54. Shaw quoted in Waugh, “‘Sacrifice We Owed,’” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 71.

55. Gov. John A. Andrew, Boston, to Francis G. Shaw, Staten Island, NY, 30 January 1863, quoted in Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 3.

56. Quoted in Joan Waugh, “‘Sacrifice We Owed,’” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 70–71.

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darkey on the committee—and cousin John [Forbes] told him he would like to take in a nigger and turn him (H.) out, which naturally caused some merriment,” Shaw wrote. “I didn’t see the Governor’s mouth twitch, and I like him more every day.”⁵⁸ Still, Andrew met with black Bostonians to ask them if African Americans would enlist. Norwood “Pen” Hallowell later described this meeting:

In 1863 Governor Andrew obtained permission to recruit citizens of African descent into regiments to be commanded exclusively by white officers. The governor counseled with certain leading colored men of Boston. He put the question, “will your people enlist in my regiments?” “They will not,” was the reply of all but Hayden. “We have no objection to white officers, but our self-respect demands that competent colored men shall be at least eligible to promotion.” I am not prepared to say that the discrimination caused no feeling of indignant protest to pass through the mind of Lewis Hayden, but this I do know—that no word of discouragement escaped his lips. His unerring judgment saw that it was better to make a beginning; that white officers could better protect the colored men against the indignities to be expected from the white regiments of the Union army, and that when the colored soldiers had once been tested in the field, this unworthy prejudice would be measurably a thing of the past.⁵⁹

The placement of white officers in the new African American regiment was an order from Stanton, and from early February Andrew had tried, on his own and through Sumner, to convince Stanton to yield at least in some measure. He telegraphed Stanton on 3 February to point out that the “Congressional bill passed house representatives does not prohibit colored officers in colored Regiments. Will you withdraw prohibition as far as concerns line officers assistant surgeons & chaplain of my proposed colored Regt. It will avoid difficulty. Power would not be used except possibly for few cases of plainly competent persons, recommended [*sic*] by the field officers who shall be gentlemen & soldiers of highest merit & influence.” In another telegram four days later Andrew indicated he

57. Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 11; Luis F. Emilio Notes, reel 13, 54th Records, MHS. Emilio’s book stated that Andrew formed the committee on 15 February, but his notes give 20 February as the date. It was likely the 15th, as Forbes wrote on 16 February, “Now I am busy, besides the Second Cavalry, in raising a negro regiment.” Forbes met Andrew about 1859, and Andrew put him in charge of arranging to move the first Massachusetts-raised regiments South because, Forbes said, “of my connection with vessels and railroads.” Forbes had begun his career in the China trade but had turned to transportation investments, particularly railroads, by the late 1840s. See Hughes, *Forbes*, 1:1, 2:205–7, 2:233.

58. Robert G. Shaw, Boston, to his mother, 20 February 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 290.

59. N. P. H., “Lewis and Harriet Hayden,” clipping from unidentified newspaper dated 28 December 1893, in Scrapbook vol. 3, page 30, Norwood Penrose Hallowell Papers, MHS.

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had candidates in mind—a member of the Suffolk County bar and another of the “MA Medical Society speaking four languages.” Most likely he was thinking of Robert Morris, who had been a member of the state bar since 1847, and John Van Surly DeGrasse, the first African American to be admitted to the state’s medical society in 1854. At least one other man might have been considered: the *Springfield Republican* stated that Lewis Gaul of the Liberty Guard “will be assigned a high command in the negro regiments”; reporting the same speculation, the *Boston Post* added that Gaul “would get a regiment into fighting order better than half the brigadiers in the service.” Yet no reply from Stanton to either Andrew or Sumner has been located, and Stanton later agreed to allow only African American chaplains and a limited number of surgeons.⁶⁰

African Americans in Boston strongly opposed the commissioning of white officers for the 54th, according to local newspapers. “The colored people in this vicinity,” the *Boston Daily Evening Traveler* reported on 9 February, “are not very well pleased with the proposition to raise a colored regiment with white officers and . . . the movement will not be aided by them”; the *Boston Post* reported a “diversity of disposition” among New Bedford African Americans about enlisting.⁶¹ In his 1904 biography of Robert Gould Shaw, African American journalist Robert Thomas Teamoh recalled that “some opposition was aroused among the colored men themselves by the fact that all of the officers of the projected regiments were white. Indignation meetings were held in several colored churches in Boston and elsewhere to protest against the raising of the regiment under the proscribed conditions.”⁶²

No Boston newspaper appears to have reported on these meetings nor to have cited the views of individual African Americans on the subject. A brief article in the *Boston Post*

60. John A. Andrew to Hon. E. M. Stanton, 3 and 7 February 1863, quoted in Berlin, ed., *Freedom*, 336–37; Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, 2:73, 84; *Springfield Republican*, 5 February 1863, 4; *Boston Post*, 5 February 1863, 4. John V. S. DeGrasse (1825–68) received his medical degree at Bowdoin College in 1849 and began practicing in Boston shortly after his marriage in 1852. He served as an assistant surgeon in the 1st North Carolina Regiment (later 35th United States Colored Infantry) from April 1863 until November 1864, when he was court-martialed and found guilty for “drunkenness on duty” and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman and was cashiered. According to Anthony W. Neal, “John Van Surly DeGrasse: Boston’s Pioneering Black Surgeon,” *Bay State Banner*, 15 May 2014, DeGrasse was one of eight African American surgeons in the Union forces and the only one who served in the field with his regiment; some suspect the charges against him were racially motivated.

61. *Boston Daily Evening Traveler*, 9 February 1863; *Boston Post*, 17 February 1863.

62. Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 17.

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suggests why. After the “recruiting officers” were elected, the *Post* stated, “arrangements were made for public meetings in several of the cities, at which it was proposed that the friends of the colored citizens, of the white race, should speak encouraging words.” At the Boston meeting at the African Baptist Church on 16 February, each of the white speakers—jurist Thomas Russell, Edward L. Pierce, and Wendell Phillips—acknowledged the reported “reluctance” of men of color “not to have officers of your own color,” as Phillips put it. “This may be wrong, for I think you have as much right to the first commission in a brigade as a white man. No regiment should be raised without a mixture of the races. . . . But if you cannot have a whole loaf, will you not take a slice?” Russell told those assembled that though they had a “right” to be officers, “If you want commissions, go earn and get them. Never let it be said that, when the country called, this reason kept back a single man from the army.”⁶³ After these addresses Robert Morris spoke. What he said was nowhere reported, but it may be inferred from statements he made at the New England Anti-Slavery Society meeting on 28 May 1863, the day the 54th Regiment left Boston. Morris declared that Massachusetts should not have sent the regiment South without a single African American officer and asserted that young black men had applied for commissions and had been denied. The *Liberator* reported him to have said that for his part he had determined “not to lift a finger for that Regiment, and he had never asked and never would ask any man to enlist in it. Surgeons and chaplains of their own color were alike refused to the 54th. Whatever be the state of mind of the slaves at the South, the intelligent young black men of the North know their rights, and will not submit to a curtailment of them.”⁶⁴ Those who stood back from enlisting probably shared the views of Morris and of Philadelphia African American merchant and abolitionist Robert Purvis, who wrote in mid-February that year:

Notwithstanding the advances made by the government in forming regiments of colored men, it argues a sad misapprehension of the character, aspirations and self-respect of colored men, to suppose that they would submit to the degrading limitations which the government imposes in regard to the officering of said regiments. From that position and error, the government must recede, or else . . . failure to secure the right kind of men will be the result.⁶⁵

63. “The Negro Regiment,” *Boston Post*, 23 February 1863, 1; “The Negro Regiment—Meeting of the Colored Citizens,” *Liberator*, 20 February 1863, 3, reprinted from the *Boston Herald*, 17 February 1863.

64. “New England Anti-Slavery Convention,” *Liberator*, 5 June 1863.

65. McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 176–77.

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Indeed, the issue of commissioning African American officers remained a sore point among the black troops for nearly the entire rest of the war, and “failure to secure the right kind of men” plagued the later lives of the 54th and 55th Regiments.

The initial strategy of white encouragement was not productive—the *Boston Post* reported on 17 February that recruiting for the 54th “is not very brisk”—and must have prompted the recruiting committee to take a different tack. Before the month of February was out, it had asked three African American men—William Wells Brown, the New Bedford and Boston physician John B. Smith, and abolitionist orator Charles Lenox Remond of Salem—to aid in recruiting.⁶⁶ Brown thereupon developed a connection with the Shaw family. In a 20 February letter to his mother, Robert Gould Shaw stated that the committee wanted his father “to find some responsible & respectable coloured men, who can help enlistments in New York & Brooklyn. . . . There should be no noise made about it, as N.Y. authorities might object to our taking them from there. No recruiting office should be opened.” Four days later Shaw wrote to his father that the committee had hired Brown “to go to New York and help along the enlistments there. He will call at your office immediately after his arrival.”⁶⁷

At the same time Stearns, in charge of recruiting for the regiment in the West, hired Frederick Douglass for the same task at ten dollars a week. To Douglass, the refusal to commission black officers was just one in a litany of poor decisions based on racist ideology—consigning black soldiers to fatigue duty, stationing them in “unhealthy localities,” compelling them to wear uniforms different from those of the white rank and file, offering them lesser pay than whites. “The nominal conditions upon which colored men were asked to enlist were not satisfactory to me or to them,” he wrote in his last biography, “but assurances from Governor Andrew that they would in the end be made just and equal, together with my faith in the logic of events and my conviction that the wise thing for the colored man to do was to get into the army by any door open to him, no matter how narrow, made me accept with alacrity the work to which I was invited.” “It

66. “Recruiting for the 54th Regiment,” *Liberator*, 27 February 1863, 3.

67. Robert Gould Shaw to Sarah S. Shaw, 20 February 1863; Shaw to Francis G. Shaw, 24 February 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 290, 298. Brown introduced Robert John Simmons, a native of Bermuda and former member of the British Army, to Francis G. Shaw, who thought he would make “a valuable soldier”; see the later account of Simmons in this chapter. Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 209.

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is a little cruel to say to the black soldier that he shall not rise to an officer of the United States whatever may be his merits,” Douglass stated in a letter soon afterward to Upstate New York abolitionist Gerrit Smith. Yet, the whole loaf being denied, he could accept the slice. “Shall colored men enlist notwithstanding this unjust and ungenerous barrier raised against them? We answer yes,” he stated in *Douglass’ Monthly* in March 1863. “Go into the army and go with a will and a determination to blot out this and all other mean discriminations against us. To say we won’t be soldiers because we cannot be colonels is like saying we won’t go into the water till we have learned to swim.”⁶⁸

Other African Americans, in Boston and elsewhere, recruited for the 54th. Boston Baptist minister Leonard Grimes advised a meeting of men of color in New Bedford “to respond to the call of the Governor.” William C. Nell paraphrased Grimes’s address for the *Liberator*. “He replied to the objection that colored men would not enlist under white officers, by remarking that so soon as they showed their ability to lead, their promotion was assured; that Governor Andrew would recognize the merit, as he had the rights of black men.”⁶⁹ Robert Hamilton, editor of the New York *Anglo-African*, juxtaposed the issue of black officers with what he perceived to be the real significance of black military service:

Can you ask any more than a chance to drive bayonet or bullet into the slaveholders’ hearts? Are you most anxious to be captains and colonels, or to extirpate these vipers from the face of the earth? The government has clothed you with citizenship, and has announced the freedom of all our brethren within the grasp of the rebellion, is there any higher, any nobler duty than to rush into the heart of the South, and pluck out from the grasp of the slaveholders the victims of their lust and tyranny?⁷⁰

On 9 or 10 February 1863 the committee opened a recruiting office in Boston’s largely African American West End, at the corner of Cambridge and North Russell Streets and under the management of second lieutenant John Whittier Messer Appleton. Appleton’s later account of the regiment’s first recruits differs slightly from military records, but

68. “Movers,” *Douglass’ Monthly*, April 1863; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 781; Douglass to Gerrit Smith, 6 March 1863, quoted in Celeste-Marie Bernier and Andrew Taylor, *If I Survive: Frederick Douglass and Family in the Walter O. Evans Collection* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2018), 113; *Douglass’ Monthly*, March 1863, quoted in McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 178.

69. W. C. N., “Movements among the Colored Citizens,” *Liberator*, 6 March 1863, 4.

70. Quoted in McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 177–78.

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between 10 and 14 February nine men enlisted. Three were natives of Virginia, another three claimed Pennsylvania birthplaces (though one had moved to Boston as a child), one was born in South Carolina, and two were born in Massachusetts, one of them to Virginia-born parents. Three of them were probably too old to enlist, and one had a disability that compelled his discharge in October. Virginia-born Boston clothing dealer William Henry Jones claimed to be forty-four, and military records variously record the age of Boston laborer Americus C. Tabb as fifty-seven and thirty-nine. Jones deserted on the day the 54th left Boston, was arrested on 29 June, and was returned to the regiment in early August, after the Fort Wagner battle. When he was discharged on 22 September 1864, his papers stated his disability as “old age and rheumatism of long standing evidently more than forty four years old. Had had rheumatism before enlistment. Perfectly useless since October 1863.” Tabb was born in Norfolk, Virginia, probably about 1810, was a widower when he enlisted, and according to his 26 October 1863 discharge had been “unfit for duty ever since his arrival at the South. He cannot see at all in the night and is quite useless as a soldier on account of his age.” Tabb, Appleton later wrote, “managed to keep up with the regt however, and stumped along up to Wagner with us and got out again to my wonder.” He died in Cambridge in 1870. William Miller was a twenty-seven-year-old mariner from Philadelphia when he enlisted and was discharged in mid-August. “His knee pan is broken and was so when enlisted . . . an old fracture of the patella, the adhesion was partially destroyed by a fall some weeks ago. He should never have been enlisted, and is not entitled to a pension.”⁷¹

Of the six other early recruits, five of them served in the 54th for the entire war; the sixth, Samuel Smith, died of disease in a regimental hospital in 1865. When Burrill Smith Jr. was the eleventh man to enlist, on 12 February, Appleton described him as “just a boy.” Smith was born in Boston about 1845, but his father, like Americus Tabb, was from Norfolk, Virginia, and had been enslaved for the first eighteen years of his life. Whether Burrill

71. J. M. W. Appleton, reel 13, 54th Records, MHS; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 341, 343; Civil War Records, Fold3.com. Emilio did not show Jones as a deserter. Tabb had lived in Boston since at least 1850 and is sometimes cited as America C. Tabb. See “None but the Brave Deserves the Fair,” *Boston Traveler*, 21 February 1868, 4; “New England News Items,” *Springfield Republican*, 20 October 1870, 4. The *Traveler* article on his second marriage states that Tabb “was frequently offered the rank of sergeant, but always declined, out of sheer modesty,” but no evidence exists that this was so. Later newspaper accounts often state that Tabb was the first to volunteer for the 54th, but Capt. J. M. W. Appleton’s enlistment roll for Company A shows that Tabb was the 14th enlistee. Lewis Hayden, then 52 years old, also enlisted, but his age must have disqualified him. Appleton’s “original enlistment roll,” its printed title being “United States Volunteer Enlistment List,” is at MHS.

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Smith Sr. had been freed or had taken his freedom when he came to Boston about 1842 is not known, but he was active in assisting fugitives and had sheltered Harriet Tubman at his 168 Cambridge Street home during John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid. Wounded in the attack on Fort Wagner, Burrill Smith Jr. returned to the 54th, advanced through the ranks to corporal, sergeant, and first sergeant, and served with the regiment until it disbanded in 1865. Few were more active in the postwar life of the 54th. Another of these early recruits was Eli George Biddle, a seventeen-year-old sign painter from Chester County, Pennsylvania. Like Burrill Smith he was wounded at Fort Wagner, served with the 54th throughout the war, and was consistently active in the regiment's reunions and other activities. By the time the Shaw Memorial was dedicated in 1897, four of these first nine recruits were still alive, and three of them—Burrill Smith, Biddle, and Elias Hall, a native of Richmond, Virginia, who was the tenth man to enlist in Boston and was a cook and baker for the regiment through the war—lived in and around Boston.

Ten men from western Massachusetts signed up for three years' service in the 54th on 18 February, the same day that the *Boston Journal* reported that the company then forming in New Bedford was nearly full. Massachusetts would have had to enlist nearly every African American man of military age to complete the regiment, so Stearns and his recruiters traveled widely to enlist others. Stearns had his hair cut in an African American barbershop in Buffalo in order to raise interest in a recruiting meeting, and, according to his son's account, he sent ten or twelve men from that city to the 54th's camp at Readville, Massachusetts. Stearns then established a recruiting station in Buffalo. At St. Louis he hoped to recruit from the "large number of refugees who had lately been liberated by Grant's campaign at Vicksburg," which began in mid-May 1863. Andrew endeavored to convince Stanton to permit 54th recruiting in the South. "My own undertaking to raise a colored regiment in Mass. was begun upon talking with you about N.C. and the difficulty of attracting negroes to join white troops," he wrote on 1 April, "while it would be comparatively easy to gain large numbers to join an army in part already composed of black troops. . . . If nobody else will take black men I will, with your consent. And if the U.S. Government is not prepared to organize a brigade in N.C., I would gladly take those black men who may choose to come here, receive our State bounty and be mustered in."⁷²

72. Stearns, *Stearns*, 288–89; Andrew quoted in Berlin, ed., *Freedom*, 130–31.

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Shaw himself had expected that raising the regiment would trigger hostility among those who opposed it. In February he learned that members of Boston's conservative Somerset Club "are down on us, but nevertheless I had an invitation to go there whenever I wished. I hear there was a little row about it at first." The next month he wrote to Charles Russell Lowell, "It has been a subject of wonder to me that the nigger concern meets with so little opposition here. Almost everyone, even those who do not favour it, says that it is a good thing to try. . . . Perhaps though, there may be something rough for us to go through yet, in the way of abuse." Evidence exists that the recruiting was carried on almost clandestinely in some places and did occasionally stir discontent: Stearns wrote Andrew in late April 1863 that his "first efforts were secret and confined to the Blacks." Robert Teamoh later stated that "the recruiting places [were] kept secret and recruits sent to Massachusetts in small parties to avoid molestation from people who were opposed to making soldiers of Negroes." Appleton recalled, "Taking the men from our recruiting office to that of the mustering officer on Court street was at times a trying march, as the roughs who voted the Democratic ticket and kept out of the war, seemed to have a spite against 'niggers' fighting in the army. I had several little encounters with them. One day on Court street one fellow kicked one of the recruits as we passed and I promptly smashed the rough's face for him."⁷³

African Americans wrote at least two poems encouraging enlistment while the regiment was being filled. In early March 1863 twenty-year-old Eli T. Harmon, son of laborer Nathaniel Harmon of Germantown, Pennsylvania, wrote, "The Day is Dawning, Awake, Arise!" Published in the *Christian Recorder* at the end of the same month, Harmon's poem urged both free and enslaved African Americans to "awake, and rise, while slavery chains are breaking" and become "more people-like / And Join in heart and hand / Then if we have to go and fight, God will take our command." As in numerous later verses, the African American soldier in Harmon's tribute can trust only that God, not the nation, is at and on his side: "Afric's sable sons and daughters, / God commands both front and rear; / He can calm the troubled waters, / Only trust him, do not fear."⁷⁴ For Fanny Jackson (fig. 1.6), God kept account of the many wrongs and indignities African America

73. Robert Gould Shaw to Charles Russell Lowell, 21 February and 4 March 1862, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 293, 305; Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, 2: 83–84; Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 16–17; Appleton notes, reel 13, 54th Records, MHS.

74. Eli T. Harmon, "The Day is Dawning, Awake, Arise!" *Christian Recorder*, 28 March 1863, signed at bottom "March the 9th, 1863, Germantown, Phila., Pa."

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Fig. 1.6. Frances Marion Jackson, 1869. Jackson wrote "The Black Volunteers" while she was a student at Oberlin College in 1863. Born enslaved in the District of Columbia, Jackson's aunt purchased her freedom. She entered Oberlin in 1859 and was later principal of Philadelphia's Institute for Colored Youth (now Cheyney University) from 1869 to 1902. She married Levi Coppin in 1881. Courtesy Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

had suffered at the hands of white America, and it was only through faith in God that the African American soldier could know victory. She wrote to the black recruit, "Go Liberty, Honor, aye, all things most dear, / Are intrusted to you to defend and to clear / From the stain of oppression, whose poisonous breath / Is less welcome to us than the black wing of death!" Despite its urge to African American service, Jackson's late April 1863 verse "The Black Volunteers" was a caustic lament of the failure to accept that offer until "the face of the nation grew ghastly and white" at the great losses in the theretofore all-white Union Army.

Now, Freedom stands holding with uplifted face,
Her hand, dipped in blood, on the brow of our race.
Attest it! my country, and never again
By this holy baptism forget we are *men*,
Nor dare, when we've mingled our blood in your battles,
To sneer at our bravery and call us your "chattels."
Our ancestors fought on your first battle-plains,
And you paid them right nobly with insult and chains;

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You pitied not even the sad and forlorn,
You pensioned their widows and orphans on scorn!
In your hour of bitterest trial and need
You have called us once more—to your voice we give heed
No longer your treacherous faith we'll discuss:
But *let God be the witness between you and us!*
We have stout hearts among us, as well do you know,
That ne'er quailed before danger or shrank from a foe.⁷⁵

Though recruitment was decidedly slow at first, by 12 May the 54th was full, and later recruits became the nucleus of the 55th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. According to Edwin S. Redkey, the 54th Massachusetts regiment was composed of men from fifteen Union states, all four border states, five states in the Confederacy, Canada, and the West Indies. Redkey suggested that possibly half of the 322 men from slavery states might have been born enslaved, though he documented only thirty who certainly were.⁷⁶ As he has noted, the regiment included at least seven fathers and their sons and at least four sets of brothers. Recruitment was not measurably slowed by the issuance on 1 May 1863 of a Confederate resolution stating that any person of African descent who fought against the Confederacy or in any other way aided the Union would, when captured, be delivered to and “dealt with” by the authorities of the state in which they were captured. Although the resolution does not state as much, it was widely interpreted to mean that captured black Union soldiers would either be sold into slavery or executed. “There is not a man in the regiment who does not appreciate the difficulties, the dangers,

75. Fanny Jackson, “The Black Volunteers,” *Anglo-African*, 9 May 1863. Jackson (1837–1913) is better known as the educator Fanny Jackson Coppin. The full text of her poem is in Appendix A and on the Scholarly Editing website, <http://scholarlyediting.org/2013/editions/aa.18630509.1.html>. Jackson’s “Aunt Sarah” purchased her freedom when she was ten years old and sent her to another aunt, possibly Martha Prior Brooks, in New Bedford, MA, where Brooks had lived with her husband Lloyd Henry Brooks since 1844. Frances Jackson is shown in the Brooks’s New Bedford household in the 1850 census. Jackson moved to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1851, attended Rhode Island Normal School, and entered Oberlin in 1859; when she graduated in 1865 she is said to have been the second African American woman to receive a bachelor’s degree in the country. She married African Methodist Episcopal minister Levi Jenkins Coppin. See her chapter “Autobiography: A Sketch,” in *Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching* (Philadelphia: AME Book Concern, 1913).

76. Edwin S. Redkey, “Brave Black Volunteers: A Profile of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment,” in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 22, 26, states that 27 Boston men, 39 New Bedford men, and 33 from Berkshire County enlisted in the 54th; the Rev. Samuel Harrison of Pittsfield, who served as chaplain of the 54th from September 1863 to March 1864, is credited with boosting the recruitment from the western part of the state. Redkey states that of the total 54th enrollment of 1007 enlisted men, 133, or 13 percent, were from Massachusetts. See also Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 20–24.

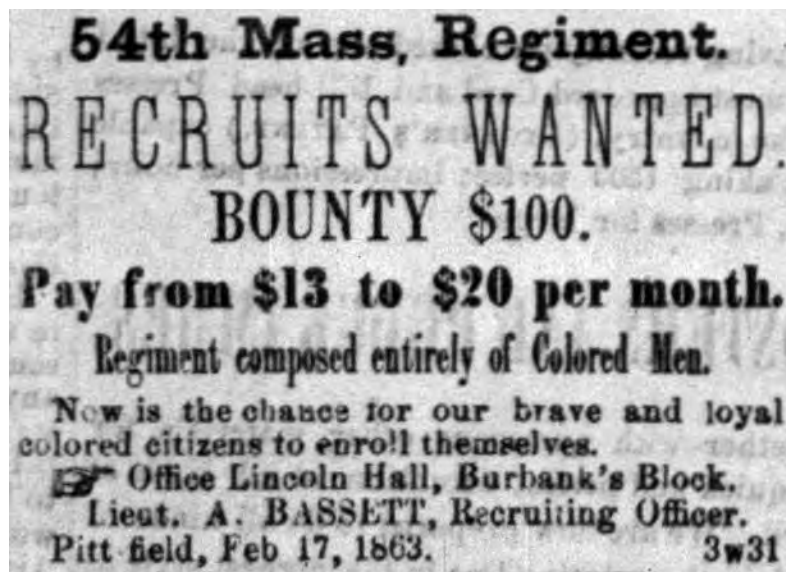


Fig. 1.7. Advertisement for recruits for 54th Massachusetts Regiment, *Berkshire County Eagle*, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 19 February 1863. Who, if anyone, authorized second lieutenant Almon Bassett to offer this pay scale is unknown; Bassett later resigned his commission.

and maybe ignoble death that awaits him, if captured by the foe, and they will die upon the field rather than be hanged liked a dog,” James Henry Gooding of the 54th’s Company C wrote from Camp Meigs at Readville on 24 May, “and when a thousand men are fighting for a very existence, who dare say them men who won’t fight determinedly? The greatest difficulty will be to stop them.”⁷⁷

The Boston recruiting committee printed broadsides soliciting African American enlistment, one of them offering recruits a bounty of one hundred dollars, payable at the end of their three-year service, pay of thirteen dollars a month, and “state aid to families”; another advertisement in a Pittsfield newspaper offered as much as twenty dollars a month on no known authority (fig. 1.7).⁷⁸ Another, printed after the recruits had begun training at Camp Meigs in Readville on 21 February, urged men to “rally round the flag of freedom” and promised “good food and clothing.” But extant recruiting posters written by African Americans concentrated far less on the material benefits of enlisting and laid out instead an often lengthy political and moral argument for doing so. One, written by Douglass and signed by more than fifty African Americans in and around Philadelphia, did not mention the bounty, the pay, or the conditions but focused in large

77. Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 24.

78. Appleton memo, 54th Records, MHS.

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part on the need for men of color to “vindicate their manhood,” as it was often termed, through service:

Now, therefore, is our most precious moment. Let us rush to arms!

FAIL NOW, & OUR RACE IS DOOMED

in this the soil of our birth. We must now awake, arise, or be forever fallen. If we value liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we love our country, if we love our families, our children, our home, we must strike *now* while the country calls; we must rise up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country believe that we are craven cowards, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we die with this stigma resting upon our graves? Shall we leave this inheritance of Shame to our Children? No! a thousand times NO! We WILL Rise! the alternative is upon us. Let us rather die freemen than live to be slaves.

The focus on manhood in much African American discussion of military service may seem odd to modern sensibilities, but the term clearly carried numerous meanings. First, it responded to the view, enunciated repeatedly in white-owned and -operated newspapers, that African American men would not fight. The *New York Tribune* noted that “loyal whites have generally become willing that they should fight, but the great majority have no faith that they will do so. Many hope they will prove cowards and sneaks—others greatly fear it.” Regiment historian Luis F. Emilio noted, “The sentiment of the country and of the army was opposed to the measure. It was asserted that they would not fight, that their employment would prolong the war, and that white troops would refuse to serve with them.”⁷⁹ Lincoln had refused offers from two states to raise African American regiments based on his fears that accepting them would outrage enslavers in the border states and that “in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels.”⁸⁰ Whether they feared it or not, commentators in any forum rarely voiced the opposite anxiety—that arming men of color would foment insurrection, a fear that had so often unnerved Americans when the question arose at earlier points in the nation’s military history. Second, manhood was clearly meant as “the structural opposite of slavery,” as historian Kirk Savage has noted. Manhood meant freedom, a full claim to citizenship, and “racial independence and respect.” Men of African descent “go into this war to affirm their manhood, to strike for liberty and country,” Douglass declared.

79. *Tribune* cited in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, xii; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 6.

80. McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 166.

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At one New Bedford 54th recruiting rally local attorney Thomas Dawes Elliott declared, “They say you have not the courage to fight, that you are not manly enough. They lie! and you will prove it to them.” At that Wesley Furlong, a fugitive and ship’s steward who had enlisted in the 54th on 16 February, stood up and said, “The black man must put down this war.” He wished to be remembered as someone “who fought for the liberty of his race and to prove himself a man.”⁸¹ Douglass’s son Lewis Henry Douglass, who enlisted at Rochester, New York, on 25 March, wrote from Camp Meigs to his fiancée Amelia Loguen on 16 May 1863, “Remember that if I fall that it is in the cause of humanity, that I am striking a blow for the welfare of the most abused and despised race on the face of the earth, that in the solution of this strife rests the question of our elevation, or our degradation, our happiness or our misery. Would you wish me absent from such a strife?”⁸²

Serving in the Civil War not only demonstrated one’s claim to full citizenship, but arguably it meant more to African Americans than it did to whites. Douglass stated, “If any class of men in this war can claim the honor of fighting for principle, and not from passion, for ideas, not from brutal malice, the colored soldier can make that claim preeminently.”⁸³ Massachusetts abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson, colonel of the African American 1st South Carolina volunteers, identified fighting for principle as one of two “peculiar traits” that black troops brought to the conflict. “They had to sustain them the vast stakes of personal freedom and that of their families. Say what one pleases, they all desired this freedom,—I never encountered an exception,—and it gave them a peculiar stimulus apart from that of the white soldier. . . . The negro regiments . . . had a feeling that they were playing for higher prizes than their white associates.”⁸⁴ Higginson also believed that his African American troops “generally felt it a step upward to enter military life, with its routine and discipline; whereas to white soldiers these were wholly a sacrifice, accepted only for the sake of their country. . . . Their service in war was not merely a chapter in the history of a conflict, but in the emancipation and elevation

81. Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 30.

82. Bernier and Taylor, *If I Survive*, 175–76.

83. Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 97, 117; Douglass quoted in David Blight, “The Meaning of the Fight: Frederick Douglass and the Memory of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts,” *Massachusetts Review* 36, 1 (Spring 1995): 141.

84. Higginson, “Colored Troops under Fire,” 199–200.

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of a race.” In *Iola Leroy*, when a white officer expressed his wonder at the demonstrated bravery of African American soldiers, Frances E. W. Harper had her African American protagonist Robert Johnson remark, “They have been so long taught that they are nothing and nobody, that they seem glad to prove they are something and somebody.”⁸⁵

Douglass, George Stephens, and other African Americans involved with the regiment also argued that African Americans could not in any event permit white men to win the war without their involvement. “A war undertaken and brazenly carried on for the perpetual enslavement of colored men, calls logically and loudly upon colored men to help to suppress it,” Douglass told a rally in Rochester, New York, in early March 1863. “. . . Liberty won by white men would lack half its lustre. Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.”⁸⁶ Stephens wrote later in the year, “I would consider it a curse second only to slavery itself to owe the emancipation of our race purely and solely to the American people. If they had voluntarily and from philanthropic motives and not from military necessity adopted the policy of emancipation, for ages yet to come it would be made the pretext to deny us some right or withhold some benefit. We would stand in the attitude of supplicants and dependents instead of equals, not having by earnest efforts, and co-labor won manly independence.”⁸⁷ James Henry Gooding, who enlisted in the 54th in February, put the case slightly differently when he began to encourage enlistment through letters to the *New-Bedford Mercury* in early March:

Our people must know that if they are ever to attain to any position in the eyes of the civilized world, they must forego comfort, home, fear, and above all, superstition, and fight for it; make up their minds to become something more than hewers of wood and drawers of water all their lives. Consider that on this continent, at least, their race and name will be totally obliterated unless they put forth some effort now to save themselves.⁸⁸

In her poem, published in the *Anglo-African* in early May 1863, Fanny Jackson wrote more cynically about Joshua’s biblical injunction against the Gibeonites—“there shall none of

85. Higginson quoted in Savage, *Standing Soldiers*, 174; Harper, *Iola Leroy*, 44.

86. “A Call to the Negroes to Arm. Appeal from Frederick Douglass,” *Liberator*, 13 March 1863.

87. Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 289.

88. Gooding to *Mercury*, 3 March 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 4.

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you be freed from being slaves, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God”—and its relation to the effort to realize a military role for African Americans:

We welcome, we welcome, our brave volunteers,
Fling your caps to the breeze, boys, and give them three cheers;
They have proven their valor by many a scar,
But their god-like endurance has been nobler by far.
Think ye not that their brave hearts grew sick with delay
When the battle-cry summoned their neighbors away;
When their offers were spurned and their voices unheeded,
And grim Prejudice vaunted their aid was not needed.

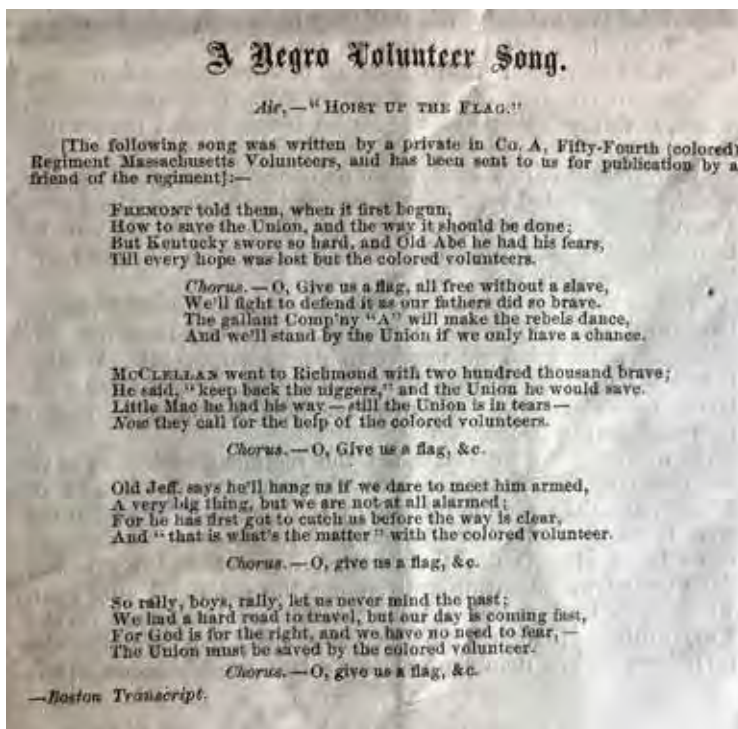
Till some pious soul, full of loyal devotion,
To whom flesh and muscle were more than a notion,
Proposed, that in order to save their own blood,
As “drawers of water and hewers of wood”
They should use their black brothers;—but the blacks “couldn’t see”
What great magnanimity prompted the plea;
And they scouted the offer as base and inglorious,
For they knew that, through God, they should yet be victorious.

A little more than a month later Gooding argued for enlistment much as Douglass and Stephen had—by imagining the likely consequences of not doing so. “Allow that slavery will die without the aid of our race to kill it—language cannot depict the indignity, the scorn, and perhaps violence, that will be heaped upon us; unthought of laws will be enacted, and put in force, to banish us from the land of our birth; and European governments, who now dare not recognize the Southern Confederacy, will call the ostracism a just measure.”⁸⁹

To many African Americans the success of the war depended upon them. An unidentified private in Company A wrote as much in “A Negro-Volunteer Song,” published in the *Anglo-African* (fig. 1.8). Ironically the soldier set the verse to the tune “Hoist up the Flag,” which longed for the Union “just as it was,” before “secesh or Abe-o-lition.” The song made plain this enlisted man’s awareness of the issues at hand, including

89. Gooding to *Mercury*, 3 March 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 3–4, 13.

Fig. 1.8. "A Negro Volunteer Song," June 1863, published in *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (Colored) Regiment* (Boston, 1863). The verse was also published in the *Anglo-African*, 20 June 1863. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.



the government's cautious approach to the border states, the hubris of Union and Confederate officers, and the position black troops occupied:

Oh, Fremont he told them when the war it first begun,
How to save the Union, and the way it should be done;
But Kentucky swore so hard, and old Abe he had his fears,
Till every hope was lost but the colored volunteers.

Chorus.—O, give us a flag, all free without a slave,
We'll fight to defend it as our Fathers did so brave;
The gallant Comp'ny A will make the rebels dance,
And we'll stand by the Union if we only have a chance.

McClellan went to Richmond with two hundred thousand brave:
He said "keep back the niggers," and the Union he would save.
Little Mac he had his way, still the Union is in tears,
Now they call for the help of the colored volunteers.

[*Chorus.*]

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Old Jeff says he'll hang us if we dare to meet him armed,
A very big thing, but we are not at all alarmed,
For he first has got to catch us before the way is clear,
And "that's what's the matter" with the colored volunteer.

[*Chorus.*]

So rally, boys, rally, let us never mind the past,
We had a hard road to travel but our day is coming fast,
For God is for the right, and we have no need to fear,
The Union must be saved by the colored volunteer.⁹⁰

To view Civil War service in deeply sacred terms was a sentiment voiced not only by this soldier but by many African Americans. "Upon our side of the controversy stands God himself, and this gives us a solemn and sublime position," Frances Ellen Watkins Harper argued in the *Christian Recorder* in 1862 (fig. 1.9). "A people thus situated may lift up their heads and take courage in the hope of a sure and speedy redemption." She put it similarly much later in her novel *Iola Leroy*:

Slavery had cast such a glamour over the Nation, and so warped the consciences of men, that they failed to read aright the legible transcript of Divine retribution which was written upon the shuddering earth, where the blood of God's poor children had been as water freely spilled. . . . The Union had snapped asunder because it lacked the cohesion of justice, and the Nation was destined to pass through the crucible of disaster and defeat, till she was ready to clasp hands with the negro and march abreast with him to freedom and victory.⁹¹

90. *Anglo-African*, 20 June 1863, 1. The newspaper noted that the poem had appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, but I have been unable to locate it. Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 157–58, stated that the song was written by a Company A private and sent to the *Transcript*. Richards, *Battle Lines*, 99, states that the anonymous private was Frank Myers, but Myers was not a member of Company A; he did, however, use many of the same lines of this verse in "The Colored Volunteer," published in the *Anglo-African*, 20 February 1864 (see Appendix A). The 1863 poem also appeared on the back page of *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (Colored) Regiment* (Boston, 1863), MHS, with the note as Brown stated it in his volume. This version of the verse includes a final stanza, clearly written after the Wagner assault: "Then here is to the 54th, which has been nobly tried, / They were willing, they were ready, with their bayonets by their side, / Colonel Shaw led them on and he had no cause to fear, / About the courage of the colored volunteer." Still another version, by Tom Craig, was published in Philadelphia in 1864 and again in 1865; the sheet music broadsides for both are in the Broadside Collection, John Hay Library, Brown University.



Fig. 1.9. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911), undated carte de visite in photograph album kept by Harriet Hayden, wife of Lewis Hayden, Boston. Harper published her first poems in 1845, was part of the antislavery lecture circuit, married in 1860 and was widowed by 1864. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

Benjamin Tucker Tanner, later editor of the *Christian Recorder* and then a minister of the African American Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, conceived of the Civil War as “a divinely orchestrated contest that would render judgment on the national sin of slavery.” Douglass declared that the war was evidence that “nations, not less than individuals, are subjects of the moral government of the Universe, and that flagrant, long continued, and persistent transgressions of the laws of this Divine Government will certainly bring national sorrow, shame, suffering and death.” In one recruiting speech he stated, “Remember that in a contest with oppression, the Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with oppressors.” David Hunter clearly perceived this view among the black troops he commanded in the Department of the South. He told Stanton in one late January 1863 letter, “They are imbued with a burning faith that now is the time appointed

91. “Mrs. Frances E. Watkins Harper”; Tanner quoted in Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 97–98; Harper, *Iola Leroy*, 14, 24.

by God, in His All-wise Providence, for the deliverance of their race.”⁹² Sarah Blake Shaw shared this view of the war and put a millennialist cast on this argument. “I believe this time to be the fulfillment of the Prophecies, and that we are beholding the second advent of Christ,” she wrote to her son Robert shortly after he agreed to lead the 54th. “. . . You have done just what we are commanded to do.”⁹³

Readying for Departure

On 18 May 1863 Governor Andrew arranged an elaborate ceremony at Camp Meigs to present four flags to the 54th Regiment. Among the invited guests were some of the commonwealth’s leading abolitionists—Garrison, Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Leonard A. Grimes, and Samuel May Jr.—as well as political and cultural leaders—Josiah Quincy, jurist Thomas Russell, Harvard professor Louis Agassiz, and, as William Cooper Nell put it, “representatives of names that Boston delights to honor,—Lowell and Putnam, and Jackson, and Cabot; Forbes, and Shaw, and Russell; Savage, and Loring, and Ware, and Hooper.” The crowd of spectators was diverse and sizable; contemporary estimates put it at from one to three thousand people. “The morning train to Readville was not only completely filled with a numerous gathering of prominent individuals who have been interested in the formation of the regiment, but nine or ten extra passenger cars were required, to accommodate the hundreds of coloured persons of both sexes who have a personal interest in the Fifty-fourth,” the *Liberator’s* account, probably written by Nell, stated. Nell wrote the text for the souvenir volume chronicling the flag presentation and the regiment’s departure for the South.⁹⁴ Two groups of African American women—a “circle of young ladies,” as the *Liberator* described them, and the Colored Ladies’ Relief Society—raised funds for the national and state flags, though there had evidently been some dispute among the various committees raising funds for the flags. “There are three

92. McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 170. Hunter expressed the same views in in “Success of the Negro Regiments,” *Liberator*, 19 June 1863, 1. Benjamin Tucker Tanner was the father of painter Henry Ossawa Tanner, whose middle name commemorated the battle over slavery in the territories at Osawatomie, KS, in 1856.

93. Quoted in Waugh, “Sacrifice We Owed,” 70–71. Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 44, quoted a letter from Sarah Blake Shaw to an English friend stating the same belief: “When I think of the agony that has torn the hearts of mothers and wives in the country, North and South, I feel sure that God is performing a mighty work in the land, and, purified from our curse of slavery, our descendants will reap the reward of our suffering.”

94. “Presentation of Colors to the Fifty-Fourth Regiment,” *Liberator*, 22 May 1863, 3.

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flag committees entrain for this regiment. One white and two black,” Robert Gould Shaw wrote to his father a few weeks before the event. “They are all quarreling together, and are distracted by internal dissension at the same time. I wrote one of them today that if they didn’t settle their difficulties I should probably not accept a flag from either of them.” Nell stated the case even more enigmatically:

Owing to a combination wholly unexpected, and never to be too much regretted, numbers of young men were induced to refrain from enlisting in the Fifty-Fourth, and thus lost the golden privilege of having their names enrolled in the first colored regiment from the North. It was partly with a view to offset this untoward state of things, and to manifest approval of those who had enlisted, that the young ladies of Boston organized themselves and solicited contributions for the splendid flags which constitute such an attraction and elicited so noble a speech from his Excellency, Governor Andrew, on presentation-day, May 18th. The rivalry (somewhat natural) between different circles, happily resulted in the tendering of both the National and State flags, which there were also some emblematic banners from other friends of the regiment.⁹⁵

Leonard Grimes, who offered the prayer at the 18 May flag ceremony, worked with the first group of African American women to solicit a contribution of fifty dollars for the regiment’s American flag from thirty-five African American men (including Grimes’s son John) serving on the *USS Minnesota*, the flagship vessel of the Union’s North Atlantic Blockade. “That star-spangled banner *never did and never will* wave over a more deserving regiment,” the *Minnesota* sailors declared, and they trusted that 54th would protect the flag “from ignominious capture.” Their letter to the ladies’ committee expressed their wish that these troops may “strike a blow that will be felt, to our lasting honor, and thus show to the world that we possess physical as well as moral courage, equal to that of our white soldiers already in the field.” Through its secretary Adeline T. Howard the committee noted, “When the letter was submitted and the names of the contributors read, three cheers were given for ‘our friends of the Minnesota’ and though there are those who might object to such a demonstration from ladies we, in our excess of joy, acknowledge no impropriety therein.”⁹⁶ The regiment’s state flag was the gift of the Colored Ladies Relief Society, whose existence and membership are largely undocumented.⁹⁷

95. Shaw to Francis G. Shaw, 24 April 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 325–26; Nell in *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (Colored) Regiment* (Boston, 1863), 8–9, MHS.

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At the flag ceremony Governor Andrew described the 54th as “a band of as noble men as ever came together for a great and glorious case; they go not for themselves alone, but they go to vindicate a foul aspersion that they were not men; and I rejoice to see men from other states who have cast their lot in with ours—we welcome them as citizens of the Old Bay State. We not only see the germs of the elevation of a downtrodden and despised race, but a great and glorious future spread out before us, when the principles of right and justice shall govern our beloved country.” He added a view he shared with many African American men who joined the regiment: their service was “an opportunity which, while it is personal to themselves, is still an opportunity for a whole race of men.” Andrew’s famous statement that his own personal honor was bound to that of the regiment has

96. *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (Colored) Regiment* (Boston, 1863). The Young Ladies Committee included 14 African American women, most of them born between 1839 and 1849. Ten of them can be identified through censuses and directories. Adeline T. Howard, the committee’s secretary, was the daughter of Boston hairdresser Edwin F. Howard; her sister Imogen was also a member, as was their cousin Amelia C. Howard, daughter of hairdresser and fugitive assistant Peter M. Howard. The Howard brothers were the sons of Peter Howard (1777–1854), also a barber born either in Cuba or England who had lived in Boston since at least 1808. Emily C., Fannie A., and Mary E. Bailey were daughters of John Bailey, who operated a gymnasium in Boston and was for a time boxing master at Harvard College; his father, Peter Fortune Bailey, was among the founders of Boston’s late eighteenth-century African Society. Virginia Lawton, daughter of Edward B. and Eliza Logan Lawton, became a teacher, and with her sister Marianna went South during the Civil War to teach in freedmen’s schools. Virginia Molyneaux was actually Virginia Molyneaux Hewlett of Cambridge and the daughter of Aaron Molyneaux Hewlett, the first African American instructor at Harvard and professor of gymnastics there. Hattie E. and Mary L. Lockley were the daughters of barber John and Martha A. Lockley; their mother was born in Virginia and their father in “Gloucester,” possibly Virginia or Massachusetts; his death was reported in Boston newspapers, including the *Liberator*, 25 March 1864, 51. I cannot positively identify the other four members—Lucy Henson, Bettie Brown, Bettie Crummps, and Lizzie N. Smith. On the committee’s efforts to raise funds for the national flag see *Liberator*, 24 April 1863, and “A Flag from the Ladies for the 54th Mass Regiment,” *Anglo-African*, 4 April 1863, 2.

97. Some historians have asserted that Christiana Carteaux Bannister was the president of the Colored Ladies Relief Society and in that capacity presented the state flag to the regiment at Readville, but neither Nell’s *Souvenir* nor any newspaper account notes her presence there. Carteaux Bannister, renowned Boston hairdresser and wife of African American landscape painter Edward M. Bannister, was president of the “Colored Soldiers Relief Society,” which advertised itself in the *Boston Evening Transcript* in early May 1863 as a group dedicated to “the relief of colored soldiers and their families.” She, one of the Lockley sisters, and Leonard Grimes were named to another committee formed specifically to assist the 54th Regiment in late May 1863, after the flag presentation. Earlier, Edward Bannister and John S. Rock were among those who called a meeting in October 1862 of what became the Association for the Relief of Destitute Contrabands, whose officers were all African American women; Carteaux Bannister was not among them. The 54th Regiment committee raised funds for general assistance to the men and their families and for a regimental band; by 22 May 1863 it had acquired 15 instruments and paid for instructing men to use them. See “Association for Relief of Destitute Contrabands,” *Liberator*, 10 October 1862; advertisement of Colored Soldiers Relief Society, *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7–9, 11–13 May 1863, 2; “Fifty-Fourth Regiment,” *ibid.*, 22 May 1863, 4.

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often been cited; James Henry Gooding quoted Andrew to have stated as well, “I declare to you today, that the 54th regiment of volunteers will ever be to me a source of solicitude; it is an undertaking, which if it fails, I fail with it.” Shaw’s brief response upon accepting the flag ended with the hope that “we have an opportunity to show that you have not made a mistake in entrusting the honor of the State to a colored regiment—the first State that has sent one to the war.”⁹⁸ And Shaw noted in a letter to his mother that on the day of the flag presentation Andrew “handed me a telegram from the Secretary of War, saying, ‘*The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts will report to General Hunter; make requisitions for transportation, so that they may go at once.*’”⁹⁹

Ten days later, on 28 May 1863, the 54th Regiment left for the South after a grand march through the city of Boston. “At first it had been arranged to have the regiment march direct to the wharf, to embark, but so great was the desire to see them, not only of the people of Boston, but of all the neighbouring towns, that it was decided to afford the opportunity,” the *Boston Evening Traveler* noted on that day. Still, despite the overwhelmingly positive reports about the departure procession, a few sources make plain that some animosity lay in the regiment’s path. The *Traveler* noted that one hundred policemen “were detailed to clear the streets on the route”; Emilio later wrote of this police detail, “Unknown to the general public, reserves of police were held in readiness, under cover, to repress any riotous proceedings.”¹⁰⁰ Historian Donald Yacovone has stated that the regiment’s officers had heard that “the roughs in Boston proposed to attack us as we passed through” the city. To avert trouble Shaw had the rear guard of the regiment march with their bayonets fixed. He wanted the regiment to leave Boston on the same day as the parade to avert desertions and “drunken rows,” and it was perhaps the force of his wish that compelled Nell and other African Americans to forego the dinner they had planned for the 54th after the parade. Anticipated hostility also forced planners to scrap a proposed procession through New York City. Shaw had written his mother weeks before that Andrew told him “General Wood wants us to go through New York, and promised to have all the troops in the harbor up, if there were danger of any row.

98. Gooding in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 21–23, 22 n. 31; “Presentation of the Colors to the Fifty-Fourth Regiment,” *Liberator*, 22 May 1863, 3; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 25–30.

99. Shaw to Sarah B. Shaw, 18 May 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 332.

100. *Boston Daily Evening Traveler*, 28 May 1863; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 31; “Departure of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers,” *Liberator*, 5 June 1863, 3, was taken from the *Traveler’s* account of the event.

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I told him (the Governor) that if they would warn innocent people to stay at home, we should be happy to handle any New York mob without assistance, whereat he laughed very much.” Afterward, according to George Washington Williams, the chief of the city’s police force telegraphed Andrew to state that “he would be unable to protect this regiment of loyal Negroes against mob violence.” Nell and others, however, had envisioned a different outcome: “there were those who felt that if permitted to have passed through the city of New York, their march down Broadway would have waked up an enthusiasm among the colored young men, which would have had a telling result on the ranks of the Fifty-Fifth, and, moreover, had a potent effect in conquering the prejudices of the dominant [*sic*] classes.”¹⁰¹

The regiment traveled by train from Camp Meigs to Boston and marched to the Massachusetts State House. Some accounts state that a “drum corps of black children” led the regiment through town, while others cited only Patrick Gilmore’s marching band at the head of the parade. Eyewitnesses described the procession in widely different terms, perhaps depending at least in part on where they stood to watch it. The *Traveler* reported that “there was nowhere along the line a word of disapproval,—not a sneer was heard, nor an unkind word expressed,” and George E. Stephens stated that family and friends ran among the troops to kiss them and give them flowers. Nell, reporting on the event for the *Anglo-African*, stated that “throughout the vast crowds upon the Common and in the streets, the colored man and his friends were generally greeted as though it was his day of triumph; not but what there were those who did not relish the scene, but they were discreet enough not to ‘speak out in meeting.’” Nell must have meant to indicate the members of the Somerset Club on Beacon Street, who are said to have booed and hissed the regiment as it passed and to have closed the club’s window curtains. Garth Wilkinson (Wilkie) James, the brother of Boston intellectuals William and Henry James and soon to be captain of the 54th’s Company C, stated that on the day of the parade “prejudice of the rankest sort . . . assailed us. No historian of that day will ever forget the alternating cheers and groans, the alternate huzza and reproach which attempted to deafen each other on our march down State street.” Frederick Douglass noted that his own son Charles Remond Douglass, then a member of the 54th whose respiratory problems kept him in

101. Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 35–36; Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, 88; Shaw to Sarah B. Shaw, 8 April 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 322–23; Williams, *Negro Troops*, 173–74; Nell in *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth*, 9.

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the hospital up to the day of departure, was “set upon and beaten down the pavement” as the regiment neared the Boston wharves. A far different account was left by Ida Agassiz, daughter of Harvard professor Louis Agassiz. As she watched the regiment pass by the house on Beacon Street from which she watched, she said, “there was no cheering, only silence save for the tramp of a thousand marching men.”¹⁰²

Douglass noted the assault on his son at the annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which as it happened had convened in Boston on the day the 54th paraded through the city. The society had adjourned its morning session on 28 May so that members could witness the departure. The fugitive Harriet Jacobs, whose autobiographical *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* had scandalized Americans when it was published in 1861, had come to the convention from Alexandria, Virginia, where she and her daughter Louisa were working among the freed people. She later wrote to Lydia Maria Child, who had edited her *Incidents*, “How proud and happy I was that day, when I saw the 54th reviewed on Boston Common! How my heart swelled with the thought that my poor oppressed race were to strike a blow for freedom! were at last allowed to help in breaking the chains which their kindred had so long hopelessly worn!” One biographer of Wendell Phillips, whose home on Essex Street the regiment passed in its procession, stated that the three hundred fugitives from slavery in the regiment “had a cowed look; as if used to beseeching” as they passed; Emilio wrote in the margin of a copy of this account, “This is not so.”¹⁰³

102. On the children’s drum corps and Stephens’s recollection see Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 36; *Boston Evening Traveler*, 28 May 1863; Alexander Williams, *A Social History of Greater Boston Clubs*, cited in Harold Banks and Richard Levitan, “History of Abuse Repeated,” *Boston Herald*, 20 October 1979, A4; Peter Lucas, “Film ‘Glory’ Could Bring Us Together at Troubled Time,” *ibid.*, 24 January 1990, 29; Wilkie James quoted in Stephen J. Whitfield, “‘Sacred in History and in Art’: The Shaw Memorial,” *New England Quarterly* 60, 1 (March 1987): 16–17; John Adams quoting Ida Agassiz in “Random Sketches over Eighty Years,” *MHS Proceedings* 72 (1957–60): 303–4, and cited in Stephen T. Riley, “A Monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser. 75 (1963): 27–38. Douglass quoted in “New England Anti-Slavery Convention,” *Liberator*, 5 June 1863, 2. After his statement about his son Charles someone in the audience cried out about the assault, “It is true; I saw it.” Norwood Penrose Hallowell, then lieutenant colonel of the 54th, noted the Somerset Club’s action and stated that “contemptuous remarks by individuals from both extremes of society” confronted the regiment generally; see Norwood P. Hallowell, *The Negro as a Soldier in the War of the Rebellion* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1897), 7. Ida Agassiz married Henry Lee Higginson, wounded major in the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry, in December 1863; her sister Pauline married Robert Gould Shaw’s youngest brother Quincy Adams Shaw in 1860.

103. Reel 13, 54th Records, MHS.

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Much as people would when the Shaw Memorial was unveiled thirty-six years later, several commentators at the New England Anti-Slavery Society meeting noted that the 54th had marched over the streets where, in 1854, the fugitive Anthony Burns had been shepherded by a huge guard to the vessel that returned him to slavery. “Nine years ago this week, we had a procession in the streets of Boston,—the military force of the city, and its whole police force besides, escorting and forcing a solitary colored victim, a fugitive slave, to the vessel which was to bear him back to slavery,” Scotland-born abolitionist and labor movement lecturer John C. Cluer stated at the meeting; he had been among those arrested for attempting the thwart Burns’s arrest. “To-day the entire police force of the city turns out to pioneer and escort one thousand colored soldiers to march to the defeat and overthrow of these very slaveholders to whom poor Anthony Burns was sent back!” Nell, who watched the parade from a point near where Crispus Attucks and other Boston Massacre victims stood on State Street, also noted the parade route’s association with Attucks, Burns, and the fugitive Thomas Sims, who had been remanded to slavery from Boston in 1851 but had come back to Boston by 1863 and now watched the 54th march through the city.¹⁰⁴ At the antislavery society meeting William Wells Brown described the regiment’s difficult path to existence and declared his sense of its significance:

This is a proud day for this country, and for that class of its people to which I belong. . . . Early in the rebellion, many colored people in this city went to the State House, and offered their service for the war. They were scornfully told that the State had no work for negroes to do. The whole country took the same course with the colored people, and the army even refused the services of the slaves of rebels. I thank

104. See also “The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts,” *New York Daily Tribune*, 30 May 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 24–26: “Even in State Street, its welcome was enthusiastic. Over the spot where Crispus Attucks, a negro, the first martyr of the Revolution, fell; where Thomas Sims, in the gray light of early morning, was stolen away to slavery, all Boston consenting to the deed; where Anthony Burns, three years later, under the noonday sun, was openly kidnapped, with escort of Boston troops, this black regiment now marched to the music of the John Brown hymn to embark on the ship which should bear them on a hostile errand to the soil of South Carolina!” Sims had stowed away aboard a vessel running from Savannah, GA, to Boston but was discovered just before it reached Boston, on 6 March 1851. He was arrested in early April, returned to Savannah, and then taken to Vicksburg, MS, from which he and his family fled in early April 1863. Sims returned to Boston and spoke at the First of August celebration in Fall River on 1 August 1863. “He had been drafted as a soldier, but was exempted from the first draft by his age,” the *Liberator* noted. “He thought he owed not much allegiance to the government which had sent him back to slavery, and which now refuses to protect colored soldiers. He thought the door of promotion should be open to colored soldiers.” *Fall River Daily News*, 5 August 1863, 2, quoted in “West India Emancipation Anniversary,” *Liberator*, 7 August 1863, 2. Sims later worked in the District of Columbia office of federal marshal Charles Devens Jr. and died in Washington 29 November 1902.

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God that this policy has failed. The nation has been driven from one stand to another, and has finally been forced to see that the only successful policy is the employment of black men. The white men are as brave as the black, but they have not the same heart, the same deep interest in this cause. We have had, to-day, a sight such as I never expected to see in the free States. The colored regiment who have marched forth to-day understand that they run greater risks than other soldiers. These men go to the South, not only to put down the rebellion, but to destroy the system of slavery which caused the rebellion. We are to have a new Union. And the black man is one of the forces which are to produce it.¹⁰⁵

Douglass then rose to speak, and, despite what happened to his son and his own doubts whether emancipation could achieve complete freedom for African Americans, he declared his confidence that “Massachusetts will take another step, and not only put a musket in the black man’s hand, but put the badge of office on his shoulder.” The society then offered numerous resolutions, five of which concerned the 54th. The fact that the regiment had met more “good-will and heartfelt approbation” than any other Massachusetts regiment upon leaving the city demonstrated “a wonderful change in sentiment, and will go far towards redeeming her tarnished character in the past, for having so often ‘bowed the knee to the dark spirit of slavery,’ through commercial cupidity or a mistaken idea of patriotic duty,” one of these resolutions stated. Another thanked Governor Andrew for organizing the 54th and for tying his honor to its honor; another stated the regiment could go to no better “part of Rebeldom” than South Carolina. Finally, the society’s meeting protested the exclusive placement of white officers over the regiment, which it claimed would dampen enlistment and the soldier’s “aspirations” and “perpetuate an unnatural caste”; promotions should be based on “merit, not color.” After the resolutions the firebrand white abolitionist Stephen Symonds Foster stated his belief that celebrating the regiment obscured deeper issues:

Too much importance, he thought, had been attached to the cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs when the colored regiment passed through Boston yesterday. In point of principle, not one inch of progress has been made in this community. The very people who cheered and waved would refuse to take the hand of a negro, or admit him into their pew. A million of men yet remain in slavery, the Administration keep them there, and the Courts rule the Fugitive Slave Law to be the law of the land.

105. See *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth*; “New England Anti-Slavery Convention,” *Liberator*, 5 June 1863; “Our Boston Correspondent,” *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 6 June 1863.

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Foster's misgivings and the convention's admonitions did not appear to represent a prevailing sentiment, however. After Governor Andrew and his staff reviewed the regiment on Boston Common, the troops marched to Battery Wharf, where the vessel *DeMolay* stood waiting to take them South. En route Gilmore's band played "John Brown's Body," adapted from an old camp meeting song and by then a popular Army marching tune. Decades later, just as the Shaw Memorial was about to be unveiled, 54th Sergeant Wesley Furlong recalled the regiment's departure:

I remember distinctly the day we left Readville camp, and came to Boston to take the boat for the South. It was on May 28, 1863. I was not familiar with all the Boston streets, but I remember we marched through Pemberton square, Somerset street and Beacon street to the State House, where Col. Shaw received papers from Gov. Andrew. We halted, and I stood at the right of where the monument stands now, and leaned against one of the big trees and witnessed the Governor and staff received with due honors. Then we paraded in the Common and afterward proceeded to Battery Wharf, where we embarked on the new transport ship, *D. Molay*.¹⁰⁶

On board the *DeMolay* in early June, Shaw reflected upon the departure from Boston in a letter to his new wife:

The more I think of the passage of the Fifty-fourth through Boston, the more wonderful it seems to me. Just remember our own doubts and fears, and other people's sneering and pitying remarks, when we began last winter, and then look at the perfect triumph of last Thursday. We have gone quietly along, forming the regiment, and at last left Boston amidst a greater enthusiasm than has been seen since the first three-months troops left for the war. Every one I saw, from the Governor's staff (who have always given us rather the cold shoulder) down, had nothing but words of praise for us. Truly, I ought to be thankful for my happiness, and my success in life so far; and if the raising of coloured troops prove such a benefit to the country, and to the blacks, as many people think it will, I shall thank God a thousand times that I was led to take my share in it.¹⁰⁷

Clearly Shaw was not as thankful as he felt he ought to be, and he certainly continued to harbor doubt about his "share." In late February 1863, while the regiment was forming, he had written of it as the "nigger" and "darky concern," and he stated to his father that the

106. Furlong quoted in Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 24.

107. Shaw to Annie Haggerty Shaw, 1 June 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 335.

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forty enlistees then in camp “are not of the best class of nigs,” a strange observation from someone who appears to have had very little exposure to African Americans up to that time. Only five days earlier he had written to his mother, “Some of the influential coloured men I have met please me very much. They are really so gentlemanlike & dignified,” which confirms his lack of familiarity even as it tempers the sentiments he was more apt to express to his father and friends. Nonetheless, Shaw’s letters do seem to show that his increasing familiarity with men of color had triggered a greater respect for them. By late March he admitted his “great surprise” at the “intelligence” of the men he commanded and that “sceptics” of their capacity need only visit Camp Meigs to learn the error of their opinions. But when confronted with the freed people and former “contraband” troops in South Carolina, his lingering racial biases reemerged. He felt his own regiment far above the contraband regiments “in energy and spirit,” though men who commanded these regiments, including Hunter and Higginson, did not share his views. When he first talked with freed people on St. Helena’s Island off the coast of Charleston, he laid all the “depravity of the negroes” to the “scoundrelly owners” and attributed their “generally good” faces to “utter ignorance and innocence of evil”; these freed people “are perfectly childlike, it seems to me, and are no more responsible for their actions than so many puppies.” Still, he did seem capable of viewing some matters as his troops did. Though he found the sight of abandoned plantations sad, he told his wife that “here in the South we must look a little deeper than the surface, and then we see that every such overgrown plantation, and empty house, is a harbinger of freedom to the slaves, and every lover of his country, even if he have no feeling for the slaves themselves, should rejoice.”¹⁰⁸ And Shaw was outraged when he learned that the government might issue “pikes” instead of rifles to African American soldiers. “Such an act,” he wrote in early July, “would take all the spirit and pluck out of the men, and show them that the government didn’t consider them fit to be trusted with fire-arms; they would be ridiculed by the white soldiers, and made to feel their inferiority in every respect. The folly of some of our leaders is wonder-ful! I can’t imagine who started the idea. I hope the gentleman has a book of drill for the pike all ready.”¹⁰⁹

The story of the 54th’s compelled involvement in the burning of Darien, Georgia, and of its first battle at James Island on 16 July 1863 is well documented, as is Shaw’s pride in the “stubborn courage” his regiment displayed in the latter encounter. On the day of the

108. Shaw to Haggerty, 9 and 26 June 1863; Shaw to Sarah B. Shaw, 3 and 4 July 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 344–35, 359–60, 373.

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James Island skirmish Shaw wrote to his wife that it was “a fine thing for the coloured troops” and marked the first time that black soldiers had fought alongside white soldiers east of the Mississippi River.¹¹⁰ Robert John Simmons, a Bermudian whom William Wells Brown had recruited into the 54th, described the James Island battle in a letter to his mother written two days later, as the regiment marched to Fort Wagner:

We have just completed our successful retreat from James Island; we fought a desperate battle there Thursday morning. Three companies of us, B, H, and K, were out on picket about a good mile in advance of the regiment. We were attacked early in the morning. Our company was in the reserve, when the outposts were attacked by rebel infantry and cavalry. I was sent out by our Captain in command of a squad of men to support the left flank. The bullets fairly rained around us; when I got there the poor fellows were falling down around me, with pitiful groans. Our pickets only numbered about 250 men, attacked by about 900. It is supposed by the line of battle in the distance, that they were supported by reserve of 3,000 men. We had to fire and retreat toward our own encampment. One poor Sergeant of ours was shot down alongside of me; several others were wounded near me. God has protected me through this, my first fiery, leaden trial, and I do give Him the glory, and render my praises unto His holy name. My poor friend Vogelsang is shot through the lungs; his case is critical, but the doctor says he may probably live. His company suffered very much. Poor good and brave Sergeant Wilson of his company, after killing four rebels with his bayonet, was shot through the head by the fifth one. Poor fellow! May his noble spirit rest in peace. The General has complimented the Colonel on the gallantry and bravery of his regiment.¹¹¹

109. Shaw, Readville MA, to Francis G. Shaw, 25 February 1863; Shaw, Boston, to Sarah B. Shaw, 20 February 1863; Shaw to Francis G. Shaw, 1 July 1863, and Shaw to “Clem.,” 1 July 1863, in Duncan ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 366, 368. In his scrapbook next to an 1889 newspaper clipping about Lewis Hayden’s house at 66 Southac Street, Norwood Hallowell wrote, “Col. Shaw before he left Boston, asked his mother to send his photograph to Lewis Hayden.” Whether Hayden had requested it of the officer is not known, nor is the existence of any friendship between the men. Scrapbook vol. 3, page 31, Norwood P. Hallowell Papers, MHS.

110. Shaw to Annie Haggerty Shaw, 16 July 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 290, 300, 385, 387.

111. Simmons quoted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 45–46. In a letter in the *New Bedford Mercury* Gooding stated that Joseph D. Wilson, of Company H, “was called upon to surrender but would not; he shot four men before he was taken. After he was taken they ordered him to give up his pistol which he refused to do, when he was shot through the head.” Wilson, a native of Arkansas, had earlier served in the Chicago-based African American militia group Ellsworth Zouaves; he had been promoted from private to sergeant in the 54th within weeks of his enlistment. Wilson was one of either nine or fourteen members of the 54th killed at James Island. Vogelsang, then a sergeant in Company H and a native of New York City, survived the skirmish and was promoted afterward to quartermaster sergeant and then, in June 1865, to first lieutenant.

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As Edwin Redkey and others have noted, Simmons wrote to his mother on the same day that she was hounded out of her home during New York City's infamous draft riots, triggered by the federal Conscription Act and aimed in large part at the city's African Americans. "As the blacks of the South had assisted in the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson," William Wells Brown stated sarcastically, "the colored people of the North must be made to suffer for it." The widowed Margaret Simmons was living on East 28th Street with her married daughter Susan Reed and Reed's two children—an unnamed infant and a seven-year-old boy named Joseph, whom newspapers described as an invalid. Susan Reed was away delivering laundry to a client when the mob approached the building. According to one city pastor, the "ruffians . . . set fire to the house," and the building's occupants, "all colored, were forced into the crowd." There Simmons, holding the baby, was separated from Joseph Reed. According to an official report on the "late riots," the boy "was set upon by the mob, was beaten, was savagely asked with frightful oaths if he would be hung or have his throat cut, and some of the more busy devils looked about for a rope to execute their fiendish purpose." Joseph Reed was rescued by a fireman and taken to the home of a German immigrant woman, but he soon afterward died, and his grandmother lost everything she owned. "This woman has a son—a sergeant in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment" whose "reputation for skill and bravery is very high," the report noted.¹¹²

News of the draft riots reached the 54th Regiment several days later. George E. Stephens expressed his outrage in a series of rhetorical questions in the *Anglo-African*:

112. *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York* (New York: George A. Whitehorne, 1863), 18–20, 26–27. See also *Memorial R.G.S.*, 46, and *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, ser. 3, *Correspondence*, vol. 2: 1853–1865 (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2018), 408 n. 10; Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 192. On the New York City draft riots see McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, xii–xiii; Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 192–97; "Rapine, Murder and Treason Rampant in New York!" *Liberator*, 17 July 1863, 3; and "The Week of Riots," *Liberator*, 27 July 1863. On the services for twelve people of color (Reed among them) killed during the riots, see "Services at the Shiloh Church," *Liberator*, 25 September 1863, 3. Rick Beard, "City Under Siege: The New York Draft Riots," Warfare History Network, <https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/2018/12/21/city-under-siege-the-new-york-draft-riots/>, notes that after the riots some 3,000 African Americans, or 25 percent of the free black population of New York, were homeless, and by 1865 nearly the same number of African Americans had left the city. Because of the riots and the fear that the same might happen in Boston, the Fifty-fifth Regiment had no dress parade and "made its way to the pier with loaded muskets, ready for a possible attack"; see John Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negroes* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), 74.

What cause or provocation have the New York rabble for disloyalty to their country, and for their bloody, atrocious assaults on my countrymen? Are we their enemies? Have we tyrannized over them? Have we maltreated them? Have we robbed them? Are we alien enemies? And are we traitors? Has not the unrequited labor of nearly four million of our brethren added to the country's wealth? Have we not been loyal to the country, in season and out of season, through good report and evil? And even while your mob-fiends upheld the assassin knife, and brandished the incendiary torch over the heads of our wives and children and to burn their homes, we were doing our utmost to sustain the honor of our country's flag, to perpetuate, if possible, those civil, social, and political liberties, they, who so malignantly hate us, have so fully enjoyed.¹¹³

George Washington Williams later noted the same horrible irony. "Among the ignorant and prejudiced whites, the Negro was regarded as the real cause of the draft, and this demonstration of murderous violence against him was as hurtful to a patriotic war sentiment as it was perilous to the Negro himself," Williams wrote, "and it was especially unfortunate that it came at a time when the Negro had just been called to the bar of public sentiment."¹¹⁴

The 54th's role in the attack on Fort Wagner on 18 July 1863 provided an even more vivid contrast to the draft riots, from the point of view of the *Boston Transcript*:

We trust, for the honor of human nature, that there is not a person in the loyal States,—if we except the brutes, ruffians and assassins of the New York mob,—who can read the accounts of the assault, without feeling his prejudices insensibly giving away before such examples of fortitude and daring, and without being impressed anew with the unfathomable baseness of the miscreants in New York City, who wreaked every outrage on the defenceless [*sic*] brethren of such soldiers, and who, recreants themselves to their country's call, were furious at the idea that men whose skins were black should presume to be patriots and heroes.

The crimes perpetrated in New York against the negro were palliated by some disloyal journals on the ground that they were a natural reaction against the attempt of the Administration to raise the blacks above their natural level. It was highly presumptuous in the negro to wish to die for the nation, and therefore it was to be expected that whites should instantly proceed to burn black tenements and murder

113. Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 250–51.

114. Williams, *History of Negro Troops*, 174.

black citizens! We wonder if the white gentlemen of Five Points, Corlaers' Hook and Mackerelville, even now consider the 54th Massachusetts as "up to their level."¹¹⁵

Fort Wagner

Despite its later popular reputation, the 54th Regiment's involvement in the charge on Battery Wagner was not the first significant use of African American troops in Civil War combat. On 27 May 1863, the 1st and 3rd Regiments of Louisiana's Native Guards (later designated the Corps d'Afrique) attacked a fortress at Port Hudson on the Mississippi River, initially as part of a larger Union line but ultimately on their own. They fought a Confederate force six times larger than theirs at a cost of nearly a third of their men to death, wounds, or capture. And on 7 June at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, 652 of the 1061 men of the 8th, 9th, 11th and 13th Louisiana Infantry and the 1st Mississippi, all African American, were killed, wounded, missing, or taken prisoner; those not held as prisoners of war were sold into slavery.¹¹⁶

On 11 July 1863 Major General Quincy Adams Gillmore, then in command of the Union Army's Department of the South, had unsuccessfully attacked Battery Wagner (fig. 1.10), a huge earthenwork fort at the north end of Morris Island that he believed must be taken in order to bring the city of Charleston within "shelling distance" of Union forces. A week later Gillmore, coordinating with the naval force a few hundred yards from the fort but against the better judgment of many of his officers, mounted another attack on the fort. According to George Washington Williams, by the end of the afternoon shelling from land and sea seemed to leave Wagner "in ruins," at least as the view through field glasses revealed. Gillmore planned for a ground assault that evening under Brigadier General George C. Strong. When Shaw and the 54th reached Morris Island that day, as has often been told, Strong told Shaw his regiment "may lead the column"; Robert Teamoh later stated that Strong "noticed the worn look of the men, who had passed two days without an issue of rations, and no food since morning, when the weary march began" from James Island; he offered them sustenance, but, as Edward Pierce stated in a letter after the siege to Governor Andrew, "it was too late, as they had to lead the charge."¹¹⁷ The 54th as it

115. "The Attack upon Fort Wagner," *Liberator*, 7 August 1863, 3, quoting the *Boston Transcript*.

116. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 255 n. 2.

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Fig. 1.10. Views of Forts Wagner and Gregg on Morris Island after Confederate evacuation, 6 September 1863, photograph by Sam A. Cooley. Courtesy Library of Congress.

arrived at Morris Island had 600 men, the rest having been left behind in hospital, killed on James Island, or put to work guarding the camp at St. Helena Island. Shaw determined to go on foot at the head of the first brigade “with the National flag”; Lieutenant Colonel Ned Hallowell was to keep the state flag to “give the men something to rally around.”¹¹⁸ James Henry Gooding wrote about Shaw and his troops in the last few moments before the attack:

The last day with us, or I may say, the ending of it, as we lay flat on the ground before the assault, his manner was more unbending than I had ever noticed before in the presence of his men; he sat on the ground, and was talking to the men very familiarly and kindly; he told them how the eyes of thousands would look upon the night’s work they were about to enter on; and said he, “Now, boys, I want you to be MEN!” He would walk along the entire line and speak words of cheer to his men. We could see that he was a man who had counted the cost of the undertaking before him, for his words

117. Williams, *Negro Troops*, 192–95; Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 26–27; Edward L. Pierce, Beaufort SC, to Governor Andrew, 22 July 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 55–60.

118. Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 30; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 77.

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were spoken so ominously, his lips were compressed, and now and then there was visible a slight twitching of the corners of his mouth, like one bent on accomplishing or dying. One poor fellow, struck no doubt by the Colonel's determined bearing, exclaimed as he was passing him, "Colonel, I will stay by you till I die," and he kept his word: he has never been seen since.¹¹⁹

Alexander H. Johnson, the 54th's teenaged drummer, later said of Shaw that "a better man never wore shoes," and he shared his recall of the attack with the *Springfield Republican*:

The offer came from Gen Strong to Col Shaw to have his regiment lead the charge. The colonel asked if we would follow him, and we said we would. So we went over to the beach on the island under the fort. Col Shaw said "Dad"—they always called me "Dad"—"Roll a little." I did, and then he told us to lie flat down on the sand and to rush up the hill, with heads down, when the order came. We did what he told us, and soon the order came.

We started with a rush, Col Shaw in the lead, and the other regiments beside and behind us. When we were about half-way up Col Shaw called me and gave me a note to carry to the rear. That was the last note he ever sent. He was shot before long. He was the bravest man I ever saw. He rushed up the side of the hill—just, like going up Normal school hill—at the head of the regiment, shouting to them to follow him. Just as they got near the top the fort opened, and how they tore the ranks!

Col Shaw was just at the top of the parapet, in the lead, when he was shot and fell back into the crowd. Hundreds of the men got caught in the ditch under the fort and were torn to pieces with the grape and canister. Those that got to the top were grabbed with a kind of boat-hook and pulled inside. We lost lots of men that way. Finally the regiment was so demoralized that we had to retreat, and the fort was not taken until two weeks after. Col Shaw was a great man, and no other man could have led the regiment as he did.¹²⁰

Edward Pierce told Andrew that Shaw was "probably killed" as he reached the parapet and cited the account of Thomas Burgess, a twenty-two-year old carpenter from Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, and a private in Company I (fig. 1.11). Burgess stated "that he was close to Colonel Shaw; that he waved his sword, and cried out, 'Forward, Fifty-fourth!' and, as he did so, fell. Burgess fell, wounded at the same time." Emilio noted that

119. Gooding, Morris Island, 16 August 1863, to *Mercury*, 29 August 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 51. Also quoted in Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 205–6. "Unbending," according to Adams., 51 n. 7, meant unbent, or relaxed. Several secondary accounts put "bending" in its place.

120. "Veterans of the 54th Regiment," *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897, 4.



Fig. 1.11. “The Gallant Charge of the Fifty Fourth Massachusetts (Colored) Regiment,” 1863, lithograph by Currier and Ives, New York. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Francis Myers, a laborer from Paterson, New Jersey, and then a member of Company K, “whose arm was shattered, states that he stood under the uplifted arm of Colonel Shaw, while that officer was on the parapet, waving his sword, and crying, ‘Forward, Fifty-fourth!’ He saw the colonel suddenly fall, and was struck himself a moment after.”¹²¹

Two days after the battle, Gooding provided a detailed account of it for the *New-Bedford Mercury*:

Gen. Strong asked us if we would follow him into Fort Wagner. Every man said, yes—we were ready to follow wherever we were led. You may all know Fort Wagner is the Sebastopol of the rebels; but we went at it, over the ditch and on to the parapet of Wagner with the bayonet—we were exposed to a murderous fire from the batteries of the fort, from our Monitors and our land batteries, as they did not cease firing soon enough. Mortal men could not stand such a fire, and the assault on Wagner was a failure. The 9th Me., 10th Conn., 63^d Ohio, 48th and 100th N.Y. were to support us in the assault; but after we made the first charge, everything was in such confusion that we could hardly tell where the reserve was. At the first charge the 54th rushed to within

121. Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 81–82, 91–92; Pierce to Andrew, 22 July 1863.

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twenty yards of the ditches, and, as might be expected of raw recruits, wavered—but at the second advance they gained the parapet. The color bearer of the State colors was killed on the parapet. Col. Shaw seized the staff when the standard bearer fell, and in less than a minute after, the Colonel fell himself. When the men saw their gallant leader fall, they made a desperate effort to get him out, but they were either shot down, or reeled in the ditch below. One man succeeded in getting hold of the State color staff, but the color was completely torn to pieces.¹²²

John Wall, a farmer from Oberlin, Ohio, and then a sergeant in Company G, carried the state flag. Robert Teamoh stated that Wall “had marched to the parapet with the colors. He was instantly killed and fell into the ditch below, the flag falling over into the fort. The possession of this symbol of Massachusetts bought about one of the most terrible hand-to-hand fights witnessed in the war.” Company F Lieutenant Stephen Swails had learned from company corporal and former Cleveland shoemaker Henry T. Peale that he had the state flag in hand and that “a rebel came out while Peale held the flag on the parapet of the Ft. and seized the staff at the top—Peale held on by the staff & retained it but the silk was torn off by the rebel.” Norwood Hallowell later noted that the flag had been “tied, unfortunately, to the staff with ribbons,” and Company C Sergeant William H. Carney told Emilio that he saw Wall at the hospital in Beaufort where the 54ths wounded had been taken. “He says this Corporal (whom he thinks was named Jones) stated that a Confederate seized the silk while the flag was on the parapet & tore off the silk while he turned the staff.” Wall returned the staff from the parapet; the flag itself was later found in the moat surrounding the fort and remained in Confederate hands until 1875. Wesley J. Furlong, a sergeant in Company C then living in Boston, stated in 1897 that when the flag arrived at the Massachusetts State House that year “I was sent for to see if I could identify our colors, which I did promptly.”¹²³

122. Gooding, Morris Island, 20 July 1863, to *Mercury*, 1 August 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 38–39.

123. Hallowell, *Negro as a Soldier*, 14; Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 35; reel 13, 54th Records, MHS (Emilio’s note about Carney bears his initials and the date Oct 1st 1884); Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 84. A Confederate captain had taken the 54ths state flag to Charleston after the Wagner attack and after the war had given it to rebel General Roswell S. Ripley, who had moved to London after the Confederate defeat. After Massachusetts elected a Democrat, William Gaston, as governor in 1874, Ripley returned the flag to the commonwealth to promote “the oblivion of the animosities which led to the war.” It was received and acknowledged by the Massachusetts legislature in March 1875. See Chet Bennett, *Resolute Rebel: General Roswell S. Ripley, Charleston’s Gallant Defender* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), chap. 32 (unpaginated). See also “Under the Dome,” *Boston Globe*, 22 March 1875, 1, and “The Legislature,” *ibid.*, 2 April 1875, 2, which includes the correspondence between Ripley and

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Fig. 1.12. At an unknown time after the Wagner siege, Sergeant William H. Carney posed with the tattered American flag for a photographer. Luis E. Emilio used the image as the frontispiece for his regimental history, *A Brave Black Regiment*, in 1890, and the photograph had been saved by 54th Major John W. M. Appleton (1832-1913), who moved to West Virginia after the war. Courtesy John W. M. Appleton Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.

Gaston. Many accounts, including Bennett's, confuse the state flag with the national flag returned from the Wagner parapet by Company C Sergeant William H. Carney. Furlong's statement appears in "The Brave Col. Shaw," *Boston Sunday Herald*, 30 May 1897, 25. Furlong (ca 1838-1909) was a native of Virginia and a waiter and steward living in New Bedford when he enlisted in the 54th. He became a corporal and then a sergeant in Company C. He was active in veterans' affairs virtually from the moment he was discharged, and he moved to Boston by about 1870 and worked for the rest of his life as a porter and gas fitter. Furlong revealed that he had been "born in slavery" only toward the end of his life in a deposition accompanying his pension application; see Earl F. Mulderink III, "We Want a Country': African-American and Irish-American Community Life in New Bedford, Massachusetts, during the Civil War Era" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin Madison, 1995), 269.

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George Washington Williams later wrote that Wall's bravery was overshadowed by Carney's (fig. 1.12). "After the United States colors had been taken up and borne to the top of the parapet, henceforth history seems to have kept her jealous eye upon Sergeant William H. Carney, the heroic self-appointed successor to Sergeant John Wall," Williams observed. "Sergeant Carney planted his flag upon the ramparts of the rebel fort, and after having received three severe wounds, brought it to rear stained with his own blood."¹²⁴ The accounts of Carney's action are many, and the various iterations of his words upon carrying the flag into the field hospital—even as he recalled them—suggest their mythic stature. Soon after the siege Carney was quoted to have said, "Boys, I but did my duty; the dear old flag never touched the ground." In 1904, in one of his most complete accounts of the event, Carney put it slightly differently:

As the boys made the rush for the fort, I saw the old flag fall. It was the work of a moment to throw my gun away and grasp the staff of the falling colors and get to the head of the column. It was a rush to the parapet. The scene was a terrible one. Around me were the dead and the dying. My comrades had been shot by my side. It seemed a miracle that I should have been spared in that awful slaughter. When I recovered from my semi-stupor, on account of the scenes of blood about me, I found myself standing on the top of the embankment all alone. It were folly for me to try to advance, so I dropped on my knees among my dead comrades, and I laid as low and quiet as possible. The hilt of the staff was in the sand—and the flag never trailed in the dust. Horrors upon horrors accumulated. I was almost blinded by the dirt flying around me and nearly distracted by the shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying men about me. As soon as I could distinguish anything in the darkness, I could see dimly on one side a line of men mounting the ramparts and going down into the fort. I thought they must be our men, but in the light of a cannon flash I saw they were the enemy. Then I knew we had lost and I looked about for a chance to retreat under cover. I wrapped the precious colors about the staff and cautiously picked my way among the dead and dying, going down the embankment to the ditch where the water was now waist deep. After wading through it I got to the outer embankment, and as I mounted the incline my leg was shattered by a shot. I still had power to crawl and did so. A man of the One Hundredth New York came to my assistance and offered to carry the colors. "No, sir," I replied to him. "No man gets these colors unless he is a Fifty-fourth Massachusetts man." A moment later I received a second wound, when a fragment of shell struck me in the head.

124. Williams, *History of the Negro Troops*, 199.

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Well, I managed, after great exertion to get into our own lines, and finally delivered that flag into the hands of Capt Amelio [*sic*] and a squad of our men. Perhaps the boys didn't cheer me. Then again, perhaps they did, as they saw the old flag. Their cheers inspired my enthusiasm and I shouted back as best I could: "Boys, the old flag never touched the ground." That's all I remember, except that they say I was in the hospital at Beaufort for many days after that.¹²⁵

Lewis H. Douglass wrote to his parents two days after the attack, "Saturday night we made the most desperate charge of the war on Fort Wagner, loosing [*sic*] in killed, wounded and missing in the assault, three hundred of our men. The splendid 54th is cut to pieces. All our officers with the exception of eight were either killed or wounded. . . . I had my sword sheath blown away while on the parapet of the Fort. The grape and canister, shell and minnies swept us down like chaff, still our men went on and on, and if we had been properly supported we would have held the Fort, but the white troops could not be made to come up. The consequence was we had to fall back, dodging shells and other missiles."¹²⁶

125. "Bravest of His Race," *Morning Journal and Courier* (Boston), 25 June 1904, from the *Boston Globe*. Other, longer accounts in Carney's words appeared, one in 1892 and the other after his death; see Leonard Bolles Ellis, *History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1602-1892* (Syracuse NY: D. Mason and Co., 1892), 346-50, which Ellis solicited from Carney and quoted in its entirety, and "Sergeant Carney Dead: For Last Seven Years Messenger in Office of Secretary of State—Won High Distinction in Civil War—32 Years Letter Carrier Here," *New Bedford Evening Standard*, 9 December 1908. Carney's 1863 statement appeared in an anonymous account with a dateline of Beaufort, S.C., 20 August 1863, quoted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 95-97. Also in 1863 Colonel Milton S. Littlefield, briefly in command of the 54th, quoted Carney's declaration twice, differently each time—"The flag has not been on the ground" (M. S. Littlefield, Colonel Fourth SC Vol. Cav. Regt., Morris Island, to John A. Andrew, 24 July 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 64-65) and "Boys, the old flag never touched the ground" (Col. M. S. Littlefield, Morris Island, to Col. A. G. Browne Jr., military secretary to Gov. John A. Andrew, 15 October 1863, quoted in "Interesting Correspondence," *Liberator*, 6 November 1863, 4). Other variants include "The old flag never touched the ground" (Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 35) and "The old flag never touched the ground, boys" (Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 201). In a deposition in support of awarding Carney the Congressional Medal of Honor, one member of Company C stated that "Carney threw away his rifle, snatched the flag, and springing to the front, led the way up to the parapet"; he was isolated by heavy fire and retreated in a "storm of shot and shell" that wounded him three times, and he refused to surrender the flag to anyone but survivors of his own regiment; when he found his regimental comrades he said, "Boys I only did my duty. The old flag never touched the ground." This statement appears in Earl F. Mulderink, "'We Want a Country': African-American and Irish-American Community Life in New Bedford, Massachusetts, during the Civil War Era" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1995), which cites the Company C member as Christian A. Fleetwood, who like Carney was a Congressional Medal of Honor winner. He was not, however, a member of the Massachusetts 54th; it was likely instead the statement of Lewis A. Fleetwood of New Bedford, who was a member of Carney's Company C.

126. "From Charleston. The 54th Massachusetts at Fort Wagner—Letter from Sergeant Douglass," *Douglass' Monthly*, August 1863, 852-53.

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Eli George Biddle later recalled that for him at Wagner “the biggest problem became figuring out which way to start crawling.” The 1897 unveiling of the Shaw Memorial presented surviving veterans of the 54th with another opportunity to recount the battle. Wesley Furlong recalled for the *Boston Herald*, “Grape and canister rained, as it appeared, out of heaven, and men fell before the missiles as grass before the sickle. . . . The groans of the dying and wounded were terrible, yet we never faltered.” Furlong stated that after General Strong twice ordered the regiment to retreat, they fell back to the stockades in front of the fort “and found a ditch below the stockades filled with water, perhaps 2½ feet deep; at any rate, it caught some men up to the waist and others to their shoulders and neck, and we never shall be able to tell how many of our boys were left in that stockade in that condition. I remember seeing Col. Shaw climbing the parapet, and the next moment he had disappeared.” Burrill Smith then also described the attack to the *Herald*:

I remember how the order came for us to march on that fateful night. Not one of us knew where we were going, and we did not dream that we were about to assail Wagner. As we came up the island, to charge on the battery, just before we reached the ditch, it looked as though there wasn't a soul in the battery, but all of a sudden a cloud of men rose and fired hand grenades into us, and men began to fall on every side. It was a beastly night. The rain fell in torrents, as I never saw it fall before or since. I was wounded in the left knee and sank down upon the sand. Dead bodies tumbled and rolled from the parapet and fell on all sides of me. The assault lasted only about half an hour, and soon afterward I heard the order given from the fort to skirmish the bank. Then I knew that I should be discovered and taken prisoner, so I dragged myself along as well as I was able, while shot and shell, from the gunboats firing into the fort, exploded all about me. I was taken up by one of the 7th Connecticut boys, who did great service in taking the wounded and dead off the field at Wagner. I was taken on a stretcher about three miles to the transport, which conveyed the wounded to the hospital at Beaufort. I shall never forget the sight there. Blood was everywhere, legs and arms just sawed off were in full view, and in my exhausted state you can imagine the harrowing sight it must have been to me.¹²⁷

Peter Vogelsang, wounded at James Island, stated in an August 1863 account what he heard from troops as the hospital boat on which he lay recuperating approached Morris Island to pick up the wounded:

127. “The Brave Col. Shaw,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, 30 May 1897, 25; Biddle quoted in David Arnold, “A Renewal of Glory,” *Boston Globe*, 22 December 1990, 31.

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It was then I learned that an attack had been made by our boys the night before, with the bayonet, and though they got in and planted their flag, they had been driven out by shot and shell from Fort Sumter, and were terribly cut up. About 8 o'clock they began to come on board—and such a sight! Blood, mud, sand and water, broken legs and arms, some dying and some dead—it was an awful sight. Our boat was filled up and ordered to Hilton Head. The whites were left there and the blacks brought here.

I have not found out yet our total loss in killed, wounded and missing, and shall not until I again get with the regiment, which is still in the trenches at Morris Island. I have lost a great many of my friends. We are all getting along here very well, but there is a good many without arms and legs, and some who will die of their wounds.¹²⁸

Harriet Tubman, then serving as a nurse, cook—she later claimed to have served Robert Gould Shaw his last meal—and possibly a scout for the Union Army, witnessed the Wagner attack. “Then we saw the lightning, and that was the guns;” she was quoted in 1906 to have said, “and then we heard the thunder, and that was the big guns; and then we heard the rain falling, and that was the drops of blood falling; and when we came to get in the crops, it was the dead that we reaped.”¹²⁹

Estimates of the casualties from the Wagner attack vary. Immediately after the battle the *New York Times* published a “partial list” of casualties by company and, often, surname for the Union regiments involved in the siege. The *Times* reported 6 killed, 123 wounded (10 of whom were officers), and 135 missing.¹³⁰ Edward N. Hallowell, who took command of the 54th after Shaw’s death, reported officially in November 1863 that 9 enlisted men had been killed, 147 were wounded, and 100 were missing, but as historian Willie Lee Rose pointed out Hallowell’s report did not take into account the number of wounded men who died afterward in hospital “both of their injuries and of the fevers.” Among them was William Richard Lee, a private in Company F from Elmira, New York, who was hit twice during the battle. “I was severely wounded while we were on the Fort, by a ball

128. “Letter from Sergeant Peter Vogelsang,” *Anglo-African*, 22 August 1863, 1.

129. Albert Bushnell Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (1906), quoted in Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004), 220.

130. “Repulse at Fort Wagner: Partial Lists of Killed and Wounded in the New-York and New-England Regiments,” *New York Times*, 28 July 1863, 2. The *Times* listed Shaw as missing and Robert J. Simmons (shown as Lemmons) in Company A as killed, though Simmons was taken prisoner. Company B was recorded to have suffered five of the six deaths (the other in Company D); the number of wounded ranged from six (Company G) to 23 (Company A), while the number missing ranged from 2 (Company H) to 19 (Company K).

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from Fort Sumpter [*sic*],” he wrote to his wife from the hospital on 5 August; “—another one took my hat and a little of my hair, but spared my head for which I feel grateful to that kind Providence which watches over and protects us all. My wounds are doing well and there are no doubts of my being again able to do my duty as a man and a soldier, and I pray that I may be able to strike another blow for my Country against the Rebels.” But Lee was scarcely able to leave his bed, and his condition was “quite low” when he was placed aboard the steamer *Cosmopolitan* for New York on 3 October. He hoped only to see his wife “and the children’s faces once more,” but he died two days later.¹³¹

Historians Donald Yacovone and Russell Duncan have stated that of the 600 54th Regiment troops and 23 officers who fought at Wagner, 34 were killed (3 of them officers), 146 were wounded (11 of them officers), and 92 were captured or missing; most of the missing or captured, Yacovone has stated, were “either bayoneted by rebel troops or died in captivity.” Regiment historian Edwin Redkey determined that 74 enlisted men of the 54th died as a result of the battle at Wagner—38 killed in action and 36 never seen again and supposed dead—which was 12 percent of the 54th force that took part in the siege. Emilio’s research determined that 29 men had been captured at Fort Wagner; 11 of them died in prison.¹³²

The *New York Times* initially reported Robert Gould Shaw missing. Lewis Douglass, writing to his parents within days of the battle, stated that Shaw “is a prisoner and wounded.” Stephens wrote in the *Anglo-African* that Shaw “either received a mortal wound and fell over the wall, or stumbled into the Fort and was killed. If he still lives, it is miraculous, for he must have fell on glistening bayonets. One of the rebel prisoners says that he is wounded and still lives, but for my part I do not believe it.” Charlotte Forten, who in October 1862 became the first African American to be hired to teach freed people on the Sea Islands near Charleston, met Robert Gould Shaw on 2 July and accompanied

131. Lee, Hospital #10, Beaufort, SC, to Sarah J. Lee, 5 August 1863, and Mrs. E. H. Hawkes, Beaufort, to Sarah J. Lee, 11 November 1863, William Richard Lee Papers, Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, NY. Thanks to Rachel Dworkin of Chemung County Historical Society for making me aware of the Lee letters and sending photocopies and transcripts. William Richard Lee was born in Baltimore and was working as a weaver when he enlisted in the 54th. By 1860, he and his wife had four children. His widow married again by 1880 to jobber George Mathus or Mathews, and she was still living in Elmira and again widowed by 1888.

132. Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*, 91; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 257 n. 32; Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 26, 249 n. 21; Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 52. Redkey, “Brave Black Volunteers,” 28–29. maintains that 38 (not 31) enlisted men were killed and 175 (not 146) were wounded, though he did not specify how many of the wounded were officers.

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him to a Baptist church “shout” on St. Helena Island two days later. On 20 July she learned that Shaw might have been killed. “I cannot, cannot believe it. And yet I know it may be true. . . . And oh, I still must hope that our colonel, *ours* especially he seems to me, is not killed.” Three days later she had a different report, and she shared it with the wounded members of the 54th:

Told them we had heard that their noble Colonel was not dead, but had been taken prisoner by the rebels. How joyfully their wan faces lighted up! They almost started from their couches as the hope entered their souls. Their attachment to their gallant young colonel is beautiful to see. How warmly, how enthusiastically they speak of him. “He was one of the best little men in the world,” they said. “No one c’ld be kinder to a set of men than he was to us.” Brave grateful hearts! I hope they will ever prove worthy of such a leader. And God grant that he may indeed be living.¹³³

Yet on 24 July, fully six days after the battle, Shaw’s death was confirmed, and the news that he had been buried in a trench with many of his troops spread rapidly through the North. James Henry Gooding wrote that same day what he had learned of Shaw’s burial:

We have since learned by the flag-of-truce boat that Colonel Shaw is dead—he was buried in a trench with 45 of his men! not even the commonest respect paid to his rank. Such conduct is in striking contrast to the respect paid a rebel Major, who was killed on James Island. The Commander of the 54th regiment had the deceased rebel officer buried with all the honors of war granted by the regulations; and they have returned the compliment by tossing him into a ditch. . . . The men of the regiment are raising a sum to send the body of the Colonel home, as soon as Fort Wagner is reduced. They all declare that they will dig for his body till they find it. They are determined this disgrace shall be counteracted by something noble.¹³⁴

An article signed only “G.” and published in the 8 August 1863 *National Anti-Slavery Standard* reported, “When inquiry was made at Fort Wagner, under flag of truce, for the body of Colonel Shaw of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth, the answer was, ‘We have buried him with his niggers!’ It is the custom of savages to outrage the dead, and it was

133. “From Charleston”; Stephens, Morris Island, SC, 21 July 1863, to *Anglo-African*, published 8 August 1863, in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 246; Stevenson, ed., *Forten*, 494, 496–97.

134. Gooding, Morris Island, SC, to *Mercury*, 24 July 1863, published 4 August 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 41–42. Oddly, George Stephens stated nothing in his letters to the *Anglo-African* about the manner of Shaw’s burial.

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only natural that the natives of South Carolina should attempt to heap insult upon the remains of the brave young soldier.” While meant to demean Shaw because he had led African American troops, many in the North interpreted the burial differently: the act disgraced the South, not Shaw, and, if the manner of his death were not sufficient to do so, the burial transformed Shaw into a martyr. George Washington Williams stated of the rebel response, “It was thought thus to cast indignity upon the hero dead, but it was a failure. The colonel and his men were united in life, and it was fitting that they should not be separated in death. In this idea his father joined.” Indeed, Shaw’s father wrote to Major Lincoln R. Stone, a surgeon in the 54th, on 3 August:

We mourn over our own loss & that of the Reg’t but find nothing else to regret in Rob’s life death or burial. We would not have his body removed from where it lies surrounded by his brave & devoted soldiers, if we could accomplish it by a word. Please to bear this in mind & also, let it be known, so that, even in case there should be an opportunity, his remains may not be disturbed. . . . If in some way it could be conveyed to the Regiment that we look to them to maintain the honor of their Colonel & of the brave men who fell with him & that we feel sure they will do it, I should be glad.

“Our darling son, our hero, has received at the hands of the rebels the most fitting burial possible,” Frank Shaw wrote a few weeks later to Lydia Maria Child. “They buried him with his brave devoted followers, who fell dead over him, and around him. The poor benighted wretches thought they were heaping indignities on his dead body, but the act recoils on themselves, and proves them absolutely incapable of appreciating noble qualities. They thought to give an additional pang to the bruised hearts of his friends; but we would not have him buried elsewhere, if we could. If a wish of ours would do it, we would not have his body taken away from those who loved him so devotedly, with whom and for whom he gave up his life.” And he wrote to Edward Pierce, “We can imagine no holier place than that in which he is, among his brave and devoted followers, nor wish for him better company. . . . What a bodyguard he has!”¹³⁵

135. Francis George Shaw, New York, to Dr. Stone, 3 August 1863, Francis George Shaw Papers Concerning Robert Gould Shaw, 1863–64, MA Am 1573, Houghton Library, Harvard University; Shaw quoted in Lydia Maria Child to Oliver Johnson, editor, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, before 22 August 1863, in Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Child*, 436. William Lloyd Garrison, Boston, to Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, 30 October 1863, quoted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 173–74; Francis Shaw to E. L. Pierce, 21 July 1863, quoted in Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 259.

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In early August, Edward L. Pierce visited the hospitals housing the wounded in Beaufort, South Carolina, and sent Governor Andrew a list of 144 privates and noncommissioned officers being treated there. The city had six such hospitals; Hospital No. 6 was set off to these 54th men and other African American soldiers. Harriet Tubman was assigned to this “Negro Hospital,” where she recalled her unending effort to keep flies from her patients’ wounds. “You wish to know how to send a box to the sick and wounded of the 54th,” Lewis Douglass wrote to his fiancée from Morris Island on 15 August; “you may direct to the Sick and wounded Hospital No. 6, Beaufort S. C. Send by Adams Express. The colored women of Beaufort have shown their appreciation of the cause by helping take care of our sick and wounded, under the irrepressible Harriet Tubman.” Pierce had also noted in his letter to Andrew that the hospitalized 54th “are well attended to, just as well as the white soldiers, the attentions of the surgeons and nurses being supplemented by those of the colored people here, who have shown a great interest in them.” Charlotte Forten was put to sewing the 54th’s damaged uniforms and later wrote letters home for the wounded men. “It was with a full heart that I sewed up bullet holes and bayonet cuts,” Forten wrote in her journal. “Sometimes I bound a jacket that told a sad tale—so torn to pieces that it was far past mending. After a while I went through the wards. As I passed along I thought ‘Many and low are the pallets, but each is the face of a friend.’ And I was surprised to see such cheerful faces looking up from the beds.”¹³⁶ Pierce expressed a similar view:

The men of the regiment are very patient, and where their condition at all permits them, are cheerful. They expressed their readiness to meet the enemy again, and they keep asking if Wagner is yet taken. Could any one from the North see these brave fellows as they lie here, his prejudice against them, if he had any, would all pass away.

The attack on Wagner triggered criticism in the immediate and the long term. In 1881 the Confederate general in command of Wagner told one of the 54th’s officers, “Altogether, the general opinion is that it was madness to have assaulted this place on July 18th.” George Washington Williams pronounced it a failure and asserted that “the unusually large

136. Douglass letter in Bernier and Taylor, *If I Survive*, 190; Stevenson, ed., *Forten*, 495. On the “Negro Hospital” see “Our Hospitals—The Wounded,” *Free South* (Beaufort SC), 25 July 1863, 3, which lists the names of companies of every man in these six hospitals. Hospital 6 was reported to be full and housed 69 men from the 54th. The regiment’s officers were cared for in other hospitals. Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 46, notes that many Sea Island people brought food to the hospitals after the battle and that one formerly enslaved man stated that the men had been “wounded for we.” Pierce’s letter is transcribed in “The Attack upon Fort Wagner,” *Liberator*, 7 August 1863, 3.

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number of men missing proves that the regiment had fought its way into the fort, and if properly supported, Wagner would have been captured.” Lewis Douglass had used almost the same words—“if we had been properly supported we would have held the Fort”—and several others who took part in the battle noted the failure of supporting regiments to arrive when they were needed. Daniel States of Company B, taken prisoner at Wagner, later said he lay in a ditch “awaiting the reserves which never came. . . . I have no doubt but if we had been supported as I understood we were promised, we could have captured all in the fort.” Emilio wrote to his parents that the second, white brigade had “broken” under Confederate fire and a third brigade simply failed to reinforce the attack. Stephens among others also reported considerable friendly fire. He stated that the 54th alone fought the Confederate force at Wagner for an hour “before we were re-enforced; and when the regiment reached us, the 3d New Hampshire, which was presumed to be our re-enforcements they, to a man, emptied their rifles into us. Thus we lost nearly as many men by the bullets of our presumed friends as by those of our known enemies.”¹³⁷

In addition, the nighttime assault had virtually no support from the Union Navy, which had shelled the fort all afternoon. In his 1887 history of African Americans in the military, 54th veteran Joseph T. Wilson cited a newspaper account written after the battle: “Our soldiers pressed on, and gained a foothold on the parapet; but, not being supported by other troops, nor aided by the guns of the fleet, which quietly looked on, they were forced to retreat, leaving many of their comrades in the hands of the enemy. It is the opinion of many that if the fleet had moved up at the same time, and raked the fort with their guns, our troops would have succeeded in taking it.”

137. Wm B Taliaferro to George Pope, 2 February 1881, 54th Records, MHS, quoted in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 41; Williams, *History of the Negro Troops*, 199; States quoted in reel 13, 54th Records, MHS; Stephens, Morris Island SC, 21 July 1863, in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 245–46, 249 n. 18. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 193, states that after Shaw was killed the 54th at Wagner “fought on desperately until the failure of supporting white regiments to come up in time compelled a general retreat.” Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 37–38, wrote, ““Through a terrible blunder the re-enforcements came up too late. If they had been sent forward in due time the fort would have been probably taken. But the daring and the sacrifice of the assault could avail nothing without the support which had been promised, but which an utter lack of generalship defeated.” Emilio’s statement is in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 42–45. Yacovone has stated that Stephens later expressed doubt about the identity of the regiment that fired on him and his comrades and that because the battle took place in darkness probably more than one Union regiment shot at Union troops.

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Some regarded the placement of the 54th at the head of the charge as deliberately sacrificial. Several historians have cited the testimony of *New York Tribune* special correspondent Nathaniel Paige, who claimed before the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission in 1864 that he had witnessed a conversation between Generals Gillmore and Truman Seymour in which Gillmore permitted Seymour to undertake an assault on Fort Wagner and asked how he would organize it. Paige stated that Seymour said, "Well, I guess we'll let Strong lead and put those damned niggers from Massachusetts in the advance; we might as well get rid of them one time or another." Frederick Douglass had certainly considered this possibility well before Wagner: in March 1863 he cautioned potential recruits not to heed the assertion "that the getting of you into the army is to 'sacrifice you on the first opportunity.'" The enslaved Tom Anderson stated in Harper's novel *Iola Leroy* that his enslaver "tole me he 'spected de Yankees would want us to go inter de army, an' dey would put us in front whar we'd all git killed."¹³⁸ Yet in an author's note to his history of the 54th, African American historian Peter Burchard stated that no evidence exists "that the Negroes of the Fifty-Fourth were chosen to lead the attack on Fort Wagner because they were thought of as black cannon fodder." In this "first great modern war," Burchard asserted, "fiascos were as plentiful as sparrows in a barnyard."¹³⁹

Yet the widely shared sense that the 18 July attack was poorly conceived, planned, and executed did not embrace any serious negative evaluation of Shaw. Burchard lay the blame for the failed attack on Gillmore and Seymour and allowed that Shaw "might be criticized for leading his men into battle when they were tired and had had so little food and water." Yet, he added, "It would have been contrary to Shaw's temper, to the temper of any good soldier, and contrary to the wishes of most of his men if Shaw had refused Strong's offer on the grounds that they all could have done with a good night's rest." Little exists in the record to suggest that the African American men who served under Shaw felt anything but high regard for him (fig. 1.13), even as they may quite carefully have

138. The newspaper account, unattributed, appears in Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx: African American Soldiers in the War of Independence, the War of 1812, and the Civil War* (1887; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 250–56. Paige quoted in Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York and London: Free Press and Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1986), 38, and Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 50. Paige's testimony is included in item 36 of *Testimony Accompanying the Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission*, May 15, 1864. Douglass quoted in "A Call to the Negroes to Arm," *Liberator*, 13 March 1863. Harper, *Iola Leroy*, 32.

139. Peter Burchard, *One Gallant Rush: Robert Gould Shaw and His Brave Black Regiment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 149.

Fig. 1.13. "Grand March of the 54th Mass. Volunteers," 1863, composed by Henry Jones of the 54th and dedicated to the "lamented" Shaw. Jones was a private in Company A and from Lanesboro in western Massachusetts. This copy, dated Morris Island, South Carolina, 15 October 1864, was given by Lieutenant Frederick E. Rogers to his sister Anna. Rogers and Jones were both members of Company A. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.



expressed what they believed white Americans wanted to hear. Pierce had noted on his hospital visit that the 54th's wounded men "grieve greatly at the loss of Col. Shaw, who seems to have acquired a strong hold on their affections." Albanus Fisher, a laborer from Norristown, Pennsylvania, and a sergeant in Company I, wrote to his company captain George Pope, "I still feel more Eager for the struggle than I ever yet have, for I now wish to have Revenge for our galant Curnel." Gooding wrote for the *Mercury* in mid-August about "the general feeling of the regiment" toward Shaw: "the men appreciate his qualities, as a friend, commander and hero, and, I might add, without any extravagance, a martyr—for such he has proved himself to be." Shaw's dedication to implementing "a system or order and discipline" among the 54th was not only necessary in a military respect, he wrote, but would serve the troops well "when the time arrived to become citizens." Gooding observed that Shaw was "not familiar with his men," and because he lacked "abolition fanaticism" he was impartial: the men could not rely upon abolitionist sentiment to save them if they failed to obey orders or otherwise violated military codes. "In him," Gooding said, "the regiment has lost one of its best and most devoted friends." While she sewed

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and wrote for the wounded 54th in Beaufort, Charlotte Forten wrote to Shaw's mother that the men's "attachment to their Colonel was beautiful to see. I believe there was not one who would not willingly have laid down his life for him."¹⁴⁰ In late October 1863 New York African American minister and abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet described to Mrs. Shaw the feeling in his church about her son:

We all watched with great interest the career of Colonel Shaw. We all loved him, and prayed for him and his gallant boys. . . . I am sure that your heart would have glowed with maternal pride, if you had heard his men speak in my church, on last Sunday night. The mention of his name by a Sergeant of the Fifty-fourth, who was near him when he fell, excited a feeling so deep and enthusiastic, that even my rather staid and precise people were hardly kept from cheering on the Lord's day. The Sergeant said there was not a man in the regiment who would not willingly have laid down his life for him. Many things were said of him, all of which illustrated the opinion which is universally entertained, that Colonel Shaw was an honourable man, a brave soldier, a genuine and true gentleman.¹⁴¹

Even George Stephens, the harshest known critic within the 54th of the conduct of the war, called Shaw "the bravest of the brave."¹⁴² But for Stephens and others regard for Shaw did not rest solely on his bravery. That Robert Gould Shaw was not as committed to abolitionism as either of his parents is well documented, but he had stood by and for them on the matter of armaments, uniforms, promotions, and equal pay. He objected strenuously to the proposal to arm his regiment with pikes instead of guns; it was the idea of someone who was, he wrote, "looking for a means of annihilating negro troops altogether." Both Stephens and Wesley Furlong recalled Shaw's outrage that the Department of the South's quartermaster had sent the 54th the dark blue uniforms "such as were given to contraband soldiers and not to soldiers of the regular Union army." Furlong stated,

140. "The Attack on Fort Wagner," *Liberator*, 7 August 1863, 3; "The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 28 July 1863, 3; Albanus Fisher to "My Dear Afflicted Captin," 31 July 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 54; Gooding, Morris Island SC, 16 August 1863, to *Mercury*, published 29 August 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 49–51; Forten to Mrs. F. G. Shaw, 16 August 1863, quoted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 145–46. Forten seems to have relied on her journal entry about her hospital work in this letter; see Stevenson, ed., *Forten*, 496–97. See also Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands: Part II," *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1864.

141. Henry Highland Garnet, New York NY, to Mrs. Shaw, 23 October 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 170–71.

142. Stephens quoted in Eliza Richards, *Battle Lines: Poetry and Mass Media in the U.S. Civil War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 108.

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Col Shaw's attention was attracted to some of the men who were wearing the uniform, and, mistaking them for soldiers other than his own, asked who they were. When he was told that they were his men, he made inquiries as to why they were wearing the contrabands' suits, which were of a blue so dark that they illy contrasted with the Union blue. Upon being told, he sent to the quartermaster and ordered them returned, demanding that his men have such uniforms as Massachusetts soldiers wore, and they were immediately supplied.¹⁴³

Most notable was Shaw's stance on the matter of equal pay, which inflamed the regiment as well as many other Americans from early June 1863 until mid-June 1864. Recruiters and their literature promised that the standard thirteen dollars a month would be paid to African American soldiers, but U.S. Attorney General Edward Bates, assuming these troops would be used exclusively for fatigue duty, declared that they had been enrolled under the 1862 Militia Act, which paid African Americans laboring for the Union Army ten dollars a month, with three dollars taken from that monthly pay for a clothing allowance. "It is not yet decided that this regt comes under the order," Shaw wrote to his father on 1 July. "If it does I shall refuse to allow them to be paid until I hear from Gov. Andrew. The regt ought, in that case, to be mustered out of service, as they were enlisted on the understanding that they were to be on the same footing as other Mass. Vols." Shaw stated the same in a letter to Andrew the next day. Even John Murray Forbes wrote to Andrew that the troops "have been deceived, they cannot even be permitted to die for their country on an equality with other soldiers, they have been made to feel that they still are only niggers not men." For his part Andrew called the decision "a great piece of injustice" and began, along with Stearns, Sumner, and others, to persuade Lincoln and Stanton to reconsider. Soon after Andrew received a letter from Company C Sergeant Frederic Johnson, a Boston hairdresser whom he almost certainly knew. Johnson told Andrew that his comrades felt "they have been duped" and expressed the view that the regiment ought to be recalled to Massachusetts to serve as a "home guard." Andrew replied that his and the commonwealth's promise to the men was "dishonored by the government."

The Lincoln Administration did not relent after Shaw's death, and from Morris Island James Henry Gooding described the 54th's encounter in August with the paymaster and Colonel Milton S. Littlefield, temporarily in command of the regiment:

143. Shaw to Andrew in *Memorial R.G.S.144*, 33–34; Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 277, 253; "The Brave Col. Shaw," *Boston Sunday Herald*, 30 May 1897, 25.

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Last Wednesday afternoon the companies were all formed in line in their respective streets, when Col. Littlefield addressed each company separately to this effect: "I have been requested by the paymaster to say that if the men are ready to receive TEN dollars per month as part pay, he will come over and pay the men off; you need not be afraid though that you won't get your THIRTEEN dollars per month, for you surely will." He then went on explaining how this little financial hitch was brought about, by telling us of some old record on file in relation to paying laborers or contrabands employed on public works, which the War Department had construed as applying to colored soldiers, urging us to take the TEN now and wait for some action of the Government for the other three. He then said, "all who wish to take the ten dollars per month, raise your right hand," and I am glad to say not one man in the whole regiment lifted a hand. . . . Too many of our comrades' bones lie bleaching near the walls of Fort Wagner to subtract even one cent from our hard earned pay. If the nation can ill afford to pay us, we are men and will do our duty while we are here without a murmur, as we have done always, before and since that day we were offered to sell our manhood for ten dollars per month.

George Stephens wrote of the same meeting, "If we are not placed on the same footing with other Massachusetts soldiers, we have been enlisted under false pretences. Our enlistment itself is fraudulent. . . . Why, in the name of William H. Seward, are we treated thus? Does the refusal to pay us our due pander to the pro-slavery Cerebus?"¹⁴⁴ The 55th's James Monroe Trotter urged the men to pledge "to die if necessary, for nothing, rather than take the pay and position of menials in the Union Army." In his biography of Charles Sumner African American journalist Archibald H. Grimké stated, "There is something incredibly mean in that pro-slavery spirit which, after calling men to fight and die to preserve the life of the nation, could refuse them equal pay with the other soldiers on account of their color. Nevertheless, of such incredible meanness was the Government certainly guilty toward its colored troops." And in April 1864 Company H Corporal Thomas D. Freeman wrote to his family, "We have not our Pay yet and I never think we will Oh for shame on Such Equality Such A Government as this don't suit me."¹⁴⁵

144. Shaw, St. Helena Island SC, to Francis G. Shaw, 1 July 1863, and to Gov. Andrews, 2 July 1863, in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 33–34, 366–67; G. E. S., "From the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment," *Anglo-African*, 29 August 1863, dated "in Camp, Morris Island, S.C., Aug. 7, 1863." The letters of Johnson, Andrew, and Forbes are quoted in Donald Yacovone, "The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, the Pay Crisis, and the 'Lincoln Despotism,'" in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 39, and Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 59–60, 91 n. 7, 258–59, 262 n. 4, n. 6; Gooding, Morris Island, 9 August 1863, published in *Mercury*, 21 August 1863, in Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 48–49.

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The 54th Massachusetts remained on Morris Island and was among the force that finally captured Fort Wagner on 6 September 1863, but they often found themselves consigned to fatigue duty. About two weeks after the fort was taken Stephens wrote to Philadelphia African American activist William Still that the 54th Regiment “had become a group of ‘ditchers,’ not soldiers” and were “in a state of demoralization.” “Picket” from the 55th Regiment, which had reached South Carolina in late July 1863, wrote to Garnet in June 1864, “Our debasement is almost complete. No chances for promotion, no money for our families, and we little better than an armed band of laborers with rusty muskets and bright spades.” They and their friends persistently, and to no avail, urged the government to commission qualified African American troops to lead them.¹⁴⁶ Harriet Jacobs and her daughter Louisa wrote from Alexandria to Lydia Maria Child:

How nobly are the colored soldiers fighting and dying in the cause of freedom! Our hearts are proud of the manhood they evince, in spite of the indignities heaped upon them. They are kept constantly on fatigue duty, digging trenches, and unloading vessels. Look at the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth! Every man of them a hero! marching so boldly and steadily to victory or death, for the freedom of their race, and the

145. Stephens, Morris Island SC, 7 August 1863, in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 253; Trotter and Freeman in *ibid.*, 63, 73; Grimké, *Sumner*, 354. The pay issue has been examined extensively. See in particular Yacovone, “The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, the Pay Crisis, and the ‘Lincoln Despotism’”; Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 58–60, 63–64, 71–79; *Memorial R.G.S.*, 33–34, 177; Redkey, “Brave Black Regiment,” 25–36; Edwin S. Redkey, *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 232–35; McPherson, *Negro’s Civil War*, 201–6; Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 118–20, 122–24; Hallowell, *Negro as a Soldier*, 15–19. See also “Selections: Massachusetts Legislature,” *Liberator*, 20 November 1863, 1; “An Act to Make up the Deficiencies in the Monthly Pay of the Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Regiments,” chap. 251 of *Statutes Enacted at a Special Session of the General Court of Massachusetts Convened on Wednesday, the 11th Day of November, 1863*, and Edward Bates to President of the United States, 13 May 1864, reel 14, 54th Records, MHS; “Justice to the Colored Troops,” *Liberator*, 29 January 1864, 2.

146. “Picket” to Henry Highland Garnet, 20 June 1864, published in *Anglo-African*, 30 July 1864, and quoted in Donald Yacovone, “The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, the Pay Crisis, and the ‘Lincoln Despotism,’” in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 43, 282 n. 20; Stephens to Still, 19 September 1864, in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 47. Norwood Hallowell wrote to Andrew within weeks of the Wagner attack that if there was “a ditch to be dug, a gun to mount or a ship to unload” the Army requested “colored soldiers” for the work while the whites sat on “the beach having a very comfortable and jolly time. . . . the colored soldiers put the . . . facts together, and ask their officers what it all means.” In one anonymous letter to Andrew a 54th soldier wrote, “We suffer in Every Respect like we was Dogs or cattle.” See Hallowell to Andrew, 2 September 1863, and anonymous to Andrew, 29 July 1863, quoted in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 47–48. On African American troops’ arguments for promotion see “Justice to the Colored Troops,” *Liberator*, 29 January 1864, 2, and W. C. N., “How Colored Soldiers Think and Act,” *ibid.*, 7 October 1864, 3.

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salvation of their country! *Their* country! It makes my blood run warm to think how that country treats her colored sons, even the bravest and the best. If merit deserves reward, surely the 54th regiment is worthy of shoulder-straps. I have lately heard, from a friend in Boston, that the rank of second-lieutenant has been conferred. I am thankful there is a beginning. I am full of hope for the future. A Power mightier than man is guiding this revolution; and though justice moves slowly, it will come at last. The American people will outlive this mean prejudice against complexion. Sooner or later, they will learn that “a man’s a man for a’ that.”¹⁴⁷

The 54th Regiment fought on, at Olustee in Florida (where Gooding was captured) and in South Carolina again at Honey Hill and Boykin’s Mills. They came back to Boston on 2 September 1865 with 598 of its original force of 1007 men.¹⁴⁸ The regiment was escorted from Commercial Wharf by Gilmore’s Band, a group from Leonard Grimes’s Twelfth Baptist Church, another known only as the Hallowell Union Association, and the Shaw Guard, an African American militia unit organized in September 1863 and formally known as the 14th Unattached Company of Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. The procession marched to the State House, where Andrew met the surviving officers and enlisted men, and they executed a brief military exercise on Boston Common before Colonel Edward N. Hallowell addressed them. Hallowell said they had been good soldiers and hoped they would become good citizens, would save the pay they had only just barely received, and, if they were not from Boston, would return to their old homes. Boston confectioner William Tufts prepared a meal for the men on the mall of Charles Street between the Common and the Public Garden, and with that the regiment was disbanded.¹⁴⁹

The 54th Regiment did not take part in any of the Civil War’s bloodiest battles, and none of its engagements rank as major ones in the estimation of war historians. And even though Olustee was easily as horrific as Wagner, Wagner is the battle that established

147. Harriet and Louisa Jacobs, Alexandria VA, to Lydia Maria Child, 26 March 1864, in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 16 April 1864, and reprinted in Yellin et al., eds., *Harriet Jacobs Family Papers*, 2:560–61.

148. Redkey, “Brave Black Regiment,” 28.

149. Roger D. Cunningham, *The Black Citizen-Soldiers of Kansas, 1864–1901* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 11–12, identified the Shaw Guards, which some historians have stated contained members of the 54th; Emilio. *Brave Black Regiment*, 318–20; “Reception of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment,” *Liberator*, 8 September 1865, 3.

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the regiment's place in public consciousness. As Thomas Wentworth Higginson biographer Anna Mary Wells stated in 1963 of the Fort Wagner attack, "As a military maneuver their sacrifice was tragic folly; as propaganda it became one of the decisive actions of the war." Boston social worker John Daniels, who published the first history of Boston's African Americans in 1914, described the assault as "one of those failures which go down in history as great moral victories for the vanquished." And even though their engagements before Wagner at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend were also claimed to have put to rest the notion that African Americans could or would not fight, most seemed to view Wagner as the battle that truly established that fact, at least for a time. "In that terrible battle, under the wing of night, more cavils in respect of the quality of negro manhood were set at rest than could have been during a century of ordinary life and observation," Frederick Douglass wrote in the early 1890s. "After that assault we heard no more of sending negroes to garrison forts and arsenals, to fight miasma, yellow-fever, and smallpox. Talk of his ability to meet the foe in the open field, and of his equal fitness with the white man to stop a bullet, then began to prevail."¹⁵⁰ The tragedy of Fort Wagner, the startling scale of loss from the battle, the death of Shaw, and the intended ignominy of his burial combined to make him, the regiment, and the event almost instantly legendary. Poetry, music, painting, sculpture both small and monumental, perhaps countless elegies, and a raft of commemorative dinners, reunions, and anniversaries sprung from their example.

150. Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, 77-78; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 781. After the battle at Port Hudson in early May 1863 General Nathaniel Banks stated, "Whatever doubt may have existed heretofore as to the efficiency of organizations of this character, the history of this day proves conclusively, to those who were in a condition to observe the conduct of these regiments, that the government will find in this class of troops effective supporters and defenders." "Will the Negroes Fight?" *Liberator*, 26 June 1863, 1, and T. W. Higginson, "III. Colored Troops under Fire," *Century Illustrated*, 195-96, where the wording is slightly different. After the early June 1863 battle at Milliken's Bend assistant secretary of war Charles Dana stated that "the bravery of the blacks in the battle at Milliken's Bend completely revolutionized the sentiment of the army with regard to the employment of negro troops." See McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 191.



Fig. 2.1. World heavyweight champion boxer Joe Louis, then a sergeant in the United States Army, was photographed between 1942 and 1945 looking at the Kurz and Allison print, "Storming Fort Wagner" probably at the William H. Carney VFW Post 46 headquarters in Pittsburgh. Louis might have been in the midst of a tour at the Army's behest to encourage African American enlistment. Photograph by Charles "Teenie" Harris. Courtesy Charles "Teenie" Harris Archives, Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.

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“The Real Meaning of the War”

In the evening on 6 August 1863, less than a month after the attack on Battery Wagner and almost two decades before any part of Boston had electric street lighting, a correspondent for the *Boston Evening Transcript* went to Boston Common to see the “electric light.” Abraham Lincoln had proclaimed 6 August a day of “National Thanksgiving,” and Boston officials decided to exhibit the electric light display it had first unveiled on the Fourth of July that year. Mounted and managed by Dorchester native Edward Samuel Ritchie, a maker of “philosophical” and nautical instruments, the arc lights were installed on the cupola of the State House and on a tower near the Frog Pond on Boston Common. For two hours that night Ritchie used the lights and reflectors to stage a multicolored show on the pond’s water fountain and on the American flag on the Common’s hill. The *Transcript* columnist was watching the show when he overheard a conversation:

As we stood there, looking at the light and the fountain, we were attracted by the talk of two men standing just behind us. “I won’t allow any one to speak a word against Col. Shaw. He was a right true man; he loved his men and his men loved him. He was a scholar and a gentleman,—a real thorough-bred.” “Yes; and thought nothing could hurt him. Just like Ellsworth; he did more than he need. But they pick off all the officers with their sharpshooters. But now they know the colored men will fight as well as any men.” “Yes, and better. Think we will ever lay down our arms when it is death anyhow unless we win the battle?” “Never.”

So they went on. As the light swept round I saw they were two sturdy, intelligent black men. . . . We thought what a glorious thing it was to have gone forth to free a race of three millions from bondage: to have fallen sword in hand within the ramparts at Charleston, with his brave black soldiers fighting and falling over him; to have been buried there in the same grave with those men whose word is Freedom or Death; to have gone home to God with the blessings of a Nation; to have made his name a by-word for Heroism.¹

1. Libertas, “The Electric Light,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 August 1863, 2. For other accounts of the 4 July and 6 August light exhibitions see *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 4 July 1863, 4; “The Fourth of July,” *ibid.*, 6 July 1863, 3; *Boston Traveler*, 27 July 1863, 1; “Affairs about Home,” *Boston Herald*, 4 August 1863, 4; “The Electric Light,” *New England Farmer*, 15 August 1863, 3.

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Robert Gould Shaw, the 54th Massachusetts, and the attack on Wagner carried enormous meaning among white and black Americans. To Norwood P. Hallowell, who served under Shaw in the 54th, the late colonel exemplified what the Civil War was really about:

I have always thought that in the great war with the slave power the figure that stands out in boldest relief is that of Colonel Shaw. There were many others as brave and devoted as he,—the humblest private who sleeps in yonder cemetery or fills an unknown grave in the South is as much entitled to our gratitude,—but to no other was given an equal opportunity. By the earnestness of his convictions, the unselfishness of his character, his championship of an enslaved race, and the manner of his death, all the conditions are given to make Shaw the best historical exponent of the underlying cause, the real meaning of the war.²

Speaking for Shaw's African American troops, William Wells Brown stated shortly after the war that they "loved him with a devotion which could hardly exist anywhere else than in the peculiar relation he held to them, as commander of the first regiment of free coloured men permitted to fling out a military banner in this country, a banner that, so raised, meant to them so much." Shaw, Brown declared, "recognized a solemn duty to the black man, because he was ready to throw down all that he had, all that he was, all that this world could give him, for the negro race." George Washington Williams stated in 1888, "The story of the fall of Colonel Shaw at the head of his gallant regiment is known by heart throughout the land, and in the humble huts of the unlettered blacks of the South his name is a household word."³ Just after the Shaw Memorial unveiling in 1897, Booker T. Washington asserted that whites could only apprehend with difficulty "to what an extent the negro race reveres and idolizes the name of Colonel Shaw. Not so much for what he did as for the principle for which he stood."⁴

To Hallowell, as to many African Americans, the 54th's record of courage and "patient endurance" was of coequal value. To the anonymous African American woman who

2. Hallowell, *Negro as a Soldier*, 16. Hallowell may have first expressed this idea in a March 1886 meeting of 54th Regiment veterans at Boston's African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church. At that time he stated that Shaw and John Brown were "the best historical exponents of the underlying cause, the real meaning of the war." See "The Colored Soldier," *Boston Herald*, 5 March 1886.

3. Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 203–4 (Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 47, incorporated much of Brown's statement: "They knew that he was ready to throw all that he had, all that he was, and all that he could give for the Negro race."). Williams, *Negro Troops*, 237.

4. Booker T. Washington, "The Shaw Monument," *Leslie's Weekly Illustrated*, 17 June 1897, 397.

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submitted her verse about the 54th to the *Liberator* early in 1864, their place in the Wagner attack would be an enduring source of pride:

Ah! let the siege at Wagner tell
Of each heroic deed,

When Shaw and others bleeding fell,
How black men took the lead!⁵

The regiment's action not only in battle but also in the long fight for equal pay and commissions greatly enhanced its significance among African Americans. "The men who went to the front in the 54th and 55th Massachusetts volunteers did incalculable benefit to the colored people," Lewis Hayden stated at a Boston banquet in 1887. "When they refused to take less for their services than the white soldiers received they laid down a rule of action that has influenced materially the question of the equality of the races. They were noble men, in whom every person of our complexion feels a just pride." To Frances E. W. Harper, the men of the 54th were "bearers of a high commission / To break each brother's chain," and those who died at Wagner had achieved something singular. Some white Americans agreed that the regiment deserved unusual praise. Just after the battle at Fort Wagner George Luther Stearns admitted his guilt at having "induced" African American men to enlist in the regiment. "Many of the names of the privates wounded are familiar to me and I can recall many of their faces," Stearns wrote. "I should sometimes be tempted to say: 'Oh Lord how long did I not clearly see that this baptism of fire was necessary for the regeneration of both races.'" To Hallowell, its struggles for racial equity "fills one of the noblest and brightest pages in the history of their race, as it does one of the most disgraceful in the record of our war. . . . The Nation might break its faith, but they would keep theirs." And E. Q. (very likely the Boston abolitionist Edmund Quincy) stated the same idea eloquently in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*:

5. Anonymous, "The Black Heroes," *Liberator*, 5 February 1864, 4. The author wrote to Garrison in preface, "Having heard of your liberality of sentiment in favor of the colored people and their rights, and being one of that despised race, I venture to ask that you will give publicity to these lines, through the columns of your far-famed paper, the *Liberator*. It is nothing classic, but merely the spontaneous gushing of a black girl's soul, who has felt the influence of slavery and the blighting breath of prejudice too long to keep silent."

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Death on the field of battle, murder in cold blood if wounded, were a fate to be desired, if they chanced to fall into the enemy's hands, compared with the living death of slavery to which they were liable to be doomed,—to which we may say, and say it to the disgrace of our military authorities, they were certain of being condemned. And yet this worst of dangers has not deterred these brave and devoted men from taking up arms, and from using them like brave men, in defence [*sic*] of a country that has done them little but wrong in the past, and has neglected to take effectual precautions against the worst and peculiar danger which it knew impended over them in the present. We do not believe that the history of the world affords such another instance. . . . These brave men have taken up arms, and assumed, with them, all the perils of the field and the auction-block, for the freedom of their race and the greatness of their country.⁶

Although many examples of individual bravery existed, for the American public they were neatly encapsulated in the figure of Sergeant William H. Carney.⁷ Among African Americans he was at least as revered as Shaw. To the African American poet George Clinton Rowe Carney was the “noble hero of our race.” At his death the *New Bedford Evening Standard* stated, “Though the action was lost to the Union troops, Sergeant Carney’s deed lived to go down in history as one of the most inspiring deeds of bravery performed by any soldier. His words, when he carried the flag back to his regiment, ‘Boys, the old flag never touched the ground,’ are known by every schoolboy in the land.” Even as “Patriot pride” impelled Carney to his valor, the anonymous *Liberator* poet wrote in 1864, she openly wondered what it would mean:

And must such noble deeds
Our fetters stronger bind

6. “Recorder Trotter Honored,” *Boston Herald*, 18 August 1887, 3; Hallowell, *Negro as a Soldier*, 15, 17–18; Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, “The Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth,” *Anglo-African*, 10 October 1863; Stearns quoted in “Freedom’s Hero Honored”; E. Q., *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, quoted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 115–17.

7. Sarah Greenough, “Seeing What Ought to be: Photography and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment,” in Sarah Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride: The 54th Massachusetts Regiment and Augustus Saint-Gaudens’ Shaw Memorial* (Washington: National Gallery of Art and New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 18, states that Carney was celebrated as early as November 1864 and his statement about the flag used to recruit African Americans into the Union Army. His photograph with the flag, Greenough states, was not widely known until Luis Emilio used it as a frontispiece in his *Brave Black Regiment* in 1890.

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Or shall they to fair Freedom lead,
And make us *all* mankind?⁸

Between the death of Shaw and the 1897 unveiling of the Shaw Memorial, which revived interest in Shaw and the regiment, poems, songs, sculpture, militia units, veterans' organizations, schools, orphanages, and the names some families gave their sons paid homage to Carney, Shaw, the 54th, and the attack on Fort Wagner. And, until the last veteran died, the reunions and other gatherings of the 54th Regiment and African American Civil War veterans made all four touchstones, for instilling pride in African American accomplishment and for teaching about the rightful place of African Americans in the past, present, and future of the nation.

Tributes in Verse

Odes to Shaw, Carney, Wagner, and the regiment appeared almost as soon as Shaw's death was confirmed in the North.⁹ At least ten African Americans wrote and published verses about them before 1897, and whites published at least three times as many. Of the ten African American verses written by 1890, only two mention Shaw. And while Shaw's burial "with his niggers" was the subject of ten poems written by whites, only James Monroe Trotter's "Fifty-Fourth at Wagner" mentioned that feature of the incident; if one may judge only by these verses, the symbolism of the shared grave meant far more to whites than it did to African Americans. As Ellen Richards has noted, these poems spring from a "predominantly Anglo-American tradition [that] routinely elevates Shaw at the cost of his men, seeking to resurrect him from his place among the black collective . . . even as the poems insist on the righteousness of his resting place."¹⁰

8. "Sergeant Carney Dead," *New Bedford (MA) Evening Standard*, 9 December 1908; Anonymous, "The Black Heroes."

9. This study identified 22 poems definitely or likely written by African Americans about these subjects between March 1863 and 1914. Four were written before the 18 July 1863 Wagner battle, ten were written after the attack but before the 1897 Shaw Memorial unveiling, seven were written after 1897, and the date of one has not been ascertained. Of the ten verses written after the attack and before May 1897, only two mention Shaw. This study also identified 32 poems written by white Americans between May 1863 and 1960. Two were written before the Wagner battle. Of the remaining 30 verses, 27 mention or are named for Shaw, two mention or are named for Carney, and six mention or are named for the 54th Regiment. These poems appear in full or, for longer poems, as excerpts in Appendixes A and B.

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After the Wagner assault, the first known African American tributes were written by enlisted men in the regiment. Corporal Joseph Hall and George Parker, both members of Company E, wrote a song titled “The Fifty-fourth Mass.,” which regimental historian Luis Emilio collected certainly because he was in command of that company.¹¹ Both men were skilled and both were recruited in the West: Hall was a chairmaker born in Buffalo, New York, but living in Detroit when he enlisted, while Parker was a painter living in Cleveland. Hall was promoted and reduced in rank several times over the course of his service; he was a sergeant at the time of his August 1865 discharge. Though Ned Hallowell had urged the returning 54th men to return to their homes when he disbanded them, Hall did not. He settled in Lynn, Massachusetts, where his Virginia-born mother was living, and died there in 1885. Parker did not survive the war. By early February 1864 he was sick with diarrhea and in hospital at Hilton Head, South Carolina; he died less than a month later.

Four other African American poets, three of them women, wrote about the regiment between the 18 July attack on Battery Wagner and early 1864. Harper’s “Massachusetts Fifty-fourth” and A. P. Smith’s “A War Song for Black Volunteers” were both published in October 1863; the anonymous “Black Heroes” appeared in the February 1864 *Liberator*; and Virginia L. Molyneaux Hewlett composed a poem for a March 1864 ball given to the noncommissioned officers in the then-forming 5th Massachusetts Cavalry (the commonwealth’s third African American regiment). Smith, a printer living in New Jersey, wrote his war song to the tune of “John Brown’s Body” and celebrated in particular the African American troops of Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Louisiana.¹² Hewlett

10. Richards, *Battle Lines*, 108, 115–16, Ludwig Lauerhass, “A Commemoration: The Shaw Memorial as American Culture,” in *The Shaw Memorial: A Celebration of an American Masterpiece* (Cornish, NH: Eastern National for Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, 2002), 68, and Whitfield, “Shaw Memorial,” 21, have noted that James Russell Lowell’s well-known ode to Shaw, “*Memoriae Positum*, R.G.S., 1863,” published in *Atlantic Monthly* in January 1864, does not once mention Shaw’s African American troops. This omission seems odd especially in view of what Lowell had written to Shaw’s mother in late August 1863 while he was composing the poem: “I would rather have my name known and blest, as his will be, through all the hovels of an outcast race, than blazing from all the trumpets of repute.” This letter is quoted in Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 45.

11. This poem is in the Luis F. Emilio Papers at MHS, which are closed indefinitely. Only one stanza is known from other sources: “In sixty-one this War began, they ‘listed far and near, / But never would consent to take the Colored Volunteer, / But since that time, how things have changed, their feelings have drawn near / So lately there has been a call for Colored Volunteers.”

12. A. P. Smith, “A War Song for the Black Volunteers,” *Anglo-African*, 10 October 1863, 4. For background on Smith see the annotations to this poem at Scholarly Editing, <http://scholarlyediting.org/2013/editions/aa.18631010.4.html>.



Fig. 2.2. Virginia Louisa Molyneaux Hewlett, undated carte de visite in the photograph album kept by Harriet (Mrs. Lewis) Hayden. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

(fig. 2.2) wrote her poem to the 5th Cavalry when she was thirteen years old. Born probably in Cambridge, Hewlett was the daughter of Aaron Molyneaux Hewlett, the first African American instructor at Harvard College and professor of gymnastics there; in 1869 she married Frederick Douglass Jr. Hewlett called forth the memory mostly of the white heroes Shaw and Governor Andrew, but she also summoned the deeds of Stephen Atkins Swails, who had been promoted to sergeant-major of Company F in November 1863 and was shot in the head at the battle of Olustee on 20 February 1864, less than a

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month before she wrote her verse. Swail's commission as second lieutenant was then being thwarted by the War Department. Hewlett encouraged the new cavalry enlistees by citing the African American battle record and endeavoring to quicken their sympathy for the cause as she saw it:

Forward, then, and let this be your cry,
"Living we will be victorious,
On dying our deaths shall be glorious."
A breath of submission breathe not.
The sword that ye draw sheathe not;
For its scabbard is left where your martyrs are laid,
And the vengeance of ages has whetted its blade.
Think of those who've gone before you.
Remember those who fell at Wagner,
At James Island, and Olustee. . . .

Hasten to the battle field
Resolve to live or die like men.
Falter not while one slave breathes,
Break their chains or share their grief.
Soldiers could ye breathe the air
The slave is forced to breathe,
Or could ye lead the life
That they are forced to lead?
Brothers think of them in pity,
Think o think and try to save,
Or if that prove unsuccessful,
Better they were in their graves.

Brothers when this war is ended
If the South should gain the day,
What of those who're left in bondage
What of those you've failed to save?
But stop my brothers do not answer
I knew right well what you would say;
You are bound to conquer slavery
Or you'll fill the martyr's grave.¹³

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Between this initial spate of verse and the 1897 unveiling of the Shaw monument, another five African Americans, all of them men and all of them at some time or another Ohioans, published poems that in greater or lesser measure celebrated Shaw and the 54th. Beginning in 1863 James Madison Bell, a plasterer born in Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1826, wrote numerous long verses dealing with the war and what he feared of its aftermath. While at school in Cincinnati Bell had become radicalized, and while living with his family in Chatham, Ontario, in the 1850s he had come to know John Brown and helped enlist men to take part in his raid on Harper's Ferry. In 1860, after he married, Bell moved to San Francisco and became part of the transplanted and thriving African American political community there. He began writing poetry in California and spent much of the rest of his life working seasonally at his trade and reading his poems over much of the country during the rest of the year. In 1870 his verse "The Triumph of Liberty" recounted the decade of progress he had seen since Brown's 1859 action, the role African Americans had played in earlier battles, and the theme of much African American poetry about the Civil War—the long refusal of the government to accept their aid. In Bell's view, prejudice was at base responsible for the great loss of Union troops before Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation:

Then wild the Union to assist,
As regulars or volunteers,
The blacks rushed forward to enlist
'Midst thunder shouts and deafening cheers.

Old Massachusetts' Fifty-fourth
Filed into line, and swelled the ranks,
And charged so nobly on the South
As to extort the Nation's thanks.

Bell's suggestion that the Union only grudgingly appreciated the efforts of the 54th fell in with his overall view that the war would never be truly won until two conditions were met: African Americans must have the right to vote and be protected in that right, and the rebel impulse, not extinguished by the war, must be destroyed root and branch.¹⁴ Joshua McCarter Simpson, an African American school teacher and botanic physician who grew

13. Virginia L. Molyneaux Hewlett, "To the Fifth Mass. Cavalry. Presented to the non commissioned officers at a ball given by them March 29th 1864 at Dedham Mass" (manuscript), reproduced in Bernier and Andrew, *If I Survive*, 638–41.

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up not far from Bell, in McConnellsville, Ohio, was more sanguine about the extinction of the Confederacy and of slavery in his song “Let the Banner Proudly Wave,” written by 1874. To Simpson the rebellion was “conquered, / No more to lift its head,” and in the fact that black and men white had died for the Union lay the African American’s claim to “just and equal rights.” Moreover, it was because of the leadership and support of African Americans that the Union won the war at all:

Port Hudson and Fort Pillow,
 And Wagner’s rugged crag,
Where many a colored soldier
 Was murdered for this flag;
And Petersburg—Oulusta—
 And Nashville, all can tell.
Who were the boys that stood in front,
 And for this banner fell.

Chorus.—Let it wave, let it wave!
 Let the banner proudly wave;
Let it wave, let it wave!
 But never o’er a slave.

We’ve fed the Union soldiers
 When fleeing from the foe;
We’ve led them through the mountains
 Where white men dare not go;
Our “hoecake” and our cabbage
 And pork we freely gave,
That this old flag might be sustained—
 Now let it proudly wave.¹⁵

14. James Madison Bell, “The Triumph of Liberty” (1870), in *Poetical Works of James Madison Bell* (Lansing, MI: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1901), 83–106.

15. Joshua McCarter Simpson, “Let the Banner Proudly Wave,” *The Emancipation Car: Being an Original Composition of Anti-Slavery Ballads, Composed Exclusively for the Under Ground Rail Road* (Zanesville OH: Sullivan and Brown, 1874); the full text is also on the Missouri Historical Society website, <http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/159718>. The “song-poem” was to be sung to the tune of “Nearer to Our Happy Home.”

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By 1877 Albery Allson Whitman, born enslaved south of Louisville in 1851 and writing poetry by the time he entered Wilberforce University in Cincinnati in 1870, published his long poem “Not a Man and Yet a Man.” While Bell called slavery a cancer, to Whitman it was “gangrene,” one of the “old diseases that lurked” in the nation’s blood until God brought down the Civil War to eradicate it. Like the poems of Bell and Simpson, Whitman used a passing reference to Fort Wagner, alone of all battles he might have mentioned, to affirm the African American’s fitness as a soldier and citizen.

And where our sons their battle lances drew,
Fought not their sable comrades bravely too?
Let Wagner answer ‘mid the reeking storm
That mingles with black dead proud Shaw’s fair form.
Ask it of Fisher, and a thousand more
Brave fields that answer with their lips of gore.
And while America’s escutcheon bright,
Is bathed in war-won Freedom’s glorious light,
Forget it not, the colored man will fight.
More patriotism Sparta never knew,
A lance more knightly Norman never threw,
More courage never armed the Roman coasts,
With blinder zeal ne’er rode the Moslem hosts,
And ne’er more stubborn stood the Muscovite,
Than stood the hated negro in the fight.¹⁶

In 1883, on the anniversary of the birth of Robert Gould Shaw, another African American veteran composed an ode to the regiment. Born enslaved in Grand Gulf, Mississippi, James Monroe Trotter is said to have been freed by his white father and enslaver and sent with his mother and siblings to Cincinnati about 1854. Trotter went to the freed people’s Gilmore School in that city and then taught in various southern Ohio towns before enlisting in the 55th Massachusetts in June 1863 (fig. 2.3). After Stephen Swails, he was the second African American to become a second lieutenant in the Union Army, and, resettled in Boston after the war, he became the first man of color to be employed in the United States Post Office. Trotter, the father of Boston journalist William Monroe Trotter,

16. A. A. [Albery Allson] Whitman, *Not a Man and Yet a Man* (Springfield, OH, and Miami, FL: Republic Printing Co, Mnemosyne, 1877), American Verse Project, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/amverse/BAQ6224.0001.001/1:8?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>. See also Ivy G. Wilson, ed., *At the Dusk of Dawn: Selected Poetry and Prose of Albery Allson Whitman* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2009).



Fig. 2.3. Fifty-fifth Regiment Second Lieutenant James Monroe Trotter, undated photograph. Trotter died five years before the Shaw Memorial dedication. Courtesy Burt Green Wilder Papers, #14-26-95, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

was extremely active in the fight to realize racial equity in the postwar period. By the time he read his poem at the Shaw anniversary, Trotter had grown deeply disillusioned with the Republican party's equivocation on that issue. He became a Democrat, and in 1887 President Grover Cleveland appointed him to replace Frederick Douglass as the recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia. Trotter was also intensely involved in African American veterans' organizations in both Boston and Washington. In his ode to the 54th Trotter emphasized its role at the head of the Wagner assault and what he viewed to be at stake:

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“To front of column, Massachusetts fifty-fourth!” Thus the order came.
“’Tis what we wish!” their gallant Shaw exultingly did quick exclaim;
“With most at stake, my men undaunted now do claim the hour
To glorious victory gain, at least to show no fear of slavery’s power.”
Momentous hour! A race on trial, which oft in this and other lands
Had filled the deadly breach, had helped to burst foul slavery’s hands!
O shades of Attucks, Salem, Hannibal, O grand Toussaint,
Thy valor’s lost, thy fame is nought, if these now prove faint!

. . . Ay, noble men, dead and living, O “famous 54,”
In charge through deadly field, o’er fiery ramparts then you bore
A race’s honor, its friends’ deep hopes, a state’s free banner—
These, in thy keeping, were not lost, but saved in glorious manner!¹⁷

Like Trotter, the Congregational minister and editor George Clinton Rowe linked the deeds of earlier military men of African descent to the Civil War regiments. In his 1890 volume *Our Heroes: Patriotic Poems on Men, Women and Sayings of the Negro Race*, Rowe included verses he had written about Crispus Attucks and Toussaint L’Ouverture as well as about Civil War heroes Robert Smalls and William H. Carney. “The Old Flag” is one of at least four African American poems and songs to mention Carney by name. And just as Trotter’s ode to the 54th is largely celebratory, “The Old Flag” is a simple paean to Carney’s deed. Unlike the works of Fanny Jackson, Frances E. W. Harper, and James Madison Bell, it does not criticize the nation’s past treatment of African Americans, intimate that the Union’s success rested upon them, or express doubt about what the war had really achieved for them.

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
The Sergeant cried, with beaming face;
He heeded not the flowing wound,—
That noble hero of our race.

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
Amid the shower of leaden rain,
He dragged his wounded limb along,
Unmindful of the stinging pain.

17. James M. Trotter, “An Original Poem. Fifty-Fourth at Wagner,” *Boston Commonwealth*, 8 December 1883, also *Christian Recorder*, 24 January 1884, 1; Emilio clipped the poem from the *Commonwealth* and included it in his scrapbooks; reel 14, 54th Records, MHS.

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“The old flag never touched the ground!”
He cried with pride, exultingly;
Admiring comrades gathered round,
And cheered the hero heartily!

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
Brave Carney’s words shall ever live!
Adown the ages shall resound,
A charm, and aspiration give!

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
Ah! patriot, hero, brave and pure!
With pride we tell the tale around;
Thy fame and honor shall endure!

Honor to gallant Fifty Fourth!
Honor to color-sergeant, brave!
O’er all our country—South and North,
May stars and stripes forever wave!

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
With joy the golden motto write!
True courage lingers in the sound,
And inspiration in the sight.¹⁸

African Americans who were not published poets also wrote about Carney, Shaw, and the 54th, and it cannot of course be known how many such works may exist. In 1872 a sixteen-year-old girl named Irene LaBate, then a student at the Shaw Memorial School in Charleston, composed an essay based on research she had done and including excerpts of verse by Oliver Wendell Holmes (though not about Shaw) and Elizabeth B. Sedgwick, the latter from her “Buried with His Niggers” of 1863.¹⁹ LaBate described Shaw as “a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of Liberty for an enslaved race” and declared that her school, funded in part with money raised for a Shaw monument on Morris Island, was

18. George Clinton Rowe, “The Old Flag” (1890) in *Our Heroes: Patriotic Poems on Men, Women and Sayings of the Negro Race* (Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans, and Cogswell Co., 1890), 47–48. Many thanks to Carol Rugg for locating this poem in the Chadwyck-Healey African American Poetry database at the University of Michigan.

“for him, a monument more enduring than marble. For though not professing to be a Normal Institution, yet from this school, there have gone forth, within the past year, several teachers. And already we see a rich harvest springing up from the soil. May we as members of this School, do justice to his memory by maintaining our self-respect, honor, and integrity.” LaBate went on to teach at the Shaw School in 1873–74 under the auspices of the New England Freedman’s Aid Society. And in June 1890 Bessie Hamilton, a student at the District of Columbia’s African American Jones School, recited a poem about Shaw’s burial—whether of her own composition or another’s is not reported—on her school’s closing day. Shaw Commandery No. 4 of the Union Veterans Union gave her two American flags, flowers, and a copy of *The Black Phalanx*, which 54th veteran Joseph T. Wilson had written and published three years earlier. They also made her an official “child of the regiment” and sent an account of the event to Sarah Blake Shaw. The African American newspaper *Washington Bee* commended Hamilton’s teacher for “having her pupils remember the heroes who died in the cause, that made colored schools a possibility.”²⁰

Shaw and the Regiment in Art

Two African American artists memorialized Shaw and Carney in painting and sculpture in 1864, and one of the three pieces they produced was exhibited at the Sanitary Fair organized by Boston’s “colored ladies” in October that year. In late May 1864, well-known Boston hairdresser Christiana Carteaux Bannister announced that she and other “Colored Ladies of Massachusetts” organized as the Colored Ladies’ Sanitary Commission of Boston would sponsor a fair to benefit African American soldiers and their families. Bannister noted that it was “a well-known fact that the brave men composing the 54th and 55th Regiments Mass. Vols. have, since they have been in their country’s service, received no pay, and also that hundreds of them have fallen in defense of the American flag, leaving here in our midst their poor, suffering and destitute wives and children.” The fair, patterned on the United States Sanitary Commission fairs, was

19. Elizabeth B. Sedgwick, “Buried with His Niggers,” *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 31 October 1863, 4, and *Anglo-African*, 7 November 1863, 4.

20. A facsimile of LaBate’s essay is on the Horse Soldier: Fine Military American website, <http://www.horsesoldier.com/products/documents-and-paper-goods/5785> (marked sold). On Hamilton see “Owlets, Scraps and Notes,” *Washington Bee*, 14 June 1890, 1; and “Scraps and Notes,” *ibid.*, 28 June 1890, 1. I have been unable to identify Bessie Hamilton with certainty.

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scheduled for Boston's Mercantile Hall from 18 to 22 October 1864 and would also benefit the families of the more recently raised 5th Cavalry.²¹ Carteaux Bannister, a Rhode Island native whose parents were of African and Native American descent, operated hair salons in Boston and Providence, and in 1853 she hired barber and painter Edward Mitchell Bannister to work in her Boston shop; they married four years later. A native of New Brunswick, Bannister had settled in Boston with his brother William by 1850; in 1876 his landscape *Under the Oaks* won first prize at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and he was among the founders of the Providence Art Club in 1880. Edward Bannister's three-quarter-length portrait of Robert Gould Shaw was displayed at the October "colored soldiers fair" with an embroidered banner reading "Our Martyr" hanging above it. According to the *Liberator*, the fair organizers valued the painting at two hundred dollars and intended to sell it by raffle. Apparently few tickets were taken up, and the Bannisters chose to exhibit the painting in a Boston art gallery to boost their sale. Despite Lydia Maria Child's favorable, if patronizing, comments on the portrait and Martha Perry Lowe's November 1864 verse in its honor, the raffle may never have taken place, and what became of Bannister's portrait has not been learned.²²

By the time of the October fair African American sculptor Edmonia Lewis had fashioned two pieces inspired by the 54th Regiment—a small sculpture of a kneeling

21. "An Appeal to the Public," *Liberator*, 20 May 1864, 3. The United States Sanitary Commission was created in June 1861 to provide support for sick, injured, and traveling soldiers and raised funds by, among other means, sanitary fairs in northern cities. The fairs charged admission, offered exhibits, and sold donated objects and food. See Richard Leisenring Jr., "Philanthropic Photographs," *Military Images* 36, 2 (Spring 2018): 48. See also Nancy K. Anderson, "For All Time to Come: Memorializing Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment," in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 85–86, and Marilyn Richardson, "Taken from Life: Edward M. Bannister, Edmonia Lewis, and the Memorialization of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 98. Carney's presence, with the flag, at the fair is noted in an advertisement, "The Ladies' Sanitary Fair," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 25 October 1864, 3, and *Boston Traveler*, 26 October 1864, 7. The fair was extended to 26 October because so many goods had been donated for sale. Carteaux Bannister, who had presided over the Colored Soldiers' Relief Society in May 1863, was born in North Kingstown, Rhode Island, earlier a center of enslaved population in New England. Related to the activist African American Remond family of Salem, she and her sisters operated a salon and wig factory there before Carteaux Bannister came to Boston by 1847.

22. "Sanitary Fair of Colored Ladies," *Liberator*, 21 October 1864, 2; "Letter from Mrs. Child to the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard," *ibid.*, 18 November 1864, 1; Lydia Maria Child, Wayland MA, to Sarah Shaw, 3 November 1864, in Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Child*, 447; Martha Perry Lowe, published "The Picture of Colonel Shaw in Boston," *Liberator*, 25 November 1864, 4. No account of the fair in Boston newspapers mentions the Carney statue or Shaw bust, though Bannister's portrait and a Chickering piano were both reported as available through raffle.

"Boys, the Dear old Flag Never Touched the Ground." NOTICE, The Colored Ladies' Sanitary Commission of Boston will hold a Fair in Mercantile Hall, Summer street, commencing at 3 o'clock on TUESDAY, Oct. 18th, and continuing from 10 A. M. until 10 P. M. each day, until the 24d. for the relief of disabled colored Massachusetts soldiers and their families.

These men having fought bravely to sustain our noble flag and the country's freedom, we feel it our duty to do all we can to encourage them.

We would ask the sympathy and patronage of the public in our effort. We are thankful for the donations and encouragement we have already received.

Donations either of money or goods may be sent to the address of the President, Mme Carteaux Bannister, 31 Winter street, or to the Treasurer, Mrs. O. J. Grimes, 23 Grove street

Single admission, 25 cents; season, 50 cents.

oil 315

Fig. 2.4. Advertisement for Colored Ladies' Sanitary Commission Fair, *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 October 1864.

William H. Carney holding the flag aloft and a bust of Robert Gould Shaw. Oddly, neither was apparently included among the fair exhibits even as the organizers used "Boys, the Dear Old Flag Never Touched the Ground" as the headline for one of its fair advertisements (fig. 2.4), and Carney himself brought the flag he had salvaged at Fort Wagner to accompany his address on the fair's last evening. Why the Carney statue was not featured, and what became of it, are unknown.²³ Lewis's bust of Shaw, though, attracted considerable positive attention. Like Carteaux Bannister, Lewis's parents were African and Native American. She was born in 1844 in East Greenbush, New York, near Albany, grew up with two Native American aunts near Niagara Falls, and attended the progressive, integrated, and short-lived New York Central College in McGrawville, New York, before she left to enter Oberlin College (fig. 2.5). Lewis came to Boston in 1863 with a letter of introduction to William Lloyd Garrison. One contemporary account states that on coming to Boston Lewis was inspired by the sculpture of Benjamin Franklin in front of the then-city hall on School Street and conveyed her interest in the medium to Garrison. Garrison thereupon introduced her to the sculptor Edmund Augustus Brackett. Brackett had sketched and measured John Brown's head when Brown was imprisoned after the 1859 Harper's Ferry raid and had sculpted a bust of the abolitionist martyr. He directed Lewis to model a work based on that bust, and her portrait medallion of Brown was completed by January 1864. By then working in the Studio Building on Tremont Street, where Edward Bannister also worked, Lewis advertised the Brown medallions for sale

23. See Richardson, "Taken from Life," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 104, 111, 114; Anderson, "For All Time to Come," in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 86–87; advertisement, *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 and 15 October 1864, 2, and *Boston Traveler*, 13 October 1864.



Fig. 2.5. Edmonia Lewis, undated photograph by Marshall, Boston. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

in the *Liberator* in late January.²⁴ Her Carney statuette probably followed soon after, and then she must have turned to the Shaw bust and other medallion work.

Both Lydia Maria Child and members of the Shaw family visited Lewis's studio while she worked on her bust of Shaw (fig. 2.6). Child confided to Sarah Shaw her fear that Lewis would not execute the bust well, "felt very unwilling to have her make a failure," and "gave her no encouragement to undertake it." But Child was "agreeably surprised" by the work she encountered. Lewis, she told Sarah Shaw, has "put her whole soul into this bust. She



Fig. 2.6. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, 1864, marble portrait bust by Edmonia Lewis. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society/Museum of African American History, Boston.

told me she thought and thought of Col Shaw till it seemed as if he were in the room. ‘If I were a Spiritualist,’ said she, ‘I should believe he *did* help me make this bust; for while I was moulding it, I had such a strong feeling that he was *near*.’²⁵ Child embellished this account for the *Liberator* several months later: there she quoted Lewis to have said, “If I were a Spiritualist, I should think Col. Shaw came to aid me about that bust; for I thought, and thought, and thought how handsome he looked when he passed through the streets of Boston with his regiment; and I thought, and thought, and thought how he must have looked when he led them to Fort Wagner; and at last it seemed to me as if he was actually in the room.”²⁶

The American sculptor Harriet Hosmer, later a compatriot of Lewis in Rome, stated Lewis’s bust of Shaw was “modelled finely,” and the response encouraged Lewis to plan

24. On Lewis see Richardson, “Taken from Life,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 102–14; Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 4: 43–44; “Edmonia Lewis,” *New National Era*, 4 May 1871, 2; *New National Era*, 31 July 1873, 4, citing the *Commonwealth* (Boston); “Medallion of John Brown,” *Liberator*, 29 January 1864, and in later issues. The advertisement gives her work address as No. 89, Studio Building; Bannister’s painting studio was No. 85.

25. Child to Sarah Shaw, 3 November 1864; Anderson, “For All Time to Come,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 87, 190 n. 28.

26. “A Chat with the Editor of the Standard,” *Liberator*, 20 January 1865, 4.

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for its exhibition at the National Sailors' Fair in Boston, held from 9 to 19 November 1864. The *Boston Evening Transcript* reporter stated of Lewis and her Shaw bust, "She has been modeling for about a year in this city, and undertook to make this likeness of one whom she had never seen, out of grateful feeling 'for what he has done for her race.' Col. Shaw's family consider it an excellent likeness, and have had it photographed by Mr. Marshall, allowing the artist to sell copies for her own benefit." The bust, however, was not ready for the sailors' fair, the *Transcript* later noted, and when finished it was to be displayed at the gallery of Williams and Everett; the Shaw family and others had already ordered casts of it.²⁷ Lewis did exhibit it at the National Anti-Slavery subscription anniversary at Boston's Music Hall on 25 January 1865.²⁸

After the Bannister portrait and the Lewis sculptures, most pictorial and sculptural representations of Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts were made by white Americans. Within a month of the battle *Harper's Weekly* published an engraving of "the stormers advancing under fire" at Fort Wagner, and before 1863 was out the famed lithography firm Currier and Ives issued the hand-colored "The Gallant Charge of the 54th Massachusetts (Colored) Regiment: on the Rebel Works at Fort Wagner, Morris Island, Near Charleston, July 18th 1863, and Death of Colonel Robert G. Shaw," which inspired numerous copies by other firms (see fig. 1.11).²⁹ The illustrator Thomas Nast produced "Attack on Fort Wagner," which shows the regiment just before Shaw was shot, for Evert A. Duyckinck's *National History of the War for the Union Civil, Military, and Naval*; it appeared in the third volume of the history, and New York publisher Johnson, Fry and Company may have issued it as a separate print in 1867 (fig. 2.7).³⁰

27. "The National Sailors' Fair," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 11 November 1864, 2; "The Bust of Col. Shaw," *ibid.*, 14 November 1864, 2. This second article states that "the moulds not being finished, from which the casts are to be taken, ordered by Col. Shaw's family and others." According to Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, 162, members of the Shaw family gathered a group to buy 100 copies in plaster at \$15 each, which financed Lewis's move to Rome; the family had also commissioned her to do a marble version of the bust. According to Anderson, "For All Time to Come," in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 87-88, this marble bust, inscribed "Martyr for Freedom" and "Edmonia Lewis / Rome 1867," is in the collections of the Museum of African American History in Boston; she has suggested that a group purchase of the plaster busts may be "apocryphal." Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 48, stated that Harvard University then owned an Edmonia Lewis bust of Shaw.

28. "The Thirty-First National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary," *Liberator*, 3 March 1865, 1.

29. See *Harper's Weekly*, 8 August 1863. The Currier and Ives print is described in Ludwig Lauerhass, "A Commemoration," in *Shaw Memorial*, 67.

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Fig. 2.7. "Attack on Fort Wagner," 1867, from painting by Thomas Nast. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

At least some prints of the 54th in battle were marketed to African Americans. In 1895 editor John Mitchell Jr., who with twelve other formerly enslaved Virginians founded the *Richmond Planet* in 1883, offered chromolithographs of the Battles at Fort Wagner,

30. British journalist and artist Frank Vizetelly, sent by the *Illustrated London News* to cover the war in the United States in the spring of 1863, was by the time of Wagner working behind Confederate lines and produced an image of the "rush of the garrison to the parapet" and a view of the "ditch" the morning after the battle. Both were published in the *Illustrated London News*, 26 September 1863, but are not known to have been published simultaneously in the United States. Curiously volume 3 of Duyckinck's history bears an 1861 copyright date, but the engraving itself is dated 1867. On Nast's drawing see Katie Mullis Kresser, "Power and Glory: Brahmin Identity and the Shaw Memorial," *American Art* 20, 3 (Fall 2006): 39–40.



Fig. 2.8. "Storming Fort Wagner," 1890, lithograph by Kurz and Allison, Chicago. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Olustee, and the massacre at Fort Pillow to those who subscribed to the paper. The Wagner chromolithograph tops the list, and the scene as Mitchell described it closely resembles the Kurz and Allison chromolithograph of the battle, published in Chicago in 1890 (fig. 2.8). All of the details Mitchell offered match the Kurz and Allison view save one: he did not mention that the view depicted Shaw as he was shot.

We are ready to furnish you with a colored chromo of the Battle of Fort Wagner, 22 x 28 inches. Have you ever seen it? No! Well, here is where the 54th Massachusetts regiment won undying fame. Colonel Carney is on the breast-works waving the flag of the union. Look at the Confederates. They pour shot into the colored troops. The rebel flag waves from the breast-works. Cannon belch forth their deadly contents.

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The colored troops do not falter. They scale the breast-works, jump into the fiery hail. Three of them are actually standing on the parapet firing upon their white foes. Another reaches over and fires a revolver into a Confederate's face. Another falls fatally wounded. Two run their bayonets through Confederate soldiers. Another has a white man down and is about to bayonet him. The gun-boats in the distance are firing shot and shell. This is a stirring scene.

We will furnish this picture postage prepaid for \$1.00. Send in the amount. We will send it free of charge to yearly advance paying and new subscribers upon receipt of 20 cents to pay the postage and handling.³¹

The interest in Carney as a central symbol of the regiment remained strong throughout the nineteenth century—so much so that Mitchell elevated him to the rank of colonel—and continued after his death in 1908. On 1 November 1864 the slogan “Boys! I never once let the old flag touch the ground” appeared in a huge “transparency” projected onto the façade of the African American recruiting headquarters on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia (fig. 2.9). Designed to celebrate emancipation in Maryland, declared in the new state constitution of on 13 October, the view was headed by the slogan “God Save the Republic,” and its topmost vignette appears to depict the Wagner battle with the words, “Never in field or tent scorn the black regiment” floating above the battle scene. The phrase had appeared in George Henry Boker's poem “The Black Regiment,” which he wrote at Port Hudson in May 1863. One of four views flanking a central, text-heavy image commemorating the emancipation shows Carney's words above what is strangely labeled the first assault on Wagner of 11 July; the vignette shows an African American man struggling to hold up an American flag while an African American soldier appears to support him. The transparency and the crowd it attracted were commemorated in two woodcuts, one in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in mid-November 1864 and the other by Philadelphia printers Ringwalt and Brown probably about the same time.³² Surely the soldier in the vignette was Carney and the battle above it was Wagner, but neither were cited there by name.

In December 1864, however, sculptor Truman H. Bartlett did aim to memorialize Carney specifically. “I wish to learn the facts relating to the wounded color-bearer,

31. “Another Offer,” *Richmond Planet*, 8 June 1895, 2. Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 166, made me aware of the existence of this offer. The *Planet* continued to offer the Wagner battle print along with many others through at least 1906.



Fig. 2.9. "View of Transparency in Front of Headquarters of Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Regiments, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, in Commemoration of Emancipation in Maryland, November 1, 1864," wood engraving by Ringwalt and Brown, Philadelphia. Courtesy Library of Congress.

who, though wounded severely, bore the flag heroically while crawling from the parapet to his retreating or repulsed regiment," Bartlett wrote to William Schouler, adjutant general of Massachusetts. "It would make a splendid subject for a statuette." Schouler referred the letter to Ned Hallowell, who replied that while he did not witness Carney's action at Fort Wagner the information had come "from very reliable parties, and from very different people," and that as Carney's honesty was unquestioned his account was surely "substantially correct."³³ No evidence exists to suggest that Bartlett ever sculpted Carney, but African American author and editor Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins included the correspondence in one of the first issues of *Colored American Magazine* when she profiled

32. Harold Holzer et al., *The Emancipation Proclamation: Three Views* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), unpaginated, states that "the Philadelphia illumination" was "surely the largest emancipation image ever created." Boker (1823–90), a Philadelphia native, published this verse in his *Poems of the War* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1864) and dated it Port Hudson, May 27, 1863. He is often credited with the poem "Col. Robert G. Shaw," which revolves around the "buried him with his niggers" trope. Supposed to have been written shortly after the Wagner battle, the verse was not included in Boker's 1864 volume, and when it appeared in the *Liberator* on 24 March 1865 (page 4), Garrison noted that it was written "by a young lady in Florence, Italy."



Fig. 2.10. June 1901 cover of *Colored American Magazine*, with the “old flag” banner at top.

Carney in her “famous men of the Negro race” series. “The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground, Boys” ran as a banner on that issue’s cover (fig. 2.10).³⁴

Not until 1920 was a sculpture depicting Carney realized, and it emerged in the South (fig. 2.11). In 1895 veterans in the three African American GAR posts in Norfolk, Virginia, and their auxiliary Woman’s Relief Corps posts began to raise funds for a monument “to the memory of the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war.” James E. Fuller, formerly

33. T. H. Bartlett, Sculptor, New York, to Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, Boston, 13 December 1865; E. N. Hallowell, Boston, to William Schouler, 18 December 1865, transcribed in Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 209–11. Brown noted that the correspondence had been reprinted in the 1865 Adjutant-General’s Report for the State of Massachusetts.

34. Pauline E. Hopkins, “Famous Men of the Negro Race. Sargeant William H. Carney,” *Colored American*, June 1901, 84–89.



Fig. 2.11. West Point monument, Elmwood Cemetery, Norfolk, Virginia, completed in 1920. The soldier at the top is said to have been modeled on William H. Carney, a Norfolk native. Courtesy Norfolk Bureau of Cemeteries.

enslaved and a quartermaster in the 1st United States Colored Troops during the war, was on Norfolk's City Council when he organized these men and women into the Norfolk Memorial Association. By Memorial Day 1906 the association had raised enough money to install the base of the monument in the Union veterans' lot of West Point Cemetery, the city's first cemetery for African Americans. The memorial association dedicated the statue to Civil War veterans, but after 1900 African American men in Camp No. 2 of the United Spanish War Veterans added to the fund-raising campaign. Fuller died in 1909, and it took the association another eleven years to build the rest of the memorial. Its members chose a life-size Union soldier supposed to be (though scarcely resembling) Carney, a native of Norfolk, to top the memorial's thirteen-foot granite column, and it

was completed in 1920. It is said to be one of only three monuments created before 1990 in the former Confederacy to honor an African American Civil War soldier.³⁵

Naming and Remembering

More often and more persistently than in literature or art, Shaw and the regiment were honored in personal and institutional names and in the sheer act of public remembering, most vividly demonstrated in the many gatherings of 54th veterans after the war. Probably the first group named for Shaw was Boston's Shaw Guards, an African American military company and one of seven formed in Massachusetts for home defense. Organized in September 1863, the Shaw Guards elected Lewis Gaul of the old Liberty Guards as their commander; Gaul had petitioned to form the African American home guard and gained the legislature's approval to place its armory at the corner of Cambridge and North Grove Street in the West End. Formally the 10th and later the 14th Unattached Company of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia (MVM), when the group became popularly known as the Shaw Guards is not clear. It certainly bore that name when it marched in the 2 January 1864 parade commemorating the first anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.³⁶ The Shaw Guards took part in the funeral of Sergeant William Henry Skeene, a member of the 5th Cavalry who had died of typhoid at Point Lookout, Maryland, in early November 1864. Skeene had been a member of the Shaw Guards before he joined the cavalry, according to the *Liberator* account of his funeral (probably written by

35. See *Norfolk Virginian*, 24 July 1895, 2, which announced the fund-raising campaign; Dr. Cassandra Newby-Alexander, "Remembering Norfolk's African American Cemeteries," (typescript, nd), cited on Norfolk Society for Cemetery Conservation website, <https://www.norfolksocietyforcemeteryconservation.org/west-point-cemetery>; Tommy L. Bogger, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for West Point Cemetery, 10 August 2006, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/122-5181_WestPointCem_2007_NR_Final.pdf; and Jonathan I. Leib, "A Tale of Two Civil War Statues: Teaching the Geographies of Memory and Heritage in Norfolk, Virginia," *Southeastern Geographer* 52, 4 (Winter 2012): 405. The three African American GAR posts in Norfolk were Cailloux Post No. 2, Dahlgren Post No. 4 (of which Fuller was commander in the 1890s), and Shaw Post No. 5. Douglas R. Egerton, *Thunder at the Gates: The Black Civil War Regiments that Redeemed America* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 347, states that the West Point Cemetery statue was completed in 1927; the monument is itself dated 1920.

36. "The New Colored Company," *Boston Traveler*, 21 Sept 1863, 2. See also "The Military Organization of the City," *Boston Herald*, 24 December 1863, 2; "Defenceless Condition of Boston in Case of a Disturbance," *American Traveller*, 26 December 1863, 3; "Parade of the Boston Shaw Guards," *Boston Traveler*, 30 December 1864, 1; *Boston Evening Transcript*, 29 December 1864, 2. Gaul may have used the name "Shaw Guards" when he petitioned to create the unit.

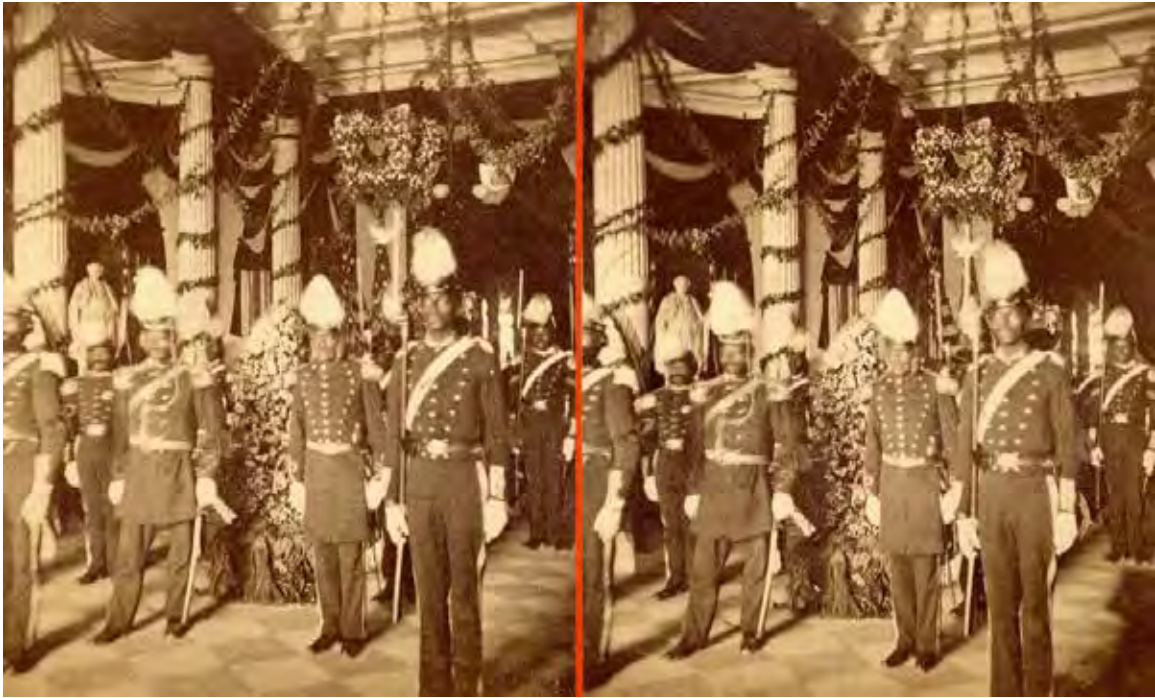


Fig. 2.12. The Shaw Guards at the casket of Charles Sumner at it lay in state at Doric Hall, Massachusetts State House, 15 March 1874, stereoview by E. F. Smith, Boston. Courtesy Historic New England.

William C. Nell), and his pallbearers were all veterans of the three Massachusetts African American regiments. The *Liberator* called the services “the first instance of a colored military funeral in Massachusetts,” and it was very likely the first of many reunions of these veterans.³⁷

In August 1866 the Shaw Guards and the Schouler Guards—formally the 74th Unattached Company, composed of African Americans in and around New Bedford, and trained in part by Gaul—became Companies A and B in the 2d Battalion of Infantry and were attached to the state militia’s first brigade. They were the only African American companies in the MVM. Gaul was named major of the battalion, with the 54th’s Burrill Smith Jr. as his adjutant. The Shaw Guards took part in numerous Boston processions related to African Americans and their rights, and members flanked the body of Charles

37. N., “Died,” *Liberator*, 25 November 1864, 3. See also Steven M. LaBarre, *The Fifth Massachusetts Colored Cavalry in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2016), 173.



Fig. 2.13. 54th Company C sergeant Frederic Johnson signed this invitation to the 1864 Thanksgiving soiree performance of the 54th “glee club” named for their late colonel. Johnson, William H. Carney, the Rev. William A. Birch, and Wesley Furlong, who might have formed the core of the club, sang again as the “old Shaw quartet” at a reunion in 1904. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

Sumner as it lay in state for public viewing at the state house’s Doric Hall in the fall of 1874 (fig. 2.12).³⁸ The state dissolved the 2d Battalion in 1876, but it was revived two years later as Company L of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry. Company L is believed to have been the only African American company attached to a white unit.³⁹

By November 1864, and probably earlier, at least four members of the 54th had formed the Shaw Glee Club in camp on Morris Island, and they sang at a “musical soiree” on Thanksgiving evening that year (fig. 2.13). The invitation to the soiree was signed by Frederic Johnson, who had grown up in Boston’s West End and enlisted in the 54th in mid-March 1863. He was one of four sons of fugitive clothes cleaner and trader Robert

38. “Lying in State in Doric Hall,” *Boston Journal*, 16 March 1874, 4, reported that the “guard of honor under command of Maj Gaul had been posted around the bier, by direction of Maj. Morrissey, Sergeant-at-Arms, acting upon the suggestions of the Committee of Arrangements of the Legislature in fixing the details.”

39. *New Bedford Mercury*, 31 August 1866, 2; *Boston Herald*, 3 September 1866, 2; “New Armory,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 12 October 1874.

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Johnson, and all of them served in the 54th, the 55th, or the Navy. What became of Johnson after the war is unclear, but in 1904 he sang again in “the old Shaw quartet of the 54th” with William H. Carney, Wesley Furlong, and William Austin Birch at a reunion of African American veterans in Boston. Furlong had returned to New Bedford immediately after the war but moved to Boston after 1870, possibly because the William Logan Rodman Post of the GAR in New Bedford had declined his request for aid. Birch was from New York City and a waiter when he enlisted in Company E. He was a grocer in Salem after the war and soon became an Adventist minister, holding tent meetings throughout southeastern Massachusetts.⁴⁰

Two institutions in Charleston, South Carolina, were named for Shaw—the Colonel Shaw Orphan House and the Shaw Memorial School, where Irene La Bate studied and taught. The orphan asylum was opened by late December 1865 and was financed by unnamed “Northern Freedmen’s Societies” and contributions from local African American congregations, but it was at some point placed under the control of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, popularly known as the Freedmen’s Bureau. The bureau, however, maintained the asylum only until the first of January 1869, when its operations in South Carolina ended, and at the bureau’s request the state of South Carolina assumed control of the property and changed its name to the State Orphan Asylum of South Carolina. Recasting it as a statewide asylum provided a pretext for dropping Shaw’s name from the institution’s title.⁴¹

The Shaw Memorial School lasted longer. Funds raised for the never-realized monument to Shaw on Morris Island were instead put toward the creation of the school, which opened in March 1868. Some accounts assert that the school was funded by the

40. The invitation to the soiree is on reel 13, 54th Records, MHS. “Colored Vets of Bay State,” *Boston Herald*, 18 August 1904, 3. On Furlong’s aid request see Earl F. Mulderink III, “A Different Civil War: African American Veterans in New Bedford, Massachusetts,” in *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front*, ed. Paul A. Cimbal and Randall M. Miller (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 429–30.

41. “Col. Shaw Orphan House,” *South Carolina Leader* (Charleston), 23 December 1865, 2; “Orphan Freed Children,” *Charleston Daily News*, 11 February 1867, 4; Col. John R. Edie to Governor Robert K. Scott, 20 October 1868, and Scott to Edie, 20 October 1868, quoted in *Charleston Daily News*, 15 December 1868. Scott asked the legislature to create and appropriate funds for the new state entity; “An Act to Establish a State Orphan Asylum” passed the South Carolina General Assembly on 19 January 1869. See *Daily Phoenix* (Columbia SC), 4 May 1869, 2, and *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of South Carolina 1868–69*, 173–74, transcribed on https://www.carolana.com/SC/Education/1869_01_19_Act_to_Establish_a_State_Orphan_Asylum.html.

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Shawfamily and their friends, but most others state that it was financed in substantial measure by African Americans who had donated to the memorial, as they had been encouraged to do by General Rufus Saxton. As one source put it, “Black soldiers and residents of the Sea Islands of South Carolina, none of whom had children who would attend the school, contributed thirty-five hundred dollars to this mission, and, with additional monies raised by Northern philanthropists, the school was built.” When the school was completed in October 1868, some seven months after it opened, the *Charleston Daily Courier* stated that it had been “projected by the Freedmen’s Bureau, an appropriation having been made for that purpose, but it was afterwards determined to apply to its construction the fund which had been collected by the private subscriptions to erect a monument to the memory of Colonel Shaw . . . and thus raise a monument at once as appropriate, but more useful, than one of marble would be. This was done, and hence the name of the school.” The school had nine classrooms and could house seven hundred students, though its enrollment in October 1868 was about five hundred. Children whose parents could afford to do so paid twenty-five cents a month in tuition and bought the necessary school books, and all other students were supported by the New England Freedman’s Aid Society, which operated nineteen schools in South Carolina by 1868. Enthusiasm and funding for freedmen’s education waned quickly, however, and when the New England Freedman’s Aid Society disbanded in 1874 it leased the Shaw school to the city of Charleston’s school board for ten years. In 1883 the lease was extended for another ninety-nine years on the condition that the facility be used to educate African American children with African American teachers and that it retain its name. It operated in its original building until 1938; all but its brick foundation was razed in 1974.⁴²

In Massachusetts Shaw’s name was taken up not only by the Shaw Guards but also by the African American Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) post in New Bedford. The first GAR post in Massachusetts, William Logan Rodman Post No. 1, had been organized

42. On Saxton and the proposed Morris Island monument, see Chapter 3. Wilbert L. Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day: African Americans in Post-Civil War Charleston* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 77, 200 n. 40; *Charleston Daily Courier*, 20 October 1868, 2; Laura Josephine Webster, “The Operation of the Freedmen’s Bureau in South Carolina,” *Smith College Studies in History* 1, 2 (January 1916): 134; Michael Fultz, “Charleston, 1919–1920: The Final Battle in the Emergence of the South’s Urban African American Teaching Corps,” *Journal of Urban History* 27, 5 (July 2001): 635–36, 639; New England Freedmen’s Aid Society Records, box 3, folder 4, vol. 9 Schools and Teachers 1867–74, Ms. N-101, MHS. Much of this collection is online; see <https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0423>.



Fig. 2.14. The Sergeant William H. Carney VFW Post 46 band in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1941-46, photograph by Charles "Teenie" Harris. Courtesy Charles "Teenie" Harris Archives, Carnegie Museum of Art.

in New Bedford in the fall of 1866, only months after the GAR was founded in Decatur, Illinois. Though officially open to all veterans, the GAR allowed its posts to determine whom to accept as members, and William H. Carney was the only African American member of the Rodman Post to 1900. Still, the Rodman post did provide support in the form of fuel, shoes, and groceries to the widows of African Americans at least through 1877. New Bedford's African American veterans founded the Robert Gould Shaw Post 146 in 1871, perhaps partly because the Rodman Post had tabled Wesley Furlong's request for assistance the year before. The Shaw Post never had the membership or treasury of the Rodman Post, and it ceased to operate briefly in the early 1880s. In April 1882

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Charles H. Harrison, a private in Company C and a New Bedford resident since the mid-1850s, revived the post, and its auxiliary Shaw Woman's Relief Corps was founded in February 1892.⁴³

At least eight GAR posts and seven Woman's Relief Corps auxiliaries took the late colonel's name; five of those posts and probably four of the women's corps were composed of African Americans.⁴⁴ One Sons of Veterans "camps," as they were called, was named for William H. Carney, that being Sons of Veterans Post 82 in Boston, as was at least one Veterans of Foreign Wars post (fig. 2.14). The Union Veterans' Union (UVU) Commandery No. 4 in the Department of the Potomac, the group that had given Bessie Hamilton her prizes in 1890, took Robert Gould Shaw's name. Founded that same year, the Shaw Commandery was said to have been "the only colored organization of its kind" in the UVU, and by 1899 Frank M. Welch, first lieutenant in Company F of the 54th, was its adjutant and later commander.⁴⁵

At least one other African American group apparently unaffiliated with any national organization was named for Shaw. By March 1881 African American veterans of the 54th

43. See Mulderink, "Different Civil War," 424–32, which provides detailed information on both the Shaw and Rodman Posts. On the GAR see Salvatore, *We All Got History*, 157–61, and "The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/garintro.html>.

44. *The Detroit Tribune's Veteran Soldiers' and Sailors' Hand-Book* (Detroit: Detroit Tribune Printing Co., 1889), University of Michigan, Hathi Trust. GAR Posts that took the name Shaw, Col. Shaw, R. G. Shaw, or Robert Gould Shaw existed in New Bedford, MA, Quincy, IL, Leavenworth, KS, St. Louis, MO, New Brighton (Staten Island), NY, Cincinnati, OH, and Norfolk, VA; WRC posts operated as auxiliaries in all but New Brighton, the home of the Francis G. Shaw family, and was a white post; the Shaw GAR Post in Quincy, IL, also appears to have been made up of white veterans.

45. The first woman's auxiliary to a GAR post was founded in Portland, ME, in 1869, and a national Woman's Relief Corps was created in 1881. The Sons of Veterans was organized probably in Philadelphia in 1878, and a national organization of that name was created in 1881. Its local organizations were called camps, its state organizations called departments, and the national organization the commandery. The Union Veterans' Union was founded in 1886 and was composed only of veteran soldiers and sailors who "saw actual service at the front" and had served at least six consecutive months in the Civil War. It was also organized into state departments and a national commandery. See *Detroit Tribune's Veteran Soldiers' and Sailors' Hand-Book*, 106, 145, 183. Welch, born in Philadelphia in 1841 or 1842, was a barber and letter carrier in New Haven and Bridgeport after the war and by 1891 was employed in the Record and Pension Division in the War and Navy Department building in Washington. From 1893 to 1903 he worked in the Patent Office's bureau of education. Welch was extremely active in veterans' affairs and died in Washington in 1907. See "Union Veterans' Union," *Colored American*, 25 January 1902, and "Down in Virginia," *ibid.*, 23 May 1903, 13.

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and 55th Regiments created the Robert G. Shaw Veterans Association “for the mutual, social and intellectual benefit of its members and for the general benevolence and aid in sickness or distress,” according to its June 1882 charter. Its purpose was much the same as that of Boston’s African American Robert A. Bell Post No. 134 of the GAR, founded by April 1871, and why both organizations existed in the city is unclear. Similarly obscure is the question whether the Shaw Veterans Association in some fashion succeeded the earlier Shaw Guards: newspapers sometimes refer to it as the Shaw Guard Veteran Association, and it may have been created to keep the Shaw name alive in African American veterans’ groups after the old Shaw Guard became Company L of the 6th Regiment MVM in 1879. James B. Watkins, earlier an officer in the 1857 Liberty Guards, first lieutenant under Lewis Gaul of the successor Shaw Guards, and captain of Company A of the 2nd Battalion in the MVM in 1866, was the group’s commander. In May 1882, the twentieth anniversary of Robert Smalls’s delivery of the Confederate vessel *Planter* to Union forces, the association hosted Smalls’s visit to Boston—a trip marred by the Revere House’s refusal to honor his room reservation—and accompanied him on a visit to the governor and the state legislature. The Shaw Veterans Association and the Bell Post were active in all events commemorating African Americans in the Civil War well into the twentieth century.⁴⁶

It is not possible to determine how many schools in Massachusetts and elsewhere may have been named for Shaw, but the one with the closest relationship to the departed colonel was the Robert Gould Shaw Grammar School in West Roxbury, where the Shaw family had lived in the 1840s. Designed by Boston architect Edmund Wheelwright, the

46. “The Shaw Guard Veteran Association,” *Boston Herald*, 6 March 1881, 12. On its charter see *Boston Journal*, 19 June 1882, 1, and “Our Boston Letter,” *Washington Bee*, 24 June 1882, 2. On Smalls’s visit see “Was It the Color Line?” *Boston Herald*, 13 May 1882, 4; “Couldn’t Get a Room,” *Daily National Republican* (Washington DC), 13 May 1882, 2; “The Shaw Guards,” *Boston Herald*, 16 May 1882. The refusal to honor Smalls’s reservation was reported in newspapers across the country. “A Threatened Suit,” *Boston Globe*, 24 May 1882, 2, reported that Watkins intended to sue the Revere House under the 1876 Civil Rights Act. M. Brace, “Our Boston Letter,” *Washington Bee*, 10 June 1882, 2, reported, “The feeling of indignation rife in this city, occasioned by the refusal of the proprietor of the Revere House, the home of Rebellom, to accommodate General Robert Smalls during his recent visit to this city, has by no means subsided. The house is to be prosecuted under the Civil Rights Act at any early date, and no compromise will be allowed in the case by the complainants.” No evidence has yet been found that such a suit was filed. On Watkins see “Parade of the Liberty Guards,” *Boston Courier*, 1 August 1859; “A Meeting of Colored Recruits,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 22 September 1863, 4; *Boston Herald*, 5 October 1866, 4; *Boston Post*, 5 September 1874, 3; *Boston Globe*, 30 November 1886; “Funeral of Captain Watkins,” *Boston Globe*, 22 September 1887, 1.

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school opened in early November 1892, and at its dedication the Rev. Phillips Brooks and “Major “Charles E. Davis both delivered addresses on Shaw’s life. Henry Sturgis Russell, Shaw’s first cousin and commander of the African American 5th Massachusetts Cavalry during the war, presented the school with a portrait of Shaw on behalf of Shaw’s family.⁴⁷ From the time the Shaw Memorial was unveiled, the graduating children of the Shaw school visited it at the end of May for years, often combining the excursion with a trip to the state house; in 1898 they hung a wreath of lilies and laurel from Shaw’s stirrup. In 1919, the Shaw School was renamed the Richard Olney School when a new Shaw Middle School opened nearby.⁴⁸

Shaw’s name also lived on in unrelated families. At the time of the Shaw Memorial unveiling the 54th’s Wesley Furlong described his commander as “a gentleman and a Christian, in every particular, a man of strict military discipline, and one of those who opposed his men’s receiving anything outside of a Massachusetts soldier’s rights. . . . A better commander never led men.” Twelve years earlier he had named his son Robert Gould Shaw Furlong. Furlong was then a porter but was consistently involved in the 54th’s veteran affairs; his son worked as a court and postal clerk, porter, and shipper in Boston.⁴⁹ In 1865 Charles Henry and Lavinia Robinson Wilkinson of Charleston, South Carolina, named their son Robert Shaw. According to one newspaper account of the boy’s life, “The name of Robert Shaw was spoken with quivering lips and dimmed eyes,

47. “West Roxbury’s New School,” *Boston Journal*, 5 November 1892, 4. Henry Sturgis Russell (1838–1905) was the son of George Robert Russell (1800–1866) and Sarah Parkman Shaw (1811–88), Francis G. Shaw’s sister. He entered the Union Army in 1861 as lieutenant in the 2d Massachusetts Infantry, was promoted to captain in December that year, and was taken prisoner at the Battle of Cedar Mountain on 9 August 1862. Russell spent three months at Libby Prison before he was exchanged and returned to the regiment. On 5 April 1864 he was appointed colonel of the new 5th Massachusetts Cavalry and was wounded some two months later at Petersburg. After the war he went to work for his father-in-law John Murray Forbes, whose daughter he had married in 1863. “Harry” Russell and R. G. Shaw were classmates at Harvard College and spent a good deal of time together in Maryland when both were part of the 2d Massachusetts. See Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 12, 72 n., 263. On the Shaw school dedication see also “R. G. Shaw School,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 17 October 1892, 8. The school was built on the estate of J. A. Whittemore in West Roxbury at a cost of \$53,000; it has since been demolished, but photographs and architect’s renderings of the school may be found at Boston City Archives.

48. See “West Roxbury District,” *Boston Globe*, 11 June 1897, 2; “Wreath for the Shaw Memorial,” *ibid.*, 29 May 1898, 16; “Memorial Day in the Schools,” *ibid.*, 29 May 1900, 14; “Tribute to a Civil War Hero,” *Boston Herald*, 23 May 1902, 11. The Shaw Middle School operated from 1919 to 2003; by the mid-1970s it served a largely minority school population. Marta Crilly, Boston City Archives, e-mail to author, 10 January 2020.

49. “The Brave Col. Shaw,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, 30 May 1897, 25.

for his gallant and heroic action at Battery Wagner had made him the idol of the people” in that city, and the boy’s mother showed her “patriotism and appreciation of that great man” in naming her son after the late colonel. Robert Shaw Wilkinson graduated at the age of fourteen from the Shaw Memorial School in Charleston and went on to West Point in 1884. He was later a professor of physical and chemical sciences at state universities in Kentucky and South Carolina. His son and grandson, who both bore his and the colonel’s name, became physicians.⁵⁰


The Veterans

On 1 and 2 August 1887 members of the 54th and 55th Infantry regiments and the 5th Cavalry gathered in Boston for “a grand reunion of ‘colored veterans,’” billed as the first event to assemble the men of these three regiments from across the nation (fig. 2.15). Held on the traditional British West Indian Emancipation Day, celebrated throughout the North from the late 1830s, the event’s organizers issued a circular inviting all the men who had been part of these regiments to attend “in the old army uniform complete, if possible” for a large procession, a steamboat excursion to the grave of John Albion Andrew in Hingham, a visit to the old camp of the 54th and 55th at Readville, and music, speeches, and a business meeting “to effect a permanent organization of all Colored Veterans of the United States.” Charles L. Mitchell, a lieutenant in the 55th (fig. 2.16), had invited Shaw’s mother to attend, but she replied that she could not; she was then seventy-two years old and still living on Staten Island. “If I were in Boston, or near, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to unite with the soldiers in celebrating that day,” she wrote. “You do not remember as I do the day that England set us the example

50. X. Y. Z., Charleston SC, 14 April 1884, “West Point,” *Cleveland Gazette*, 10 May 1884, 2; Arthur Bunyan Caldwell, ed., *History of the American Negro South Carolina Edition* (Atlanta GA: A B. Caldwell Publishing Co., 1919), 293–95. Wilkinson stayed at West Point for two years and then transferred to Oberlin College, from which he graduated in 1891. He received his master’s degree from the same school three years later and did postgraduate work at Columbia University. Wilkinson was professor of science at Kentucky State University, which awarded him a doctorate in 1898, and chair of the department of physical and chemical sciences at the State Agricultural and Mechanical College in Orangeburg, SC, from 1896 to 1911; the latter school was formerly the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College of South Carolina and later South Carolina State University. Wilkinson’s son Robert Shaw Wilkinson (1899–1924) graduated Dartmouth College and Dartmouth and Harvard medical schools; his grandson graduated Dartmouth College and the New York University medical school.

**GRAND
REUNION OF COLORED VETERANS,**
—UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE—
**54th and 55th Infantry, and 5th Cavalry
Regiments, and Sailors,
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,**
In Boston, August 1st and 2nd, 1887.

*** — You will never part with that FLAG so long as a splinter of the staff or a thread of the web remains within your grasp. *** Gov. JOHN A. ANDREW, on presentation of flag at Roxbury, Mass., May 18, 1863.



"The old FLAG never touched the ground, boys!" — SERGEANT WILLIAM H. CARNBY (severely wounded), on the parapet of Fort Wagner, S. C., July 18, 1863.

BOSTON, MASS., JUNE 1, 1887.

Comrade,—

DEAR SIR,—There will be a reunion of the surviving Veterans of the 54th and 55th Mass. Vol. Infantry Regiments, the 5th Mass. Vol. Cavalry, and Massachusetts Sailors, in Tremont Temple, Boston, August 1st and 2nd, 1887.

The Executive Committee extend a hearty invitation to the reunion to all colored Soldiers and Sailors of Massachusetts and the United States, and sincerely desire to make the occasion a most enjoyable and successful one: renewing old acquaintance, and reviving fraternal feeling among all the old comrades of the country.

You are, therefore, earnestly requested to join with us, and to do all in your power to create an interest among comrades, and also to make every effort for a grand and memorable reunion.

The Committee of Arrangements respectfully and earnestly request that all commissioned officers appear in uniform (coat and hat or cap); non-commissioned officers, (coat or blouse, and hat or cap); privates, (blouse and cap or hat, or G. A. R. uniform.)

All comrades are requested to send their names and addresses at once to Lieut. WILLIAM H. DUPREE, Chairman of Executive Committee, Station A, P. O. Boston, Mass., in order that they may receive a circular-programme, later on, containing full information.

Various Sub-Committees will be appointed as soon as a sufficient number of names, from the different localities, are received.

The Executive Committee would further suggest for the Convention a programme as follows:—

Fig. 2.15. Broadside for "Grand Reunion of Colored Veterans," sponsored by the three African American Massachusetts Army regiment and Navy veterans, Boston, 1-2 August 1887. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

which we followed so many years later, with tears and grief mingled with our joy, that our land too was free from the great sin of slavery. . . Pray think of me always as a sincere friend of your race."⁵¹

51. Reprinted in "Colored 'Vets,'" *Boston Globe*, 2 August 1887, 8.



Fig. 2.16. Charles L. Mitchell, sergeant in Company C of the 55th Regiment, undated photograph. Commissioned a second lieutenant at the end of the war, Mitchell was never mustered in at that rank in part because of his discharge after wounds he received at the battle of Honey Hill, South Carolina. Courtesy Burt Green Wilder Papers, #14-26-95, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

James Monroe Trotter, another lieutenant in the 55th and then working as the recorder of deeds in Washington, was invited to give the main address to the reunion. African American journalist J. Gordon Street reported that the event attracted veterans of eighteen African American regiments and the United States Navy in addition to members of the three Massachusetts regiments. Trotter stated that the gathering was called to honor John A. Andrew and to “remind” it of “that other young, splendid, noble soldier, Colonel Shaw.” When the applause at Shaw’s name died down Trotter stated, “What a pity it is that the grave of Shaw is not nearer to us. Then how much better we would be able to show our regard for him.”⁵² Until the Shaw Memorial was unveiled in 1897, reunions of

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54th veterans contented themselves with the occasional visit to Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, where Hammatt Billings had designed and installed a monument for the Shaw family lot in 1848; a plaque commemorating Robert Gould Shaw was later added to the memorial.⁵³

Shaw and the regiment were remembered most consistently and most often at such African American gatherings throughout Massachusetts. Historian Mitch Kachun has asserted that after the Civil War “one event of almost mythic significance in blacks’ collective memory was the unsuccessful assault on Fort Wagner by the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth on July 18, 1863,” and numerous occasions presented themselves as opportunities for African Americans to come together—the 1 August West Indies emancipation day celebrations, the 1 January anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the 30 March ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the annual remembrances of the Fort Wagner assault and Shaw’s death, and countless dedications of Civil War monuments. The program of such events followed closely the standard fare of Fourth of July celebrations, from which African Americans were often excluded—a procession, a public address, and a concluding “collation” in a local hall or grove. Before the Fifteenth Amendment, African Americans pointedly avoided celebrating the Fourth of July, which, as Douglass had famously noted, meant nothing to enslaved people and very little within the circumscribed lives of free people of African descent. When African Americans marched in Boston and elsewhere, they were often met “with ridicule and insult.” When the First of August celebrations became common after 1838, public scorn was less common, though the case of the Liberty Guard’s first procession documents that it had not abated entirely. Frederick Douglass stated that the First of August emancipation celebration “takes up the principles of the American Revolution, where you drop them, and bears them onward to higher and more beneficial applications.” The day not only

52. “Recorder Trotter’s Speech,” *Washington Bee*, 13 August 1887, 2; “Brave Colored Troops,” *Boston Globe*, 2 August 1887, 2. J. Gordon Street, “The Veterans’ Reunion: Survivors of the War Meet in Boston,” *New York Freeman*, 6 August 1887, 1, noted the presence of men from the eighteen other numbered regiments, all of them among the 175 regiments of the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). The federal Bureau of Colored Troops was organized 22 May 1863, but some regiments later part of the USCT had been organized earlier. Street, Boston correspondent for the *New York Freeman* (later *New York Age*), *Indianapolis Freeman*, and *Colored Illustrated Weekly*, was the only African American reporter on the *Boston Herald* in the 1880s, and in 1890 he founded the short-lived African American *Boston Courant*. One of the regiments represented at the reunion was the 74th USCT, which had been organized in October 1862 as the 2nd Louisiana Native Guard.

53. See “Shaw Guards’ Memorial Day,” *Boston Globe*, 9 May 1886, 2.

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brought together African Americans from wide regions but attracted many whites; the day's program endeavored to celebrate the anniversary, teach the real role of African Americans in the nation's history, and voice complaint. Douglass had said on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia that coming together every year on that day strengthened historical understanding and kept "the subject of our grievances before the people and government and . . . urge[d] both to do their respective parts in the happy solution of the race problem."⁵⁴ The veterans' reunions operated in much the same way and toward many of the same ends.

Well before Memorial Day became an official holiday in Massachusetts in 1881, African American veterans had gathered often in the postwar era.⁵⁵ As early as 4 July 1866 New Bedford's 74th Unattached Company of sixty-two African American Civil War veterans had marched at the dedication of the city's Soldiers and Sailors Monument. And, though it never had a substantial presence in the North, veterans in the South and West formed the Colored Soldiers National League in August 1866 as a relief and fraternal organization and "to advance the interests of our race gradually." On 1 August 1867 the Shaw Guards, the Schouler Guards of New Bedford, and the Burnside Guards of Newport, Rhode Island, assembled for an Emancipation Day celebration in New Bedford. Emanuel Sullavou, born in Richmond, Virginia, living in New Bedford, and a freshman at Harvard, read the Emancipation Proclamation. The event included other speakers, a military drill, and the customary parade.⁵⁶

In 1870 African American Bostonians organized a major celebration of the Fifteenth Amendment that also involved the Shaw and Schouler Guards, by then the 2nd Battalion

54. Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 154. See also Q. in *Liberator*, 13 August 1847: "Not twenty-five years ago . . . the celebration of the colored people of the abolition of the Slave Trade was the laughingstock of the city; they were overwhelmed with ridicule and insult, and their pretended proceedings made the vehicle of wit and satire. . . . And, at last, the celebration was abandoned by the advice of the city government which either could not protect these citizens in their rights, or did not think it worth its while to take the trouble to do so." Quoted in Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 74. Douglass quoted in *ibid.*, 86, 222–23.

55. The state legislature had endeavored to make "Decoration Day," as Memorial Day was initially called, a legal holiday in 1870–71, but the effort failed in the Senate in February 1871; see "Massachusetts Legislature," *New England Farmer*, 28 May 1870, 2, and 11 February 1871, 2.

56. Mulderink, "Different Civil War," 424–25; "Colored Soldiers' National League," *Christian Recorder*, 25 August 1866, 1, cited in Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 154; "Emancipation Celebration in New Bedford," *Boston Herald*, 3 August 1867, 4.

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MVM. African American abolitionist John J. Smith organized the procession, Charles Lenox Remond presided over the day's events, and Lewis Hayden was named chairperson. The parade, led by the 2nd Battalion, was "composed of full delegations from various societies, returned soldiers from the 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments and 5th cavalry, and a respectable 'turn-out' of colored navy men, with a large number of civilians, representing several cities and towns in the commonwealth." Norwood P. Hallowell as well as two African American lieutenants of the 55th, Trotter and William H. Dupree, led this "Battalion of Colored Veteran Soldiers of the War of the Rebellion." Benjamin F. Roberts, the well-known African American editor and printer who had led the effort to desegregate Boston schools in the late 1840s, covered the event for the *New National Era*, the newspaper Frederick Douglass published in the District of Columbia in the early 1870s. "The procession was the largest that the colored people ever had in this part of the country," Roberts wrote; ". . . this was no sham parade, no mock enthusiasm." The parade involved more than three thousand people, he said, and was followed up by addresses at Faneuil Hall by three of the state's most politically active people of color—Remond, Robert Morris, and Edwin G. Walker—as well as Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Roberts's sole criticism of the event was that Thomas Rowan, a former naturalization agent in Boston, rode alone in a carriage while "aged colored citizens," meaning the veterans, "were on foot and fatigued by the long march." Still, the 14 April 1870 celebration was in Roberts's view "the greatest day for the American black man, in Boston, that history has ever recorded. . . . It can't be forgotten."⁵⁷ It was probably the first time that the 54th's nearby veterans had assembled publicly since the regiment disbanded, and it established the custom of Fort Wagner and other anniversaries of embracing African American men from all branches of military service. Some came together again five years later when the 2nd Battalion was part of the review of state militia at the centennial celebration of the battle of Bunker Hill.⁵⁸

Later in 1875, in September, the first reunion of the three African American Massachusetts regiments took place in the western Massachusetts town of Pittsfield. The "soldier's festival" was probably organized largely by Samuel Harrison, who had served

57. B. F. Roberts, "Celebration of the Fifteenth Amendment in Boston," *New National Era*, 28 April 1870, 2; see also "Local and Suburban. The Fifteenth Amendment," *Boston Traveler*, 14 April 1870, which gives the parade route. This article stated that there were 120 Navy veterans in two divisions under William H. Lewis and Ira Nell Gray, the latter William C. Nell's nephew and a landsman aboard the *USS Sabine* during the war.

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as one of the 54th's chaplains, and John E. Gilliard, a Pittsfield barber and veteran of the 5th Cavalry (fig. 2.17). The reunion drew an estimated seventy-five veterans, their friends, and people of color in general to Pittsfield's Burbank Hall. Harrison gave an address on the achievements of African American troops, and several veterans also spoke before the group, including William H. Carney, who was feted with three cheers. The group proposed to form a "regimental organization" and elected officers—Carney as president, Harrison as treasurer, and Gilliard as one of six vice presidents.⁵⁹ Nothing apparently came of this organization, and a second reunion apparently did not take place until 1886. Through the next decade, however, other veterans' groups gathered. On Memorial Day 1882 Boston's Robert A. Bell GAR Post, the Shaw Veterans Association, and Company L of the 67th Regiment MVM met on the Boston wharves and took a boat to Rainsford Island in Boston Harbor, where an almshouse for Civil War veterans had operated from 1866 to 1882. A cemetery next to the almshouse held at least seventy-nine veterans' graves, and the African American associations decorated them on Memorial Day into the 1930s.⁶⁰

58. See "The Great Celebration of the Century: Review of the State Militia," *Boston Globe*, 18 June 1875, 2. Williams, *History of the Negro Troops*, 201, stated that the regiment's state colors, returned to Massachusetts by former Confederate General Roswell S. Ripley in January 1875, was carried at the 17 June 1875 centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill. "It was borne in the imposing procession by an ex-member of the Fifty-fourth who had fought under its fold Saturday night, July 18, 1863!" he stated. However, no account of the centennial events states as much, and Boston newspapers note that the flag was immediately added to the collection in the State House's Doric Hall. See "Under the Dome," *Boston Globe*, 22 March 1875, 1, and "The Legislature," *ibid.*, 2 April 1875, 2, which includes the correspondence between Ripley and Massachusetts's Democratic governor William Gaston. According to "Notes on the Celebration," *ibid.*, 9 June 1875, 2, the African American 2nd Battalion MVM under Lewis Gaul was to carry a different flag at the centennial, "a flag which was presented by Governor Hancock to a company of colored soldiers, called the American bucks. The flag was presented in front of the Hancock mansion on Beacon street."

59. *Berkshire County Eagle*, 9 and 23 September 1875, 2 (two articles). Gilliard placed an advertisement in the *Berkshire County Eagle*, 9 September 1875, 3. "Colored Veterans," *Boston Globe*, 26 May 1887, 1, asserts that "the first reunion of colored soldiers ever held in this part of the country occurred at Pittsfield, this State, some 12 years ago, and was an immense success."

60. Newspaper accounts indicate that the Bell Post decorated anywhere from 75 to 150 graves on Rainsford Island over the years; see *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1885, 3; *Boston Post*, 31 May 1887, 8; *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1931, A 31. These citations appear on Bill McEvoy's Rainsford Island page on FindaGrave. McEvoy has researched the Rainsford Island cemetery for years and has posted information about 1599 known burials there. See also Sue Scheible, "Learning More about Rainsford Island and Alice Lincoln," *Patriot Ledger* (Quincy MA), posted 17 December 2018 on Watertown Wicked Local website, <https://watertown.wickedlocal.com/blogs/20181217/learning-more-about-rainsford-island-and-alice-lincoln>. McEvoy has documented at least two African Americans buried there as Civil War veterans—Steven Ennis (ca 1840–82), a musician in Company C of the 54th and a native of Easton, PA, and William Randolph (1820–86), a Virginia-born sergeant in the 5th Cavalry who worked as a whitewasher after the war.



Fig. 2.17. Advertisement for Pittsfield reunion of the Massachusetts African American regiments, *Berkshire County Eagle*, 9 September 1875.

On 10 October 1883 the Shaw Veterans Association celebrated the forty-sixth anniversary of Shaw's birth at Leonard Grimes's Twelfth Baptist Church in the heart of the African American West End. It was here that James Monroe Trotter read his ode to the colonel. Here also George C. Holmes, an African American restaurateur and saloon and billiard parlor proprietor, had the Rev. J. R. Stansbury present to the association on his behalf "an elegant crayon portrait of Col. Shaw." At this event Shaw's mother also presented two flags that had been given to the regiment at Camp Meigs in Readville on 18 May 1863. Which two flags these might have been is entirely unclear, though the *Herald* stated that "the flags were originally presented to the regiment by the colored ladies of the state, but, owing to the fact that they were not according to regulations, were never carried by the regiment in its different battles, although being with the command during its existence as an organization, and after the war came into possession of the family of Col. Shaw." No other source made such claims about the national and state flags the "colored ladies" had presented to the regiment. The state flag carried at Fort Wagner was returned to Massachusetts by former Confederate General Ripley in 1875 and installed in Doric Hall; the national flag was the one Carney retrieved at Wagner's parapet, which he gave to Luis Emilio at Fort Wagner. It seems more likely that the two flags the Shaws owned were the others presented on that day—the regimental standard, and the flag bearing the words *In Hoc Signo Vinces* and depicting a cross on a blue background, donated to the regiment by the family of Lieutenant William L. Putnam, who had died at Ball's Bluff in 1861. After the presentation Annie E. Norris, the adult daughter of Cambridge African American wood and coal dealer William A. Norris, read the address Governor John A. Andrew had made to the regiment at the 1863 flag presentation.⁶¹

Meetings of African American Civil War veterans took place in the District of Columbia in December 1884, in Boston in early March 1885, and in Worcester, Massachusetts, in October 1885. In late February 1885 John H. Harris, Samuel A. Valentine, and

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Burrill Smith Jr., all sergeants in the 54th, issued an invitation for a 4 March reunion of “the former officers and men” of the 54th at Boston’s AME Zion Church to “renew the acquaintances begun twenty-four years ago.”⁶² The invitation promised an address by Colonel Charles B. Fox of the 55th Regiment and a supper, and the program noted that in addition to Fox’s remarks there would be a roll call, a drill, an oration by Harris, and singing. Former 54th Lieutenant Colonel George Pope of Brookline, who had been wounded at Fort Wagner, presided over the event and also addressed the group. Norwood “Pen” Hallowell, who was not on the program, attended the reunion and spoke about the “long suffering and patient endurance” of the regiment during its eighteen months without pay. Boston newspapers reported that about sixty “members” attended the Zion Church event.⁶³

In a handwritten note to “Will” on the printed invitation for the March 1885 event, Pope wrote that he planned to attend (he later agreed to preside over it) in order to give the men “such encouragement as is possible.” But in a remarkable letter to Luis Emilio written nine

61. “Shaw Veteran Association,” *Boston Journal*, 11 October 1883, 3; “The Shaw Guards,” *Boston Herald*, 11 October 1883, 3. The *Journal* did not identify the flags. Greenough, “Seeing What Ought to be,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 18, stated that Carney gave the flag to Emilio, the regiment’s temporary commander after the battle; whether Emilio kept it is unknown. Holmes lived at 2 Anderson Street and ran his businesses at 105 and 107 Cambridge Street, but he cannot be located in the 1880 census. In 1880 he was paymaster and treasurer of the Shaw Veterans Association, and he was active in the Alexander Dumas club and the Fraternal Association, both African American associations in Boston.

62. On Burrill Smith, see Chapter 1. According to his obituary John H. Harris was born enslaved on Maryland’s Eastern Shore and was living in Boston by 1848. In 1855 and 1860, when Harris told census takers he was born in Pennsylvania, he and his wife and family were living in Abington. Harris enlisted 28 February 1863 in Company A and served for the rest of the war; he was promoted to sergeant in April 1863 but demoted to corporal and then private by February 1864. Harris returned to Abington after the war but moved to Wilmington, MA, by the time he died in late April 1897. Valentine, born in 1842 in Oxford, PA, was a shoemaker living in Boston when he enlisted and was a mariner, porter, gardener, and shoemaker after the war. He was commander of the Robert A. Bell Post 134 in 1886 and died in the Boston suburb of Malden in November 1895. In July 1864 he wrote from Morris Island to the *Christian Recorder*, “I have been in the United States’ service almost seventeen months, and I have never yet had a furlough to go home to see my family. But as to a furlough, I would not care for that, if they would deal justly with us. There are men in this regiment who have respectable families that have been torn to pieces and driven to beggary. It is hard to bear. But the only and best way that I can see is to look to God for help; for he has promised to help in time of trouble. I hope the time will come soon that we shall have justice done to us all.” Quoted in Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*, 66–67. See also Valentine’s brief obituary, “Went to the Front with the 54th,” *Boston Globe*, 19 November 1895, 9.

63. Printed invitation, John H. Harris, Boston, to “Comrade,” 23 February 1886, and “Reunion of the 54th Regt., M. V. I., 1863–1886,” 54th Records, MHS; “The Colored Soldier,” *Boston Herald*, 5 March 1886; . “Volunteers Listening to Speeches,” *Boston Globe*, 5 March 1886, 2.

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days after the reunion, he shared Emilio's skepticism about the veteran enlisted men's organizational ability. "I agree with you that the colored people are apt to make a mess of anything they undertake unless guided by someone with better executive ability than they, as a rule exhibit," Pope wrote.⁶⁴ On what basis he asserted this tendency is unclear. It is possible, though far from clear, that Pope might have been referring to the efforts possibly then underway in Worcester to stage a broader African American veterans' reunion. Three 54th veterans—Worcester barbers George L. Bundy and Alexander Hemenway and Alexander H. Johnson, the drummer from New Bedford who had moved to Worcester by 1870—were among those who organized the October 1885 meeting, which included men from the 54th and 55th Infantry regiments and the 5th Cavalry from Worcester, Boston, and New Bedford in Massachusetts and the Connecticut cities of New Haven, Hartford, and Norwich. The aim, aside from the simple pleasure of coming together, was to create a regional association. The Worcester veterans worked with Carney, Trotter, Burrill Smith Jr., and William H. Dupree to create the Massachusetts Colored Veterans Association. According to historian Nick Salvatore, more than 125 veterans attended the meeting, where they voted to stage a national reunion of their comrades.⁶⁵

The Massachusetts Colored Veterans Association had its first official meeting in Worcester on 28 May 1886. Worcester's Amos Webber, a veteran of the 5th Cavalry, presided over the meeting, which drew from 50 to 125 African American veterans (depending on which newspaper can be judged most reliable) from the three regiments and a "handful" of white officers including Hallowell and Fox.⁶⁶ The officers of the 54th had been convening for annual dinners in Boston since 1865, and in 1878 the 55th and 54th officers assembled together for the event. That first annual combined dinner, on 13 November 1878, was held at the 10 Bulfinch Street dining rooms of Joshua B. Smith.⁶⁷

64. George Pope, Newton, to Luis F. Emilio, 13 March 1886, reel 14, 54th Records, MHS.

65. Salvatore, *We All Got History*, 280–81.

66. "Veterans' Reunion," *Worcester Daily Spy*, 28 May 1886, 4; "Veterans' Reunion," *ibid.*, 29 May 1886, 2. The *Spy* listed among the attendees from Massachusetts Trotter, Dupree, Carney, Burrill Smith, Wesley Furlong, Henry James, John Sherman, and "Private Jackson" of Boston; Eugene Williams of Oxford; "color sergeant" Charles W. Lenox of Watertown; Carney and George Fisher of New Bedford; Samuel Harrison of Pittsfield; Samuel Caesar of Dalton; and a "good attendance of city members," including Weber, and George Storms (here Storm). The 54th's Solomon Van Schaik (here "Schoch") of New York City or Troy and Henry A. Monroe of Wilmington, DE, also attended. The committee to organize the 1887 reunion included Carney, Charles S. Leonard, Samuel Harrison, and Furlong of the 54th; Trotter, Dupree, and Mitchell of the 55th; and Webber, Gustavus Booth, and George T. Fisher of the 5th Cavalry; no navy veteran was appointed at that time.

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By 1879, the African Americans who ultimately were granted commissions in these regiments began to attend these officers' dinners, if sporadically: Peter Vogelsang came from Brooklyn, New York, to attend the 1879 reunion; a sketch of his life was presented at the October 1887 dinner just after his death. In 1898 William H. Dupree and Charles L. Mitchell accepted invitations to the officers' dinner, and William H. Carney attended in 1901, when Booker T. Washington was a guest speaker.⁶⁸

Though the *Worcester Spy* stated that the 28 May 1886 meeting in Worcester was "the first time since the close of the war" that many of the veterans had met, it was not, but it did set in motion an effort to create a permanent organization of Massachusetts African American soldiers and sailors. The meeting created a committee to organize a national reunion for 1 August 1887 in Boston, but it was also, according to the *Spy*, contentious. Attendees debated whether formally to condemn African American state legislator Julius C. Chappelle for voting against a bill that would have exempted honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from having to take the civil service examination for public-sector jobs in Massachusetts. The meeting ultimately condemned any effort to oppose the bill but omitted Chappelle's name from the resolution. Afterward the veterans paraded through the streets of Worcester and then had a dinner at the GAR Hall, where Pen Hallowell was the main speaker.⁶⁹ In Boston in the meantime the Shaw Veterans Association laid wreaths on the Crispus Attucks monument on Boston Common and conducted its usual graveside services at Rainsford Island and at Mount Auburn Cemetery, where members decorated the graves of Sumner, the Shaw family, and

67. The printed invitation for the 1878 dinner identifies it for 54th officers as their thirteenth; a printed card of invitation for the 1884 dinner called it the sixth reunion. Reel 14, 54th Records, MHS.

68. See Vogelsang's response to the 1879 invitation on reel 14, 54th Records, MHS; Charles F. Joy, Chelsea, Mass., to Emilio, 22 November 1901, and William H. Carney, Boston, to Emilio, 10 January 1902, reel 14, 54th Records, MHS.

69. "Soldiers at Worcester," *Boston Globe*, 28 May 1886, 1; "Colored Veterans," *ibid.*, 26 May 1887, 1; "Colored Veterans' Reunion," *ibid.*, 19 June 1887, 12; "Veterans' Reunion," *Worcester Daily Spy*, 28 May 1886, 4; "Veterans' Reunion," *ibid.*, 29 May 1886, 2. In the latter article the *Spy* presented Hallowell's remarks and briefly paraphrased Carney's address. "Veterans Not Exempt: They Must Pass the Civil Service Examination in Massachusetts," *New York Times*, 22 June 1886, 2, reported that Governor George D. Robinson vetoed the soldiers' exemption bill. Julius Caesar Chappelle (1852–1904) was born enslaved on a plantation in Newberry County, SC, and moved to Boston in 1870, where his first job was as "custodial engineer" at the *Boston Herald*. He served two terms in the state legislature from 1883 to 1886 and three terms on the state Republican Committee; he was also prominent in the Massachusetts Citizens' Equal Rights Association. See Mark Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890–1920* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 39, and the documented Wikipedia entry for Chappelle.

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Ned Hallowell, who had been severely wounded at Wagner and died in 1871.⁷⁰ And on Memorial Day 1887 African and Irish Americans assembled to honor Wendell Phillips, who had supported the civil rights of both groups and had died three years earlier. African American attorney James H. Wolff, who had served in the Navy during the war, was president of Boston's Wendell Phillips Club and gave a short speech at Phillips's grave in Milton. In the brief interval of harmony between the two populations, Wolff declared the "the Negro would be found with the oppressed Irish people in striking down the oppressors of Ireland." On the same day the Bell Post decorated graves at Rainsford Island, and the Shaw Veterans Association arranged to have speakers at each graveside ceremony honoring Attucks, Phillips, Shaw, Hallowell, Sumner, and Anson Burlingame, whose reputation among African Americans was based on his public denunciation of South Carolina congressman Preston Brooks for caning Charles Sumner in the United States Senate in May 1856.⁷¹

"Please tell the boys that I am deeply interested in the reunion, and will help all I can here (Washington)," Trotter, just appointed the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, wrote to the committee planning the 1887 gathering. "I have already done much in advertising it. There are a goodly number of the 54th and 55th Veterans here. Dorsey is to come on with a soldiers' glee club. Let us have a good time." Trotter was elected to preside over the two-day August reunion and to present an address, and the committee planned a procession, a dinner, and an excursion "down the harbor" to visit Andrew's grave in Hingham. Dupree, Mitchell, Carney, and Furlong were present at this early June planning meeting, as were Navy veteran Isaac Mullen and 5th Cavalry veteran George T. Fisher of New Bedford. In July the committee sent out a reported twenty thousand circulars inviting veterans to the reunion (fig. 2.18), placed display advertisements in the *New York Freeman*, and hoped that one thousand would attend. A broadside for the "grand reunion of colored veterans" included Andrew's statement about the flag at the 1863 presentation ceremony and Carney's instantly famous declaration about the "old flag."⁷²

70. "Shaw Guards' Memorial Day," *Boston Globe*, 9 May 1886, 2.

71. J. Gordon Street, "Decoration Day in Boston," *New York Freeman*, 4 June 1887, 1. Phillips had first been buried at Boston's Granary Hill Burial Ground, but his body was moved to Milton Cemetery in 1886.

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The executive committee for the August 1887 reunion included ten men from the 54th—Carney; Burrill Smith; Chaplain Samuel Harrison of Pittsfield; Sergeant Charles W. Lenox of Watertown; Wesley Furlong; Sergeant Eli George Biddle of Worcester; Sergeant George E. Lee of Wellesley; Lieutenant Frank M. Welch of Bridgeport, Connecticut; Lieutenant George E. Stephens of Brooklyn, and William Hazard of New York City.⁷³ Smith, along with Dupree and Mitchell from the 55th and Mullen from the Navy, were the officers of the committee, which also included three other 55th veterans, seven men from the 5th Cavalry, and four men who had served in the Navy. Of this group of twenty-eight, at least eight were present at the Shaw Memorial unveiling, and at least six had by then died; ten were alive at the time, but whether they were part of the 1897 “Battalion of Survivors” has not been documented.

No newspaper account indicates how many veterans attended the August reunion, but there were enough to compose two companies of the 54th, the 55th, and the 5th Cavalry and one group of Civil War Navy men for the procession. J. Gordon Street estimated that four thousand people filled Tremont Temple for the morning exercises on 1 August. The reunion bears describing, because its format was repeated again in later reunions and, in large measure, at the 1897 Shaw Memorial unveiling.

The morning of 1 August began with an invocation by the 54th's Eli George Biddle, a sign painter after the war but by then a Methodist minister. Biddle had been shot twice at Fort Wagner but served with the regiment throughout the war.⁷⁴ Dupree called the meeting to order, and two veteran white officers—Alfred S. Hartwell, a captain in Company

72. Street, “Decoration Day in Boston”; “Colored Veterans’ Reunion,” *Boston Globe*, 28 July 1887, 6. Dorsey was probably 55th sergeant Robert M. Dorsey of Washington, who served on the August 1887 reunion executive committee. *New York Freeman*, 9 July 1887, 3, reported that 54th veteran George E. Stephens had written to oppose “a suggestion made by Prof. A. D. Langston in the *New York Tribune*, urging the attendance of survivors of the colored regiments at the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic to be held at St. Louis in September. He sees in the suggestion an effort to defeat the reunion of colored soldiers to be held at Boston in August.” Langston was probably Arthur D. Langston, son of African American abolitionist John Mercer Langston and longtime principal of the African American Dumas School in St. Louis. I have been unable to find this statement in the *Tribune* before the *Freeman’s* article, but the *Evening Star* (Washington DC), 27 June 1887, 5, notes that Langston was working with the GAR committee to “interest the colored people” in attending the St. Louis encampment to stage “a becoming demonstration”; Langston said it would be “a jubilee of the colored people.” His effort was widely reported in Midwestern newspapers.

73. Stephens is cited in some documents as George E. Stevenson, but no man of that name served in the 54th.



Fig. 2.18. Invitation to officers of the Massachusetts African American regiments to attend the “general reunion of the survivors,” 1 July 1887, from Norwood P. Hallowell scrapbooks. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

74. Biddle is best remembered for being one of the last surviving members of the 54th when he died in Boston in 1940. Though he was often cited as the last survivor, Ira Waterman of Company I, died after him, in August 1941 at Springfield, MA; see Redkey, “Brave Black Volunteers,” 33. Biddle’s obituary and other newspaper accounts state that he and his mother and siblings moved from Chester County, PA, to Boston in 1859 and that he was educated in a “mission school” where he refused to sing “America” (“My Country ‘Tis of Thee”) with the rest of the class because, as he is quoted to have said, “This is no land of freedom for me.” Biddle lived in New Haven and Norwich in Connecticut, New York City, Cambridge, Worcester, Newburgh, NY, and Boston. See “Two G. A. R. Veterans at Roxbury Service,” *Boston Globe*, 13 July 1936, 2, and Q. W. Clarke, “The Stirring Tale of the Last Survivor of the Glorious 54th,” *Boston Traveler*, 12 April 1960, 47.

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D, and Pen Hallowell—presented addresses. Between the various remarks African American soloists and ensembles sang: Nellie Brown Mitchell, a New Hampshire native and the wife of 55th Lieutenant Charles L. Mitchell, sang the “Star-Spangled Banner”; Adelaide G. Smith, a native Bostonian and the daughter of longtime activists John J. and Georgianna Smith, sang the “Battle Hymn of the Republic”; John F. Ransom, a Virginian and voice teacher who had moved to Boston in the early 1880s and was the event’s musical director, sang the 1865 tune “We are Rising as a People”; and Boston’s Lew Quartette sang the 1861 sentimental tune “The Vacant Chair.” A fifty-member chorus and a band accompanied Mitchell, and according to Street “the enthusiasm was great. The veterans shouted themselves hoarse and called vehemently for the artist to sing again. The 4,000 people stood up on their feet and joined her in singing two more verses.” Ednorah Nahar, a Boston milliner whose father Joseph was a native of Surinam and a confectioner in Providence, read the poem “Home Sweet Home” and Anna Quincy Waterston’s 1863 verse “Together,” which honored Shaw as the “fair-haired Northern hero” and the 54th as Shaw’s “guard of dusky hue.” William H. Carney also “spoke eloquently,” Street said, “of the times when the colored regiments went out from this State.”⁷⁵

In the afternoon the veterans assembled on the Charles Street Mall between the Public Garden and Boston Common for their procession. Carney was the parade’s chief marshal, and escorting him was the African American Company L of the 6th Regiment MVM. Carney and his staff of eight veterans were followed by a band composed of veterans of the three Massachusetts regiments and officers of the United States Colored Troops. After the band came the two companies of the 54th, led by George H. Lee of New Bedford and Alexander Hemenway of Worcester, both former sergeants. Charles W. Lenox of Watertown, a sergeant in Company A, carried the national flag. Street reported that Lenox “wore the same cap-blouse and canteen that he wore on his return from the war. He also wore the color belt which was used during the assault on Fort Wagner in 1863 and in which Sergt. Lennox carried the flag at the battle of Honey Hill, S.C., where he was struck on the shoulder by a spent musket ball and another hit his knapsack.” Then came the 55th and 5th Cavalry veterans and a company of Navy veterans from Massachusetts. After the regiments a second division included GAR and other veterans’ groups—among them, Street alone of those who reported on the reunion observed, were four white Sons

75. J. Gordon Street, “The Veterans’ Reunion: Survivors of the War Meet in Boston,” *New York Freeman*, 6 August 1887, 1.

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of Veterans camps from nearby Massachusetts towns. The William H. Carney Camp of Sons of Veterans escorted carriages carrying disabled veterans along the route, which ran up Beacon Street past the State House (where Governor Oliver Ames reviewed it), through Boston's commercial and financial core (where Mayor Hugh O'Brien reviewed it at City Hall on School Street), and then down Cambridge Street, the old northern edge of the African American West End. Carney reviewed the procession from Scollay Square, and the parade then ended up back at Tremont Temple, where the veterans were served a free dinner.

The next day the reunion occupied itself with business. Trotter read letters from friends who were not able to attend, including Sarah B. Shaw. Then George M. Arnold, a North Carolinian who had served in the 4th USCT, rose to urge the veterans to join the Colored Soldiers' and Sailors' National League in its effort to build a monument in the District of Columbia "commemorative of the deeds of colored soldiers in the late war." The men of the regiments then made remarks, none apparently recorded in the newspapers, and the business meeting began with the reading of resolutions. Here, too, the reunion embraced what past and future African American gatherings routinely did—substantial political critique and concern. Lewis H. Douglass, wounded at Fort Wagner and a compositor, editor, and activist living in Washington, presented the reunion's resolutions. His preamble cited African Americans' steadfast tendency to come to the nation's assistance "in striking down traitors and to preserve to after-coming generations a government 'of the people, by the people and for the people'" even as it decried "the stubborn and colossal fact" that the "survivors of their brave dead comrades, who placed in peril life and limb for the preservation of the Union, and their kindred are today in a large portion of this great nation denied justice in the courts, deprived of the exercise of the elective franchise, the victims of mob violence, an unprotected and outraged people." One resolution supported Arnold's call for the creation of the monument in Washington to stand "as testimony of the courage and loyalty of the negro." The other resolutions were more pointed. It was the government's duty, one of them declared, to ensure equal legal rights and protections to "the colored defenders of its life in its day of peril and their kindred." Another called on all African American veterans to support only those persons and institutions that held faith with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, "principles for which we fought and for which many of our comrades died" and urged them to work with whites to assure racial equity and "full citizenship." Another asked the veterans to condemn the refusal of the GAR's Commander of the Gulf to issue

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a charter to an African American post and to assure that the matter was addressed at the upcoming GAR encampment in St. Louis. A final resolution urged the country in general not to forget its African American veterans in the current rush to reconcile North and South:

While forgiving and fraternizing with the men whose vain attempt to disrupt the Union brought mourning to the homes of thousands, filled the land with orphans and widows, covering the country with maimed and disabled patriots, our white brother-soldiers and their friends should not forget nor ignore the loyalty of their black allies. Conciliation and peace with enemies are grand; when coupled with justice to faithful allies they are sublime.⁷⁶

The reunion then appointed a committee to draft a plan for “a permanent organization of colored veterans,” and afterward those veterans so inclined went to India Wharf, where they boarded the steamer *John A. Andrew* for Hingham. There the local GAR post escorted them to Andrew’s grave. Former 54th chaplain Samuel Harrison held a graveside service, and the Lew Quartette sang the English hymn “I Cannot Always Trace the Way.”⁷⁷ The group resolved to hold its next reunion, in 1888, in the District of Columbia, but there is no evidence that any such event took place.

Luis Emilio, by then preparing his history of the 54th Massachusetts, kept track of the regiment’s veterans and checked his lists against those of the Army and Navy Survivors’ Division, part of the Pension Office of the federal Department of the Interior. The Shaw Veterans Association carried on with its traditional graveside ceremonies in 1890, and in August of the same year the GAR held its national encampment in Boston. According to the *Globe* forty thousand veterans from Illinois to the East Coast attended the encampment, five hundred of them disabled and conveyed in carriages in the huge procession. Five African American GAR posts—John A. Andrew from New York City, Ives from Providence, O. P. Morton from the District of Columbia, the hosting Bell Post of Boston, and the Shaw of New Bedford—took part in the parade, as did fifty “shipmates” led by Wesley Furlong of the Shaw Veterans Association in the U.S. Navy division of the

76. “Colored ‘Vets,’” *Boston Globe*, 2 August 1887, 8.

77. Street, “Veterans Reunion”; “Colored ‘Vets’”; “Colored Veterans,” *Boston Journal*, 2 August 1887; “Brave Colored Troops: 54th and 55th Infantry and 5th Cavalry Reunion,” *Boston Globe*, 2 August 1887, 2. “Grand Reunion of Colored Veterans” and “General Orders,” reel 14, 54th Records, MHS, feature the details of the two-day program.

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parade. Scores of Sons of Veterans camps also marched, including the Carney Camp of Boston under Alexander A. Seldon, whose father Joseph had served in the Navy during the war. The Bell Post hosted, and probably secured accommodations for, all of the African American veterans who came to the encampment, and according to one source these men had their own, segregated “campfire.”⁷⁸

Between 1887 and 1897, when the Shaw Memorial was unveiled, no evidence so far uncovered indicates that a nationwide reunion of African American Civil War veterans took place. The Robert A. Bell Post of the GAR continued its Memorial Day activities in Boston. Novelist and editor Pauline Elizabeth Northrup Hopkins, a native of Portland, Maine, may have cut at least some of her literary teeth as a member of the Bell Post’s auxiliary Woman’s Relief Corps No. 67; her stepfather William Hopkins, a barber and native of Alexandria, Virginia, had served in the Navy during the Civil War. One of Hopkins’s first public presentations was a lecture illustrated by lantern slides that she presented several times in 1889 as a benefit for the Bell Post. Entitled “The Rise of the Black Republic,” it covered the history of Haiti. Hopkins also presented the oration at the post’s Memorial Day 1892 event at Boston’s Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church.⁷⁹ This gathering surely included veterans of the three Massachusetts regiments, but its reach was limited to Boston. Similarly, the August 1896 event in Worcester where the integrated GAR Post 10 invited African American veterans to tell their war stories was

78. Mark Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890–1920* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 39–40, 90, states that the black troops had their own campfire, but I have not been able to document this assertion. See “40,000 Men,” *Boston Globe*, 13 August 1890, 1, 6, 7, 9; “Boston Letter,” *Richmond Planet*, 9 August 1890, 1, and “The Hub,” *ibid.*, 23 August 1890, 3. According to the *Washington Bee*, 16 August 1890, 1, Frederick Douglass attended the encampment, and Colonel William Murrell was “the only colored delegate at large” at the meeting. According to newspaper accounts Murrell, born enslaved in either Georgia or New Orleans, apparently served in Company D of the 138 USCT during the Civil War and afterward in the “Indian campaigns” in the West; he was a colonel in the Louisiana National Guard during Reconstruction and served in the state legislature there in the 1870s. He moved to Washington, DC, in 1878 and worked as a messenger in the Treasury and Commerce and Labor departments. Two of Murrell’s sons were killed in the Spanish American War. Murrell was in the Soldiers’ and Sailor’s Home in Bath, NY, by 1913 or 1914 and later lived in Corning, NY, with his second wife; he died there in February 1932. See “Col. William Murrell Celebrates Birthday,” *New York Age*, 19 June 1926, 2; “William Murrell,” *New York Times*, 14 February 1932, 29.

79. Pauline Elizabeth Northrup Hopkins was born in Portland, ME, in 1859 and was living with her mother Sarah Allen and her stepfather in Boston by the late 1860s. When she was twenty years old she wrote a three-act play titled *The Slave’s Escape, or the Underground Railroad*, performed in Boston in late November 1879, and she was part of her family’s musical group Hopkins Colored Troubadours.

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largely confined to Worcester. There the 54th's Alexander Hemenway recounted the long wait for equal pay; Amos Webber of the 5th Cavalry recalled how surprised Southerners were to “see a negro on horseback.” Emory Phelps of Worcester, a North Carolinian who had been living in New Bedford when he enlisted in the 54th's Company C, read an unnamed “war poem.”⁸⁰

Some efforts to honor the regiment aimed to reach further: Henry Augustus Monroe, who had enlisted in his native New Bedford when he was eighteen and served as a drummer in Company C, worked after the war as a Freedmen’s Bureau agent on Maryland’s Eastern Shore and then became a AME minister in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New York City. In 1887 he became pastor at St. Mark’s AME church in New York, and by 1891 he developed “Dr. Monroe’s Great War Lecture: Camp Fires of the 54th Mass.” for “church lyceums, Epworth Leagues, and G.A.R. Gatherings,” his promotional broadside stated (fig. 2.19).⁸¹ Monroe assembled more than one hundred stereoviews of the Civil War “interspersed with popular War Songs, also illustrated” to tell the story of the regiment; the presentation concluded with the song “Tenting on the Old Camp Ground.” How often and how widely Monroe presented this lecture is hard to determine, yet it seems that the memory of African American Civil War veterans remained either private or intensely local until Memorial Day 1897.

The *Globe* called her “Boston’s favorite colored soprano” in the early 1880s. Hopkins performed often in the city in that decade. In 1900 her novel *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* was published, and she contributed often to *Colored American Magazine*, which she edited from 1902 to 1904. See Lois Brown, *Pauline E. Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 164–65, which states that the 1892 presentation was “the first political event” at which Hopkins spoke. No Boston newspaper appears to have reported the content of her oration. See “Grand Army Posts,” *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1892, 1; “Memory” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1892, 2; “Notes about Town,” *ibid.*, 30 November 1879, 3; “Military and Naval,” *ibid.*, 13 October 1889, 16; “Hayti’s Story,” *ibid.*, 18 October 1889, 5.

80. Salvatore, *We All Got History*, 307; “The Colored Men,” *Worcester Daily Spy*, 14 August 1896, 1.

81. This broadside is on reel 14, 54th Records, MHS. Monroe (sometimes Munroe) was past commander of the John Brown Post No. 26 GAR and had served for two years as inspector of customs in Baltimore in the early 1870s. See “A Popular City Pastor,” *New York Age*, 23 October 1891, 1. The Epworth League was an organization of the Methodist Episcopal church and founded in 1889.



THE BEST THING FOR CHURCH LICEUMS, EPWORTH LEAGUES, AND G. A. R. GATHERINGS.

"Camp Fires of the Old 54th Mass."

Rekindled by "The Drummer-Boy of Co. C."

Rev. Dr. MONROE'S GREAT WAR LECTURE.

Introducing over **One Hundred Fine War Views** (many of them taken on the spot), and interspersed with the popular **War Songs**, also illustrated, making one of the finest entertainments ever presented before any audience in America. Dr. MONROE uses a double oxy-hydrogen Stereopticon of the latest pattern, and the beauty of the illustrations as thrown upon a mammoth screen equals the charm of this story of an "old vet."

The **Fifty-fourth Massachusetts** was the first regiment of colored troops raised at the North, and its valor became historic from its bravery at Fort Wagner. Dr. MONROE was one of the first to enlist, and remained in service until the close of the war. The Lecture is certainly a graphic picture of war-life as seen by a private soldier.

SYNOPSIS :

The causes that led to the organization of the regiment, the recruiting camp at Readville, the triumphal march through Boston over ground consecrated by the blood of Crispus Attucks, and their arrival in Dixie, introduce us to the **First Camp Fire** at St. Simon's Island, Ga.; here we are entertained with the song **Do They Miss Me at Home** (Illustrated), a ghost-story of the old slave time, a thrilling experience at the picket-line, ending with the death of the rebel spy. Then follows the memorable campaign in the Carolinas, the first battle of James Island, the occupation of Morris Island, and the song **Just before the Battle**. As the song ends, the black regiment swarms forth from the rifle-pits to the historic **Charge on Fort Wagner**. The ghastly horrors of that night-struggle, the **Halaklava of the Civil War**, with the death of Colonel Shaw, the heroism of Sergeant Carney, who brought back the tattered colors, crying, "Boys, the old flag never touched the ground," are all told in such realistic language that one shudders at the recital and is swayed by its pathos.

The ill-fated **Florida Expedition** introduces us to scenes both tragic and comic in that **Braddock's Defeat of the Nineteenth Century**. The long march, the halt at Sanderson, the dust-covered, blood-stained courier with news of the fatal ambush, the rush of the 54th to the rescue, the turning of the tide of battle, the defiant dress-parade under the rebel guns, and the night retreat, all pass in one grand panorama of thrilling interest before the eyes and ears of delighted audiences.

The **Siege of Charleston**, with its side glimpses of camp-life on Morris Island, will convulse you with laughter at the comic side of soldier-life. The building of the **Swamp Angel** battery and the story of a **Charleston Dinner, under Difficulties** are rich bits of fun; while the **Sinking of the Blockade-runner**, the **Night Bombardment of the Cradle of the Rebellion**, its evacuation and surrender, the hoisting of the old flag on Sumter's shattered walls, and the march of the Union troops through the grass-grown streets of the shot-wrecked city, shouting the "John Brown Hymn," is a masterly rendering of a great war drama.

The **Last Raid** makes us pass alternately from smiles to tears. The long search by day, the halt at night, the raid on the rail fences, the drummer's game bag, the grand descriptive song, **Marching through Georgia**, the destruction of millions of property, the emancipation of ten thousand slaves, and then the last battle of the Rebellion at Roykin's Mill, which fills our eyes with tears as we gaze upon the bleeding form of poor little Tom, **Our Contraband**, who died as bravely as a soldier of the Union. The illustrated war-song **Testing on the Old Camp Ground** makes an appropriate and attractive final.

FOR TERMS, DATES, Etc., ADDRESS

Rev. H. A. MONROE, D.D., 125 West Fifty-third Street, New York City.

Fig. 2.19. The Rev. Henry Augustus Monroe, onetime Company C drummer and then pastor of the large St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City, prepared an illustrated lecture, "Camp Fires of the Old 54th Mass." for GAR, church, and other groups. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.



Fig. 3.1. Joshua Bowen Smith, carte de visite, 1871, Shaw-Minturn Family Photographs, Massachusetts Historical Society. That this photograph was preserved by the Shaws attests Smith's relationship with the family, if not his central role in memorializing Robert Gould Shaw.

“The Power of a Great Idea”

I have just received your beautiful and touching letter on the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. Tell all of that regiment that you see that I honor them much: *Sic iter ad—Libertatem!* I cannot be consoled for the loss of Shaw. But where better could a young commander die than on the parapet of an enemy’s fort which he had stormed? That death will be sacred in history and in art.¹

On 29 July 1863, most Bostonians did not know for sure that Colonel Robert Gould Shaw had died leading the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in its ill-fated assault on Fort Wagner. Yet when Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner responded that day to the report of his longtime friend Edward Lillie Pierce, then in charge of freed people’s settlements on the Sea Islands (Morris Island, where Wagner was built, was among them), he seemed willing to accept Pierce’s view that, as the *Boston Daily Advertiser* put it, “there is not reason to believe that Col. Shaw survives.”²

News of the tragic outcome of the 18 July Fort Wagner assault did not reach Boston newspapers until six days later. On 24 July the *Advertiser*, *Boston Evening Transcript*, and *Boston Traveler* published news of Shaw’s “reported death,” at least one of them reprinted from a Richmond, Virginia, newspaper; the state government, so the *Traveler* claimed, had not yet heard of it. On 22 July Pierce had written Governor Andrew that Shaw “was probably killed” but may have been wounded and taken prisoner, and it is possible Andrew had not received Pierce’s letter by the time the *Traveler* reported Shaw’s presumed death.³ On 27 July the *Advertiser* cautioned against taking the news of Shaw’s death seriously, as it rested upon “rebel authority—that of General Beauregard. We must await advices from our own forces near Charleston before we shall know certainly whether it

1. Charles Sumner to Edward L. Pierce, 29 July 1863, in Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881), 4:142. “Sic itur ad Libertatem” translates as “Thus you shall travel to liberty.”

2. “The Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 29 July 1863, 2.

3. Edward L. Pierce, Beaufort, SC, to Governor Andrew, 22 July 1863, reprinted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 55–60.

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is indeed true that the gallant young officer has so quickly fallen a martyr in the noble cause which he has so zealously espoused.” On 28 July, the *Traveler* noted that Colonel Edward N. Hallowell, himself wounded during the Wagner assault, had declared that Shaw was “slightly wounded, while inside the rebel works” and taken prisoner.⁴ The first description of the Wagner assault appeared in Boston papers on the same day, and on the 29th the *Advertiser* reported Pierce’s belief that Shaw had not survived.

The *Advertiser*’s account appeared on the same day that Sumner, then in Boston, received Pierce’s letter. On that day, too, he and the African American caterer Joshua Bowen Smith met to talk over these events. Sumner afterward wrote to Shaw’s parents:

I cannot reconcile myself to the thought that your son is dead; and yet I fear that there is small room to doubt. To-day I saw your old and faithful servant and friend Smith; and we sorrowed together over this bereavement, which we felt bitterly for ourselves and also for you.⁵

Numerous secondary accounts of the early efforts to build a monument to Robert Gould Shaw and his African American regiment in Massachusetts state that Smith proposed the idea to Sumner soon after Shaw’s death; Sumner stated as much two years later. In 1863, however, the senator was more vague about the idea’s origin. “There was a desire at once for a monument to commemorate alike the hero and the event,” Sumner wrote in the *Liberator* at the end of 1863. “But the rebellion was then raging. It was no time for monuments.”⁶

4. “The Report of Col. Shaw’s Death,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 July 1863, 2; “The Wounded Officers of the Mass. 54th,” *Boston Traveler*, 28 July 1863, 2.

5. Charles Sumner to Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, 29 July 1863, quoted in *Memorial R. G. S., and Teamoh, Life and Death of Shaw*, 45.

6. “Honor to the Memory of Colonel Shaw. An Equestrian Statue to be Erected,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 9 October 1865, 1; Hon. Charles Sumner, “Monument to Colonel Shaw,” *Liberator*, 22 December 1863, 1. Smith’s proposal is cited in Marilyn Richardson, “Taken from Life: Edward M. Bannister, Edmonia Lewis, and the Memorialization of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 95, which cites Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 196. Savage, however, mentions nothing about 1863 efforts in Boston to build a Shaw memorial. See also Anderson, “For All Time to Come,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 83–84, which cites Richardson and the 22 December 1863 *Liberator* article, where Sumner does not mention Smith or anyone else by name. Kathryn Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 116, also states that the effort began with Smith in 1863 and cites *The Monument to Robert Gould Shaw: Its Inception, Completion and Unveiling 1867–1897* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1897), 7, which also does not mention the 1863 campaign.

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Sumner's mention to Shaw's parents of his meeting with Smith may be the only record that even so much as hints at Smith's suggestion. Yet Smith had a history with the Shaw family and sufficient cause to have made such a proposal. Though he was not listed in Boston directories until 1842, Joshua B. Smith had reached Boston in 1836 or 1837, and after waiting table at South Boston's Mount Washington House he is said to have entered the household of Francis and Sarah Shaw, whom he may have met at the hotel. Smith met Sumner either at the hotel or at the Shaws' home in Bowdoin Square, which abutted the heavily African American West End. No people of color were listed in the Shaw household in the 1840 census, and in late 1841 or early 1842 the family moved to a rural estate in West Roxbury next to the communitarian Brook Farm settlement. Where Smith lived in Boston before 1845 is unknown. Yet in March 1875, in a speech before the state legislature, he recounted his early years in Boston with the Shaws:

Thirty-five years have passed since Col Robert G Shaw was a babe in his cradle. On an occasion that I well remember Charles Sumner was a guest at his father's table, and I was a servant standing behind his chair. The question of slavery, then the general topic of conversation, was under discussion. One of the guests gave expression to the most bitter feeling I ever heard, saying that the Abolitionists, with their negro friends, ought to be hanged, but Mr and Mrs Shaw, the father and mother of the infant, spoke strongly in favor of justice and freedom. The gentleman who had been speaking so bitterly asked Mr Sumner what he thought of the negro question. Pointing to me he replied, Would you have that man a slave? And that expression, with other words then spoken, cost him his social position for years in Boston. Slavery had struck its roots wide and deep, but for me the star of justice rose in that hour, and I saw it shining for the first time through the dark clouds of prejudice that surrounded me.

A few years after that I was with that child on Boston Common. As we were sitting there I noticed that he looked intently at me, and presently he said, "Smith, what makes your hands black?" "Well, my boy, God made them so," I replied. "Well," said he, "if God made them so, why do people find fault with it?" "Because they are bad," I answered. He gazed at me a few moments without speaking and then said "Smith, some day I'll fight for you."⁷

7. "Speech of Joshua B. Smith before the Legislature of Massachusetts," *Boston Journal*, 11 March 1875, 1. Robert Teamoh repeated these connections to the Shaw family in *Life and Death of Shaw*, 11, and the same is stated in "Idea of a Colored Man: Joshua Benton [*sic*] Smith, a Warm Admirer of Col Shaw, First to Suggest an Equestrian Memorial," *Boston Daily Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7, which Teamoh very likely wrote.

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The greatest years of Joshua Bowen Smith's abolitionist activism were ahead of him when he came to know the Shaws, and what contact he may have had with them after the family moved to West Roxbury in 1842 is so far undocumented. Yet they probably heard about him and perhaps saw him often on trips to Boston, for in that city Smith was "the prince of caterers," as the *Boston Herald* once put it; another newspaper called him "caterer to the city."⁸ After leaving service by 1842, Smith began his independent career in Boston as a clothing dealer, and by 1845 he was probably already living with African American clothing dealer John P. Coburn. Like Smith, Coburn was an officer of the New England Freedom Association, an African American group founded to "extend a helping hand to all who may bid adieu to whips and chains, and by the welcome light of the North Star, reach a haven where they can be protected from the grasp of the man-stealer."⁹ By 1847 Smith had become a caterer, and he soon became the caterer of choice for Harvard College Class Days, Fourth of July dinners, and the entire gamut of antislavery and other reform association gatherings—annual conventions, female antislavery society fairs, *Liberator* fundraisers and anniversaries, and later Emancipation Proclamation celebrations (fig. 3.2). Already by March 1849, the Boston supper for the Zachary Taylor inaugural ball impelled the *Herald* to assert that Smith had "made himself famous" through his work.¹⁰ Smith was by all accounts successful, and from time to time his politics infused his work. In 1850 he refused to cater a dinner for Daniel Webster, whose support for the Union and the Fugitive Slave Act in his famed 7 March speech incensed

8. See "The Celebration Yesterday," *Boston Herald*, 6 July 1852, 4, and W. C. N. [William C. Nell], "Business Enterprises of Colored People in Boston," *Liberator*, 27 January 1854.

9. "Meeting of the New England Freedom Association," *Liberator*, 12 December 1845, 3. The Freedom Association, founded about 1842, merged with the first Boston Committee of Vigilance in 1846.

10. "Fashionable Intelligence," *Boston Herald*, 7 March 1849, 2. Scores of newspaper accounts of Smith's catering work exist. See Appendix D. The 22 June 1868 *Boston Daily Advertiser* carried a front-page article taken from a New York City newspaper and reprinted in others: "When Mr Smith had been engaged to provide the city banquet on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit, Mr Everett went to him and said he was particularly desirous that everything should be arranged as skillfully and elegantly as possible. 'I know,' said he, 'that the materials of the entertainment will be all that could be desired, but I want the manner, the arrangement, the decorations, most carefully attended to. Do, for this occasion, something better than you have ever done before.' Mr Smith said he would give his mind to it. When all was ready he invited Mr Everett to inspect the arrangements. They twice walked around the hall together, carefully scrutinizing everything, but without a word being said. At last, having viewed the whole, Mr. Everett said, 'Mr Smith, I have seen entertainments in every capital in Europe; but I have never seen one displaying more taste and good judgment than this.' The Prince, when the time came, expressed to his friends his sense of the good arrangements of the occasion; and subsequently, after the city had paid Mr. Smith's bill, Mr Everett handed him an envelope containing \$1000, in token of the satisfaction of the managers in the success of this entertainment."



Fig. 3.2. Bill of Fare for Boston City Council's Fourth of July dinner, 4 July 1851. Smith's name on the menu indicates his prominence in his field. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

abolitionists all over the country. Accounts of his refusal differ: one stated that Smith wrote Webster, then at his Marshfield home, that he “could not cater for the man who made the 7th of March speech”; another claimed that Smith told Webster he would “be damned” if he took the job. Smith provided “the tables” at the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society meeting in Boston in February 1862 without charge,

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and he initially refused to bill George Luther Stearns for catering his January 1863 anniversary celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation at his home in Medford, reputedly after he had seen E. H. Brackett's bust of John Brown on Stearns's staircase landing. It was only "with difficulty" that Smith later agreed to accept one hundred dollars for the engagement.¹¹

Smith catered dinners and entertainments for as few as four people and as many as 3500 and naturally provided employment for numerous people; some historians assert that he routinely hired fugitives and used his vast exposure to "keep an eye on slave hunters, who were always looking for fugitives in Boston restaurants."¹² So far only one such instance has been identified, if not firmly documented. Living with him and Coburn at the corner of Buttolph (now Irving) and Southac Streets in Boston's West End in 1849 was the fugitive John Milton Clarke, who had escaped enslavement in Kentucky in 1842 and had written and published a narrative of his life in 1845. By 1850, during the long effort to desegregate Boston public schools, both Smith and Clarke moved to Cambridge, where the census that year lists them in the same household; both were working as caterers, and it seems more than likely that Clarke worked for Smith.¹³ That the first of Boston's two fugitive-assisting vigilance committees appointed Smith its "relief agent" also intimates that his catering business at 16 Brattle Street was something of a clearinghouse for fugitives.¹⁴ Few African American Bostonians were more active in abolition and both overall and specific efforts to aid fugitives from slavery than he was.¹⁵

11. Webster apparently had asked Smith to cater a dinner for his guest, "the English minister, Mr. Crampton." On this affair see "Liberator Soiree at the Cochituate Hall," *Liberator*, 7 February 1851, 2; "Colored Churches in Boston," *Boston Journal*, 16 August 1883, 3; and "Joshua B. Smith," *Wayside Gleanings for Leisure Moments* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, University Press, printed for private circulation, 1882), 90–91. On the 1862 event see "The National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary," *Liberator*, 14 February 1862, 4; on the Stearns affair see Stearns, *Stearns*, 296.

12. *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, s.v. "Smith, Joshua Bowen." This assertion is restated in David S. Shields, *The Culinaricians: Lives and Careers from the First Age of American Fine Dining* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 143–49, which contains some factual errors.

13. Kathryn Grover and Neil Larson, Joshua Bowen Smith House, National Park Service Network to Freedom nomination, 2004; no copy of this nomination appears to exist online.

14. See John W. Browne, "Committee of Vigilance. Agent's Record," transcription published in Irving H. Bartlett, "Abolitionists, Fugitives, and Imposters in Boston, 1846–47," *New England Quarterly* 55, 1 (March 1982): 107–8. The committee stated that "all cases of relief of fugitives needing board &c & employment here will be attended to" by Smith as agent and gave his 16 Brattle Street business address.

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Joshua Bowen Smith and Sumner were friends and colleagues in the cause for many years. Though no documentation of a formal employment relationship is known to exist, their correspondence indicates that Smith acted as a sort of caretaker for Sumner—keeping an eye on his Boston home on Hancock Street, readying it for the times Sumner was in the city, arranging for his stays in Boston hotels after Sumner sold the family’s West End home, even advising Sumner on the house he bought in the District of Columbia in 1867. Smith regularly sent fish, fruit (including pears, which he cultivated and successfully entered into horticultural exhibitions), fowl, and cheese to Sumner in Washington. “I saw in the market this morning a fresh Salmon from the Kennebec River, lying all alone, without a peer, precisely as you stand in Washington,” Smith wrote to Sumner in May 1870. The two dined together in Washington and Boston, and Smith stayed in Sumner’s Washington home on more than one occasion. Their correspondence shows that to whatever effect Smith frequently encouraged and counseled Sumner, in one instance declaring to Sumner about the backsliding Republican party in 1872, “You pro[te]cted it when it was young and pure, you have a right to destroy it when it becomes old & evil.” To Smith, Sumner was “the great comet” which could not be arrested because “justice must prevail,” that “starr shining beautifully giving light to all that will see it. . . . sending forth its light so bright that it will wake up this sleepy nation to a sense of justice”; Sumner was even, for Smith, “the Jisus [*sic*] of the Negro Race.” When postwar federal legislature seemed increasingly inclined to restore the standing of former Confederate leaders, Smith wrote to Sumner, “Before you are jenerous [*sic*] pay those that fought to save the nation before you make presants [*sic*] to those that fought to destroy the country. I do feel that justice will prevale [*sic*], and Charles Sumner will be at the head of the nation, dispencing [*sic*] peace and justice equally to all, black and white.” To Smith, and to many Americans

15. Smith’s abolitionist activity is extensively documented in the *Liberator*. See Appendix D. Smith was centrally involved in the movement of the fugitives William and Ellen Craft in and from Boston when an agent of their enslaver came to Boston to find them and another fugitive in October 1850, as Theodore Parker noted in his journal: “Saw J. B. Smith, who says that writs are out also for the arrest of two other men working at Parker’s restaurant, in Court Square; that five or six fellows came there at dinner-time, stood on the steps, looked in, but didn’t enter. After dinner they went in and inquired for their fugitives. No such persons there—looked round and went off. Smith says Craft is armed, and Ellen secreted. Informal meeting of Vigilance Committee at the office of New Englander. Craft has consented to be hid to-night, at the south end of Boston. Mr. — took him up in a coach. Ellen is to-night at —, in — Street. So all is safe for the night.” See John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston* (New York: D Appleton & Company, 1864), 2: 95; Bartlett, “Abolitionists, Fugitives”; Robert F. Wallcutt, Boston, to Sydney Howard Gay, 31 August 1847, Gay Papers; [Jackson], “Treasurers Accounts”; and William Lloyd Garrison to J. B. Smith, 23 March 1855, Ms. A.12.v.41 p.42a, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library.

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of African descent, Sumner was “the only man on whom the negro race could place entire trust.”¹⁶

Smith and Sumner very likely discussed a monument to Shaw because they knew him, recognized the significance of his command and his death, and were both actively interested in historical monuments. In 1845 and 1846, Smith was among a group of black Bostonians who created and managed the Torrey Monument Association, which aimed to build a monument over the grave of Charles Turner Torrey, who died in prison after his conviction on charges of “slave stealing” in 1844.¹⁷ In late February 1851 he and other black Bostonians petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for a \$1500 appropriation to build a monument to Crispus Attucks. Controversy about whether Attucks had indeed been the first to fall in the American Revolution stalled the effort, and not until 1888 was a monument to Attucks and the other men killed in the skirmish actually built.¹⁸ For his

16. See J. B. Smith to Charles Sumner, 15 December 1862, Sumner Papers 27:94, 21 & 22 October 1864, 32:28 & 31; 18 May 1869, 47:47; 19 May 1867, 81:73; 17 March 1870, 50:210; 4 February 1871, 52:464; 22 April 1871, 54:337; 22 July 1872, 58:353; 10 August 1872, 59:293; 7 January 1873, 60:344; Sumner to Smith, 13 December 1867, 81:295; 3 January 1868, 81:373; 25 February 1872, 84:538, 19 May 1867, 81:73. Smith calls Sumner “the great comet” in 4 February 1871, 52:464, a “starr” in 27 January 1872, 56:291, and Jesus in 22 July 1872, 58:353. See also 31 March 1870, 50:296, written after ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, in which Smith terms Sumner “the greatis [sic] champion of Liberty of this or any other age.” Charles Sumner Papers microfilm edition, Lamont Library, Harvard University (hereafter cited as Sumner Papers with reel and frame numbers). On reconciling with Confederates see Smith to Sumner, 4 January 1872, Sumner Papers 56:62, and “The Rights of Colored Citizens,” *Boston Globe*, 22 November 1873, 8. See also Pierce, *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner*, 4:199, 554, 566. On the views of Sumner held by other African Americans, see Lewis Hayden et al., Boston, to Hon. Charles Sumner, Washington, DC, 24 January 1870, Sumner Papers 49:427; Grimké, *Life of Sumner*, vi; J. B. Smith (John B. Smith of New Bedford and Boston) to Sumner, 7 June 1860, Sumner Papers 19:443; Lewis Hayden, Boston, to Sumner, 11 June 1860, *ibid.*, 19:560; and William Still, Philadelphia, 10 June 1860, Sumner Papers 19:610. This last letter, in response to Sumner’s 4 June 1860 “Barbarism of Slavery” address before the United States Senate, led Still to state, “You spoke as if moved by the Almighty, above! In my humble opinion you have so effectively laid the axe at the root of the tree that thousands & tens of thousand who have been indifferent or proslavery will henceforth work for the deliverance of the bondman, will labor to help cut the tree down.” George E. Stephens, a corporal in the 54th, stated in a bitter and disillusioned letter from Folly Island, SC, on 26 May 1864, “There is one man whom I know will come out right—Charles Sumner.” See Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 307. Another example of the regard in which Boston’s African Americans held Sumner is Elijah W. Smith’s poem, “Our Lost Leader,” which appeared in *Sumner Memorial Meeting. Oration of Hon. Robert B. Elliott, M.C. of South Carolina, Delivered in Faneuil Hall, April 14, 1874, under the Auspices of the Colored Citizens of Boston, with the address of Edwin G. Walker, Esq., President of the Meeting, and a Sketch of the Proceedings* (Boston: Committee of Arrangements by Charles L. Mitchell, 1874), 29–31, MHS.

17. *Liberator*, 10 July 1845, 5–6, and 7 August 1846, 5; Dorothy Porter Wesley and Constance Porter Uzelac, eds., *William Cooper Nell: Nineteenth-Century African American Abolitionist, Historian, Integrationist* (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 2002), 145–46.

part, Sumner had been enamored of the plaster busts displayed at the Boston Athenaeum as a young man, and during his first sojourn in Europe in the late 1830s he met the American sculptors Horatio Greenough (1805–52), Hiram Powers (1805–73), and Thomas Crawford (1813–57). He was so impressed by Crawford’s work that he encouraged his friends to patronize him, and Crawford did a bust of Sumner in marble in 1842.¹⁹ Sumner had also known the sculptor William Wetmore Story since Story’s boyhood: his father, Joseph Story, had been Sumner’s early mentor at Harvard Law School, and Story’s *Libyan Sibyl* of 1861, apparently inspired by the life of fugitive and activist Sojourner Truth, is considered the first American sculpture to address the subject of slavery.²⁰

The South Carolina Effort

Sumner’s prediction that the death of Robert Gould Shaw was bound to be “sacred in history and in art” falls something short of proposing a monument to the man in Massachusetts, and Smith’s suggestion of one to Sumner was either inspired by or coincident with the effort among people of African descent to build one at Fort Wagner.²¹ On 27 July 1863, two days before Sumner met with Joshua B. Smith and wrote to the Shaws and Pierce, Rufus Saxton (1824–1908), a native of Greenfield, Massachusetts, then serving as military governor of South Carolina and the brigadier general under whom Shaw had served, wrote a letter to “the colored soldiers and freedman in this department” that suggested they use “the first proceeds of your labor as freemen towards erecting an enduring monument to the hero, soldier, martyr, Robert Gould Shaw”:

It is fitting that you should pay a last tribute of respect to the memory of the late Col. Robert Gould Shaw, Colonel of the 54th regiment of Mass. Volunteers. He commanded the first regiment of colored soldiers from a free State ever mustered into the United States Service. He fell at the head of his regiment, while leading a

18. Wesley and Uzelac, eds., *Nell*, 34, 282–85; “Massachusetts Legislature,” *Daily Atlas* (Boston), 6 March 1851, 2; *Christian Watchman*, 27 March 1851, 3.

19. Donald, *Sumner*, 48–49, 66–67; Anne-Marie Taylor, *Young Charles Sumner and the Legacy of the American Enlightenment, 1811–1851* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 117–21. Sumner bequeathed the bust along with much of his other art to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

20. Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, 157–58; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 59.

21. Quoted in Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 116.

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storming party against the rebel stronghold. You should cherish in your inmost hearts the memory of one who did not hesitate to sacrifice all the attractions of a high social position, wealth, and home, and his own noble life, for the sake of humanity—another martyr to your cause that death has added, still another hope for your race. The truths and principles for which he fought and died still live, and will be vindicated on the spot where he fell, by the ditch into which his mangled and bleeding body was thrown, on the soil of South Carolina.

Saxton's letter was published in Boston and other newspapers across the country between 3 and 7 August.²² On 3 August Francis George Shaw wrote to Lincoln Stone, a surgeon and major in the 54th, "It was our intention to erect a monument ourselves whenever possible on the spot, over Rob & his men, but should the general's order be carried into effect, it will be much more fitting." Saxton's appeal for funds was read in the Beaufort, South Carolina, Baptist church before 8 August: parishioners contributed sixty dollars at this event. On 17 August Saxton wrote to Shaw's father.

I am glad that you are satisfied with the proposed plan of a monument to be built by the coloured people on the spot where that noble, honoured life was laid down. It seems to me that no one could have a prouder monument. The people seem fully to understand its meaning, and will contribute generously out of their scanty means.

It is my wish that the whole sum should be given as a free-will offering from the Freedmen in this Department. It has been suggested that a plain shaft of Quincy granite would be both enduring and appropriate; its size to depend upon the amount given by the people for the purpose. Your own wishes would, however, control entirely in this matter.²³

On 4 September the *Liberator* reported, "The colored people seem to take a great interest in this effort to honor Col. Shaw's memory, and we learn that a large sum has already been promised by different colored regiments. There are now six regiments of colored

22. See "The Late Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Free South* (Beaufort, SC), 1 August 1863, 3; "A Tribute to the Late Col. Shaw," *Liberator*, 7 August 1863, 3; "A Tribute to the Late Col. Shaw," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 August 1863; and "Tribute to the Late Col. Shaw," *Douglass' Monthly*, August 1863, 853.

23. Francis George Shaw, New York, to Dr. Stone, 3 August 1863, Francis George Shaw Papers Concerning Robert Gould Shaw, 1863–64, MA Am 1573, Houghton Library, Harvard University; "Thanksgiving Day in Beaufort," *Free South*, 8 August 1863, 2; R. Saxton, Beaufort SC, to "My Dear Sir," 17 August 1863, quoted in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 146–47. *Liberator*, 4 September 1863, stated that a collection "on Sunday in a Baptist church in Beaufort" raised \$60; it was probably the same event that *Free South* had reported on 8 August.

men in this department, and a little energy is all that is required to raise a monument honorable alike to the noble dead and to the donors.” The First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, commanded by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, contributed or pledged roughly one thousand dollars toward the monument, and the Beaufort *Free South* reported on 19 September that seven African American churches in and around Beaufort had together contributed \$239.74.²⁴ In that month Francis Dana Barker Gage (1808–84), who in 1862 had come from Ohio to manage a settlement of freed people on Parris Island in South Carolina, wrote to Francis Shaw that African American minister James Lynch of Baltimore, then working as a missionary among the freed people, had appealed to the congregation in its “unplastered and unpainted church” for monument funds on 20 September. Earlier Lynch had preached in an African American Baptist church on the Sea Islands on the Fourth of July, a meeting Robert Gould Shaw had himself attended, and he worked to raise funds for the memorial at the Parris Island church at least once before. Gage wrote, “Our people are poor; many are ill at this time, and could not come out; and yet, I am proud to say, twenty-seven dollars were given.”²⁵ Though he was raising money

24. “The Monument to Col. Shaw,” *Free South* (Beaufort SC), 19 September 1863, 2, lists the seven churches by name and their respective contributions to the fund. The sum given here may be the more precise amount for the often-repeated statement that the “colored people of Beaufort” contributed \$300 to the monument. See *Lay This Laurel: An Album on the Saint-Gaudens Memorial on Boston Common, Honoring Black and White Men Together Who Served the Union Cause with Robert Gould Shaw and Died with Him July 18, 1863 [with Photographs by Richard Benson and an Essay by Lincoln Kirstein]* (New York: Eakins Press, 1973); Gregory C. Schwarz, “The Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Regiment,” in *The Shaw Memorial: A Celebration of an American Masterpiece* (Cornish, NH: Eastern National for Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, 2002), 18; Richardson, “Taken from Life,” 95.

25. Frances D. Gage, Parris Island, SC, to Mr. Shaw, 6 September 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 153–55. Gage noted in a letter to the *Anglo-African* that Lynch’s mother “was once a slave,” that he was 23 years old, and that he was “a marvel, and we wept and laughed as if a Phillips or a Beecher stood in the pulpit.” She called his 6 September sermon “one of the most eloquent, and at the same time plain, common-sense discourses that I ever heard.” Frances D. Gage, Parris Island, SC, 7 September 1863, printed in *Anglo-African*, 3 October 1863. Shaw’s presence at Lynch’s 4 July 1863 sermon is cited in Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child*, 373, 375–76. Shaw wrote to his mother that day that Lynch, “a coloured preacher of Baltimore. . . . was very eloquent. Can you imagine anything more wonderful than a coloured-Abolitionist meeting on a South Carolina plantation? Here were collected all the freed slaves on this Island listening to the most ultra abolition speeches, that could be made; while two years ago, their masters were still here, the lords of the soil & of them. Now they all own a little themselves, go to school, to church, and work for wages. It is the most extraordinary change. Such things oblige a man to believe that God isn’t very far off.” Lynch, according to Duncan, had attended Dartmouth and took part in the “Negro Convention Movement.” He also addressed the 54th at St. Helena on 5 July 1863, and in October 1864 the regiment’s officers chose him to be its chaplain, but he was not mustered. See Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 268, 272 n. 23.

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for a memorial to a white officer, Lynch spoke plainly about the anomalous position of the people from whom he sought funds:

This war is a great calamity to millions of people. All through the North there is mourning and bereavement on account of it. And yet out of it, good has come. Liberty has come. The great body of the people of the North have said, "The slaves ought to be free and shall be free." For this we must thank God, not man. It is much as it was when the Jews were captive in Babylon. Cyrus cared nothing for the Jews, yet he made war on Babylon and the Jews were set free. It was not with the design of freeing the slaves that the Northern armies first marched forth, but God has used them to produce that effect. And we have been freed from even a greater slavery than that of our masters, the slavery of prejudice. There has been a bitter prejudice against us all over the country. . . .

A great many falsehoods, which people have long uttered against us, have been proved false. When first the war began and there was talk about our being made free, a good many said, "They do not want to be free." When they saw that that was false they said, "Well, they may be willing to be free, but they will not work for a living." But now they see that the colored man is just as willing to work for a dollar as anybody. Then they said, "They will not *fight* for their liberty. When it comes to bullets and bayonets, the black man isn't there." But now the negro regiments have proved this false; it was a black man who was the first to leap the walls of Fort Wagner, bearing in his hand the American flag. He stood there holding up the flag that had never protected him, that had waved over three million of his kindred in bondage, but that now shed down liberty upon; and when a bursting shell pierced his breast, as he fell he gave the flag into the hands of his comrades, saying, "Take her, boys; she hasn't touched the ground yet," and then laid down and died.

Seeing that this is false, men say now, "O well, the negro can never reach a high plane of civilization and refinement." It is for you to show whether you can or not. And an opportunity will now be offered you to show that you realize the position in which you are placed, and appreciate the efforts of those who have suffered in your behalf. The collection which is to be taken up is to erect a monument to Col. Shaw on the spot where he fell. One of those days, when peace has come, and liberty, you and your children will be travelling up the harbor toward Charleston; and seeing that monument of granite or marble, your child, perhaps, will ask, "What is that, mother?" And you will tell him "My child, that is where Col. Shaw fell, as he was leading a regiment of colored men to fight for liberty. And there your father was killed, and near by there your uncle was buried, and all about there your kindred lie buried who died to make you free."²⁶

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“Commonwealth,” who was present at Lynch’s address, reported that the congregation raised \$180.25 that day:

Instead of the ten and twenty-five cent contributions that I expected to see, almost every one laid his greenback on the table. During all the collection, the pastor kept up the interest of the occasion by a series of most characteristic remarks. Seeing that some were disposed to hurry and crowd,—“You need not hurry. You haven’t got to be home by just such a time or else get whipped, as you used to be. I have known all the slaves in a family to be sent off to jail for staying too long at meeting, and then master and mistress go to communion. But it isn’t so here.” Alluding to the chagrin and confusion it would create among the former masters to know that the colored people were building this monument,—“I think when the General at Charleston hears what you have done to day, he will pull his hat down on to his face, and if he has not got any hat on, he will pull out a handful of hair.” The brethren, having made their contribution, “Now, females,” said the pastor, “come right up and put down your money. You needn’t send it up by somebody else. I know you all like to see yourselves.” . . . It was a declaration not only of their capacity and disposition for self-dependence, but it was to me chiefly significant as showing that these people appreciate the power of a great idea; that they are ready to make a sacrifice, not with any motive of self-interest, not under any appeal to their feelings, but for the purpose of embodying in marble their estimate of liberty, and their gratitude to the man who had died in behalf of their enfranchisement.²⁷

The *Boston Transcript* reported on 8 October that the subscriptions to the fund to build a monument to Shaw on the spot where he fell “are coming in daily. This money has been contributed entirely by the colored people of the Department of the South. Eight companies of the First South Carolina Volunteers gave \$518; the Beaufort Baptist Society gave \$121, and others in proportion.”²⁸ On 16 October the *Boston Daily Advertiser* reported

26. “Commonwealth,” Hilton Head, SC, 20 September 1863, printed as “Letter from South Carolina,” *Christian Watchman*, 15 October 1863, 1; “Col. Shaw’s Monument,” *New South* (Port Royal, SC), 19 September 1863, 2; “The Late Col. Shaw,” *Liberator*, 9 October 1863, 3. Lynch was of course mistaken that the flag-bearer Carney was first into the fort and had died.

27. “Letter from South Carolina.” “The Siege of Charleston,” *Boston Traveler*, 30 September 1863, 3, refers to a 27 September 1863 church meeting at a black church on Hilton Head Island in similar language: “After heart-stirring appeals from the colored brethren, the hat was passed round, and although only some 300 persons were present, they realized the sum of \$180! It is only proper to add, however, that the preacher, Rev. Mr. Murchison, (colored,) told his flock beforehand ‘not to come with their 10 cent pieces nor their 5 cent pieces, but to bring their *greenbacks*,’—and so they did.”

28. “The Monument to Colonel Shaw,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 8 October 1863, 2; see also *Boston Daily Advertiser*, *Boston Herald*, and *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, 9 October 1863; *Springfield Republican*, 10 October 1863; *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester), 14 October 1863.

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that the subscription campaign for the South Carolina memorial had reached \$1472, “and it is proposed that the 54th contribute \$1000.”²⁹

The *Advertiser* had taken the information about the sum collected and the proposed 54th contribution to the South Carolina memorial from “the Morris Island correspondent to the New Bedford Standard,” who had nonetheless suggested “that however much in keeping such a location may be with poetic fitness, the soil of Massachusetts would be far more appropriate and acceptable.” The correspondent, albeit for the *New Bedford Mercury*, was the 54th’s Corporal James H. Gooding; his 3 October 1863 had been published in the newspaper the day before the *Advertiser* account.

It is seriously proposed to erect it at the foot of Wagner’s parapet, facing Fort Sumter. Now the manner and place where the hero fell will be known in history; a monument does not of necessity need to be placed where a hero fell; its place is some city or town, where people can see it. When we propose to erect a monument on some desolate island like this, it is simply creating a Mecca in the nineteenth century, where the race supposed to be benefited by the contest, which cost the hero his life, must make a toilsome pilgrimage in order to look upon it. We go in for the monument, but like not the idea of having it where, even when peace reigns supreme, it may be desecrated by unfriendly hands. They propose to erect a monument on soil which the enemies consider their own; and even should they be subjugated, which is stronger than conquered, it would ill become us to flaunt our successes by raising monuments to our fallen heroes on their soil. Massachusetts is big enough to furnish a spot sufficient to honor one of her own soldiers; and I doubt not she would be very proud to have within her lines a monument of every son who has fallen in this trying war. We are ready to put in our mite, but we would rather see it raised on old Massachusetts soil. The first to say a black was a man, let her have the first monument raised by black men’s money, upon her good old rocks.³⁰

29. This account, on the front page of the 16 October 1863 *Advertiser*, suggests that the movement to build a monument to Shaw did not originate with the 54th, though numerous secondary accounts make that claim. On 3 October 1863, Sergeant George E. Stephens of Company B noted that Colonel Milton S. Littlefield, who was then temporarily in command of the 54th, told the regiment, “I have made a promise of \$1,000 to Gen. Saxton for a monument to Col. Shaw, and I would have you take this money and make up this sum to commemorate the name of your noble leader.” Littlefield stated as much just after Colonel James Montgomery had berated the regiment for not taking the pay offered to it by the federal government, and his statement suggests that he expected the 54th to make good on his \$1,000 pledge. See Donald Yacovone, ed. *A Voice of Thunder: A Black Soldier’s Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 45, 279–80.

30. Gooding in Matzke, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 66–67.

Gooding wrote as if he spoke for the 54th as a whole, and it may be true that the regiment was reluctant to contribute for the reasons he outlined. Moreover, they had not received any pay for their service by that point. Whatever the case, Gooding's suggestion about a change of site had no apparent effect on the South Carolina campaign. On 19 October 1863, the day after the *Advertiser's* account, the *Boston Evening Transcript* published a letter to Governor Andrew from a member of his staff then at Port Royal, South Carolina. "The colored soldiers in this Department, (notwithstanding they are denied their just pay,) together with the colored hands on the plantations—men, women and children—have contributed \$1200 for a Massachusetts Granite Monument to Col. Shaw, to be built over his grave in Fort Wagner," he wrote. "They have placed the money in Brig. Gen. Saxton's hands, and will add further contributions." This correspondent proposed that "one of our Boston shipowners" transport the granite for the Morris Island monument at his own expense so that the money African Americans had raised in the South might go entirely to the monument itself. "The colored troops and people will wish it to bear some simple inscription, that it is erected by *them* for love of Shaw's memory."³¹ In late November 1863, Captain Edward William Hooper (1839–1901), Saxton's aide-de-camp and treasurer of the monument fund, reported a total of \$1366.35, somewhat less than the sum Gooding and the *Advertiser* put forth (fig. 3.3).³²

By late November other issues began to emerge about the South Carolina monument. On 25 November Francis Shaw wrote Saxton his view that "the monument, though originated for my son, ought to bear, with his, the names of his brave officers and men, who fell and were buried with him. This would be but simple justice."³³ Three months earlier Lydia Maria Child had written in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, "I was glad Gen. Saxton

31. "The Monument to Col. Shaw," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 19 October 1863, 2.

32. "The Shaw Monument," *Liberator*, 20 November 1863, 3. Hooper was a third cousin to Robert Gould Shaw on Shaw's maternal (Sturgis) side and a sister to Marion "Clover" Hooper, who married Henry Adams. He was among the teachers and school administrators whom the New England Freedmen's Aid Society sent to Port Royal in March 1862; Saxton made him a captain when he became Saxton's secretary. On 15 September 1863 Charles Russell Lowell had written to Shaw's sister Josephine (whom he married in 1864) that Andrew told him that he (in Lowell's words) "meant to live long enough to help finish a monument at Charleston which should be connected in the Nation's heart with Colonel Shaw, as Bunker Hill is with Warren." Edward W. Emerson, ed., *Life and Letters of Charles Russell Lowell* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1907), 304, and quoted with different wording in Egerton, *Thunder at the Gates*, 339.

33. Francis George Shaw, New York, NY, to Brig.-Gen. Saxton, Beaufort, SC, 25 November 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 178.

Fig. 3.3. "The Shaw Monument," *Free South* (Beaufort, South Carolina), reprinted in *Liberator*, 20 November 1863. The newspapers often reported different totals for the monument fund. Here Captain Edward William Hooper (1839–901), Shaw's third cousin, reported the fund contributions from African Americans "since the last public acknowledgment."

THE SHAW MONUMENT.

BEAUFORT, (S. C.) Nov. 5, 1863.

EDITOR FREE SOUTH:—Sir,—The following contributions to the fund for erecting a monument to the late Col. Robert G. Shaw, 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, have been received by the Treasurer since the last public acknowledgment:—

From 1st Regiment S. C. Vols., (in addition to \$518,75 already acknowledged)	\$64 75
From laborers on the works at Fort Clinch, Ferdinandina, Florida,	92 00
From the colored people at St. Augustine, Florida,	52 95
From 19 members Co. E, 2d S. C. Vols.,	10 60
Previously acknowledged,	1146 05
Total,	\$1366 35

Plans for the monument,—which is to be built of Massachusetts granite,—have been already ordered to be made.

E. W. HOOPER, Captain, and A. D. C.,
Treasurer of the Fund.

—Beaufort Free South.

proposed to the freedmen to erect a monument to Col. Shaw, but the colored soldiers who felt ought to have a monument also.”³⁴ In early December Saxton assured Francis Shaw that he would heed Shaw’s wishes with respect to the monument, “both as to the form of the structure, as well as the inscription upon it.” He stated his belief that the fund would amount to at least three thousand dollars, and though the Union Army’s Department of the South now possessed the monument site, “it would not yet be safe to place it there.” Still, Saxton said, “I have entire confidence that it is destined to stand there, unmolested.”³⁵ Though the members of the 54th Regiment may have pledged funds for the Morris Island monument earlier, they were unable to make donations until early October 1864; the government had at last paid the men their full due between 28 September and 5 October. On 7 October 1864, Colonel Edward N. Hallowell of the 54th sent Rufus Saxton \$1545 from the 54th “to be added to the sum subscribed by the Freedmen in the Department for the purpose of erecting a monument in memory of Col. Robert G. Shaw

34. Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Lydia Maria Child*, 436.

35. R. Saxton, Beaufort, SC, to “My Dear Sir,” 8 December 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 178–79.

THE SHAW MONUMENT.

The following interesting correspondence has been placed in our hands for publication. It is an honor to all the parties concerned:

HEADQUARTERS 54TH REGIMENT MASS INFANTRY, }
MORRIS ISLAND, Oct. 7th, 1864. }

BREVET-GEN. R. SAXTON—Dear General: In behalf of the enlisted men of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, I respectfully request you to receive the enclosed sum of money, to be added to the sum subscribed by the Freedmen in the Department for the purpose of erecting a monument in memory of Col. Robert G. Shaw and those who died with him. Thanking you for the interest you have always manifested in the cause which is so dear to us, and for the trouble you have taken to do honor to those who so nobly died in its support, I have the honor to be, General,

Very respectfully, your obt. servt.,
E. N. HALLOWELL, Col. Com'dg.

Donations from the 54th Mass. V. I. to the Monument Fund:

Non-Commissioned Staff.....	\$ 13 00
Company A.....	163 00
" B.....	331 00
" C.....	105 00
" D.....	200 00
" E.....	111 00
" F.....	154 00
" G.....	155 00
" H.....	37 00
" I.....	162 00
" K.....	64 00
Total	\$1,545 00

Fig. 3.4. "The Shaw Monument," *Anglo-African*, 5 November 1864. Hallowell detailed the contributions by each company of the 54th.

and those who died with him" (fig. 3.4). In his response Saxton acknowledged receipt of the funds:

Please inform the donors that their generous contribution, with that contributed by the Freedmen in this Department, makes the fund now about three thousand dollars (\$3,000). It is safely invested in Massachusetts interest-bearing bonds.

The glorious work which our armies in the field, and patriots at home are now doing, means that the day is not far distant when a granite shaft shall stand unmolested on South Carolina soil to mark the spot where brave men died, not, as recent developments have shown, alone as soldiers, but as *martyrs* in the cause of freedom. When for a month under my command your brave regiment guarded so

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vigilantly and soldierly six hundred rebel officers, near the spot where the Colonel and comrades were massacred, it required but little faith to believe that the scales of justice were turning towards the Right, and that it was time to commence the monument.³⁶

Despite Saxton's prediction, the South Carolina effort then appeared to languish, though it did not die: in March 1867 he told an African-American congregation in Buffalo, New York, that the Shaw monument fund had reached thirty-five hundred dollars.³⁷ But Gooding's, Saxton's, and evidently others' concern about the safety of a monument to a Union commander in that spot coupled with other issues, including the instability of the site, to extinguish the effort and divert its funds to the creation of the Shaw Memorial School in Charleston, South Carolina.³⁸ In 1863, when the North learned that Shaw had been buried in a mass grave with his African American troops at Fort Wagner, many people including Shaw's parents argued that the fact of the burial was a sufficiently fitting tribute to their son's sacrifice and was all the monument needed in South Carolina. A poet identified only by his initials suggested as much in a verse published in the *New York Tribune* on 8 October 1863:

What need to raise above the Hero's grave
A monument of marble, that shall tell
How well he fought, how gallantly he fell?
In all our hearts there rises to the brave
A love and reverence, that through future years
Shall stand a monument, wet with tears
Of those who prize true valour. And the foe
Who buried him beneath their trait'rous sod,
Cursing his soul, that fled way to God,
Have, in their madness, honoured him. For, lo!
There rises o'er the sleeping Hero's head
A glorious monument of noble dead.
The bones of those black soldiers, who with him

36. "The Shaw Monument," *Anglo-African*, 5 November 1864. The dates during which the regiments received their full pay are given in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 79. The amount contributed by the 54th was reported variously in Boston newspapers, from the \$1545 Hallowell reported ("Monument to Col Shaw," *Boston Traveler*, 29 October 1864, 2; *Boston Herald*, 31 October 1864) to \$3000 ("Monument to Colonel Robert G Shaw," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 and 5 November 1864, 2).

37. "Lecture to the Colored People," *South Carolina Leader* (Charleston), 23 March 1867, 1.

38. See Chapter 2.

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Charged into Death, and met it, calm and grim,
Lie silent there above him, and the bones
More honour give than sculptor's graven stones.
Let marble rise there, also; but the dead
Form still a nobler pile above his head.³⁹

1865: Reviving the Monument Idea

On 2 October 1865, about six months after the Civil War ended and a month after the remaining 54th Regiment returned to Boston, Charles Sumner wrote a letter to the editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, signed only "S.," in which he declared the heroism and significance of the regiment and its commander and cited the efforts in South Carolina to build a monument to Shaw. Much as Gooding had written earlier, Sumner declared that if the southern monument were built, "it can be only a mound or a pile of stones to be seen by ships as they enter the harbor of Charleston. This is not enough. It will not tell the whole story."

The monument should be in Massachusetts, where the martyr was born, and where the regiment was born also. . . . Of course, no common stone or shaft will be sufficient. It must be of bronze. It must be an equestrian statue. And there is a place for it. Let it stand on one of the stone terraces of the steps that ascend from Beacon street to the State House. It was in the State House that the regiment was equipped and inspired. It was out of the State House that the devoted commander rode to death. Let future generations, as long as bronze shall endure, look up [at] him there riding always, and be taught by his example to succor the oppressed and to surrender life to duty. . . . Already a colored person, well known among us, with a heart full of gratitude, has subscribed five hundred dollars. Other colored persons are contributing in smaller sums, according to their means. They properly lead now in tribute to him who died in leading them. But others of ampler means must see that this generous effort does not fail.⁴⁰

39. J. W. N., "A Monument to Colonel Shaw," New York, 8 October 1863, for the *Tribune*, published in *Memorial R. G. S.*, 113.

40. "Monument to Colonel Shaw," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 2 October 1865, 2; *Liberator*, 22 December 1865, 2, identified "S." as Sumner, which was probably commonly known.

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The next day Governor Andrew replied to Sumner's letter, and the *Transcript* published it on 4 October. Andrew proposed that those "in sympathy with the movement" to build a Shaw monument meet at his State House offices on 7 October to move the idea along.⁴¹ A report of that meeting in that evening's *Transcript* noted that the idea for the Shaw monument "first came from colored persons"; the *Boston Traveler* noted in its 7 October account that "colored gentlemen, the principal of whom was Mr. J. C. [sic] Smith," proposed the idea in 1863.⁴² Two days later, a lengthier account of the meeting in the *Transcript* identified Joshua Bowen Smith:

Mr Sumner said that the work suggested should assuredly be done, for the honor of the State as well as for an example to her young men. He stated that the idea of erecting the proposed statue originated with Mr J B Smith, their colored fellow-citizen, who mentioned the matter to him soon after Col Shaw's death, and had treasured it since that time. A paper, headed with a considerable sum by himself, had been put in circulation by Mr Smith, and a good amount had already been subscribed.⁴³

Those who attended the State House meeting argued about the form of the memorial, some suggesting a monument other than the equestrian type and others that a school or charitable institution for people of color be built to honor Shaw. The *Advertiser* stated that in Sumner's view an equestrian statue was "really in art the highest form of commemoration," and it paraphrased Smith's support of the idea:

Mr J B Smith thought that some of the gentlemen had mistaken the object of the meeting. The idea originally suggested was that of an equestrian statue, and the call of the meeting was directed to those who favored this proposition. He hoped gentlemen

41. John A. Andrew, 3 October 1865, published in "Monument to Colonel Shaw," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 4 October 1865, 2.

42. "An Equestrian Statue to Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 October 1865, 2; "Meeting at the State House to Erect a Monument to Col. Shaw," *Boston Traveler*, 7 October 1865, 2. The latter article later identifies Smith, again incorrectly, as "Johnson B. Smith." See also "Equestrian Statue of Colonel Shaw," *Saturday Evening Gazette* (Boston), 7 October 1865, 3. At the time of the 1897 unveiling fund treasurer Edward Atkinson wrote, "In the autumn of 1865 a meeting was held in the Council Chamber at the State House, at the call of Governor Andrew, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Senator Charles Sumner, Colonel Henry Lee and others [next written in in pen] (notably the late J. B. Smith, himself a fugitive from slavery) to consider the matter of a suitable memorial to Robert G. Shaw." Atkinson stated that he was not present at this meeting. Edward Atkinson to editor *Boston Transcript*, 22 May 1897, Edward Atkinson Letterbooks 60:831, Edward Atkinson Papers (hereafter Atkinson Papers), MHS.

43. "Honor to the Memory of Colonel Shaw. An Equestrian Statue to be Erected," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 9 October 1865, 1.

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would not throw cold water on the measure. Colonel Shaw had as noble a heart as ever beat in human bosom. He wanted to see his statue on horseback erected on Boston Common, as he last saw him at the head of his regiment on Beacon street.⁴⁴

Smith's statement triggered applause, and in the end the meeting voted to pursue the equestrian Shaw and to appoint a committee of twenty men (one more soon added) to realize it. That committee included two African Americans—Smith and Leonard Grimes, the pastor of the West End's Twelfth Baptist Church—as well as Sumner and Edward Atkinson, a Boston cotton broker and abolitionist who agreed to serve as treasurer of the monument fund. Most of the others were not associated with Boston's antebellum abolitionist movement, which suggests that the committee was constituted more to raise funds from wealthy northerners than to assure that the political significance of Shaw and the 54th be recognized above all other considerations.⁴⁵ The *Transcript* noted that Smith should be credited with "vigorously assisting in the enterprise" and had himself promised five hundred dollars for the monument; other black Bostonians had pledged unstated sums.⁴⁶ On 10 November 1865 Sumner also pledged five hundred dollars (fig. 3.5).⁴⁷

The committee then had subscription books prepared, each of which bore this printed statement: "Equestrian Statue of Colonel Shaw. The monument is intended not only to mark the public gratitude to the fallen hero who at a critical moment assumed a perilous responsibility, but also to commemorate that great event in our history where he was a leader, by which the title of colored men as 'citizen soldiers' was fixed beyond recall." Some books included a statement added later: "In such a work all who honor youthful dedication to a noble cause and who rejoice in the triumph of freedom should have

44. "Honor to the Memory of Colonel Shaw"; see also "Statue to Col. Shaw," *National Aegis* (Worcester), 14 October 1865, 1.

45. "An Equestrian Statue to Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 October 1865, 2. The 1865 committee members are listed in [Lee], *Monument to Robert Gould Shaw*, 7. Other than Smith, Grimes, Sumner, and Atkinson, only Robert E. Apthorp, Francis W. Bird, and Charles W. Slack were active abolitionists before the war. The other members were Henry P. Kidder, Charles R. Codman, Henry W. Longfellow, James L. Little, William L. Clapp Jr., Charles Beck, William G. Weld, Royal E. Robbins, Edward W. Kingsley, George B. Loring, Alanson W. Beard, Solomon Stebbins, and Robert K. Darrah.

46. "An Equestrian Statue to Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 October 1865, 2.

47. A receipt for this donation from Edward Atkinson, treasurer of the Boston Shaw Monument fund, is in the Sumner Papers (microfilm 34:509), Lamont Library, Harvard University. No other receipt for a donation to the statue has so far been located.

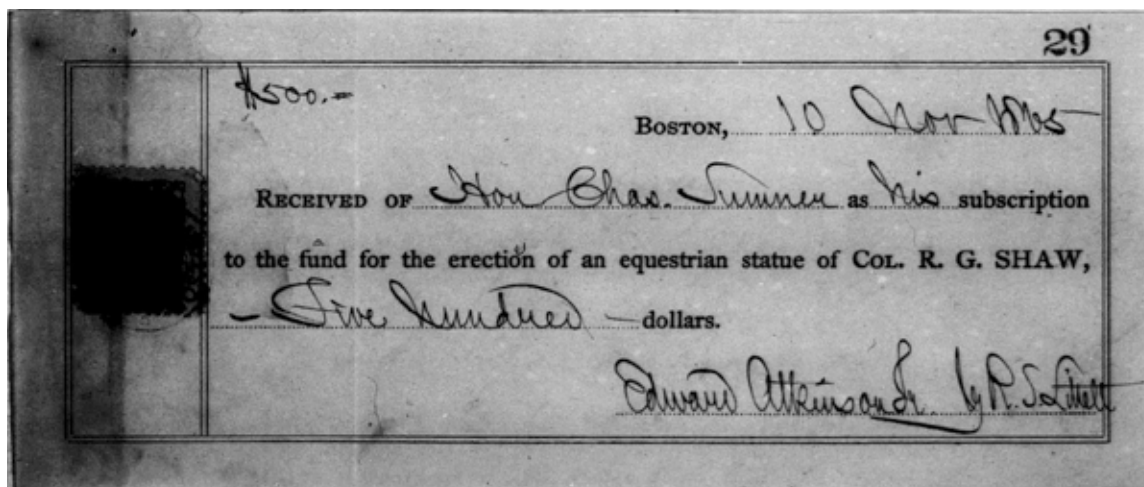


Fig. 3.5. Receipt for Charles Sumner's \$500 donation to the Shaw "equestrian statue" signed by monument fund treasurer Edward Atkinson, 10 November 1865. Courtesy Charles Sumner Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

an opportunity to contribute." This addendum hints at the possibility of contention, so far undocumented in any other source, about whether white Americans or African Americans should fund the monument and govern its conception and creation.⁴⁸ At a committee meeting on 17 October 1865, Sumner stated that he had "visited Mr. J. B. Smith, who was struck down by illness on Saturday last. Before experiencing this attack, Mr. Smith had obtained several large subscriptions, some \$3000 or \$4000 in the aggregate." Sumner added that the fund had received a single five-hundred-dollar subscription from New York and a pledge totaling about the same amount from Rhode Island, and that "a colored association of 800 members" was "expected to contribute."⁴⁹ About this time an editorial in the *New York Tribune*, possibly written by the Shaws' friend and *Tribune* managing editor Sydney Howard Gay, lent support to the monument effort by noting the singularity of Shaw's sacrifice and the pivotal role of African Americans in the Union forces:

When the great experiment was to be tried of putting colored men into the field, of testing their courage and manhood, of permitting them to prove their claim

48. *Monument to Robert Gould Shaw*, 7.

49. "The Statue to Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 October 1865, 2. The New York subscriber was Horace Gray, according to the list of subscribers in Edward Atkinson, Boston, to Colonel Henry Lee, 19 June 1891, Lee Family Papers, MHS.

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to the rights of citizenship, by doing a citizen's noblest duty, he stepped forward with unwavering faith in the right, senseless to sneers, careless of caste, blind to prejudice, and led these men to the field, not for his country's sake alone, but for the sake of humanity. Massachusetts honors the soldier, but she honors the man more. The act of Col. Shaw gave two hundred thousand troops to the Government. War is a trial of forces. The Rebellion was suppressed, the Union saved, and the Government sustained in its integrity because the North was the stronger. Throw out the two hundred thousand men, and who dares say where we should stand to-day? Had no black man ever gone to battle, who dares affirm that there would have been universal acquiescence in the abolition of slavery? The black man has won the recognition of his manhood, and the nation is ashamed, however parties may vote, to deny to a race the freedom of which it has shown itself worthy. Wagner was the battle-ground, not of regiments, but of centuries and civilizations, and the black man there won his place among the freemen of the age, and wiped out the stain of servitude. Col. Shaw died there, not only as the brave soldier dies, but he laid down his life for the freedom of a race. The commander fell at the head of a people. Thenceforth, the numbers and the strength of the black men were counted in, in the struggle of forces, and the stronger won. But, greater still, the black man won, with his blood, the recognition of his manhood, and the question of his slavery was settled then and there forever.⁵⁰

The day after the *Tribune* editorial appeared, the memorial committee met and selected “the artist Story”—William Wetmore Story—the clear preference of Sumner, and possibly also of Smith, to design the proposed monument. Story estimated that an equestrian statute of Shaw would cost between twenty-five and thirty thousand dollars, and in January 1866 he submitted sketches to the committee. By the end of the month, however, he wrote to Sumner that he had heard “indirectly that the subscription will not be made up.”⁵¹ The fundraising effort does indeed seem to have foundered; Atkinson later wrote that the committee “virtually went to pieces.”⁵² In December 1866 Sumner wrote to Story, “I do not give up on the Shaw statue. In my absence there was an indescribable torpor of the committee. But Smith says it shall be done; and I say so too.”⁵³

50. “Col. Robert G. Shaw,” *Liberator*, 20 October 1865, 42, reprinted from *New York Tribune*.

51. See Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 117. See also “The Shaw Monument,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 October 1865, 4, which documents Story's selection.

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Even as the effort to build a monument to Shaw languished, at least some African American Bostonians continued to look forward to the day when it would be realized. On 18 July 1870, the seventh anniversary of the Wagner assault, African American Civil War veterans in Boston formed the Robert A. Bell Post 134 of the Grand Army of the Republic, the first African American GAR post in the nation. On that occasion Richard Theodore Greener, who that year became the first African American to graduate from Harvard College, presented an address on Shaw that anticipated the statue:

In marble and on the painted canvas some of our own race have pictured that thoughtful face. Soon in our city will be seen his equestrian statue, looking, as you have often seen him in the well-remembered days of old; but no homage which you can render him, no humble praise of mine, would that it could but equal his merit, can bestow upon him a greater eulogy, one which would have given him more real gratification than the fact that he was “buried with his niggers.” The principle of equality in danger and in peace, which he represented while leading you forth to battle, was enforced and made doubly potent when he lay within the deadly rampart and his colored color-bearer close beside him.⁵⁴

Even though the existence of subscription papers for the Shaw monument is documented, none has yet been located, and in his 1897 history of the Shaw Memorial fund treasurer Edward Atkinson stated, “I believe that no one was ever asked to subscribe; all the

52. Thomas J. Brown, “Reconstructing Boston: Civic Monuments of the Civil War,” in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 146, has stated that Story’s choice as sculptor ““collapsed within a few months, a victim of Sumner’s mismanagement and his political rivalry with John A. Andrew.” Donald, *Charles Sumner*, 2:70, has asserted that Andrew, among other grievances, “resented having to stand in the shadow of the Senator, to whom he owed his first election” and felt Sumner was too engaged with “theoretical proposals concerning emancipation and reconstruction,” not sufficiently active in advancing legislation to benefit soldiers, and unsupportive in Andrew’s “frequent controversies with the War Department.” See also Edward Atkinson to Henry Lee, 4 October 1892, Lee Family Papers, MHS. The *Boston Post* suggested that disagreement over the choice of Story disrupted the committee, though it gives the date of this dispute as 1863, not 1865. See “The Col. Robert G. Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Post*, 28 July 1880, 3.

53. Charles Sumner to William Wetmore Story, 16 December 1866, Sumner Papers 80:542. This letter is quoted in *Lay This Laurel*, unpaginated, and Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends from Letters, Diaries and Recollections* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1903), 163, but both inserted “[illegible]” in place of Smith’s name in the last sentence; it is clear from the letter in the Sumner Papers microfilm that the name is Smith. In January 1864 Sumner wrote to Story, then in Rome, “You will be happy to know that the fate of Slavery is settled. This will be a free country. Be its sculptor. Give us—give mankind—a work which will typify or commemorate a redeemed nation. You are the artist for this immortal achievement” (quoted in *Lay This Laurel*). Sumner had stated in his 2 October 1865 letter to the *Advertiser*, “Let the monument be made. Boston has a sculptor without a superior among living artists, whose soul and genius would be in the work.” It seems clear that he had Story in mind.

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contributions have been of a purely voluntary character, most gladly given.” By March 1866, Atkinson stated, “The sum of three thousand one hundred and sixty-one dollars (\$3161) had been placed in my hands.”⁵⁵ Neither Atkinson nor any other committee member seems to have moved on the Shaw monument over the next decade. Most historians of the effort have ascribed this inactivity in part to the deaths of Andrew in October 1867 and Sumner in March 1874. Atkinson had invested the donations of 1865 and 1866, and by late 1875 the fund had grown to the point that he felt it might be possible to resurrect the monument campaign. On 20 December that year Atkinson wrote to Joshua Bowen Smith, “The Shaw Monument funds in my hands will amount to over \$7000 in January and I intend to call a meeting of subscribers to see what should be done.” A meeting of some sort took place in January, and perhaps as a consequence of it Atkinson began in March to contact the original subscribers for two reasons—to authorize him to appoint a new committee consisting of John Murray Forbes, Henry Lee Jr., and Martin P. Kennard, and, implicitly, to offer them a chance to rescind their pledges or rededicate them:

In March 1876, I procured from every subscriber a signature to the following text: “I hereby consent and direct that my subscription to the fund for an Equestrian Statue of Colonel Robert G. Shaw, and the interest which has accrued thereon shall be expended for the purchase or construction of a work of art or monument in memory of him, to be chosen and placed by Messrs. John M. Forbes, Henry Lee and M.P. Kennard.”⁵⁶

54. “Remarks of Richard T. Greener, Esq., at the Inauguration of Post 134 of the Grand Army of the Republic, at Boston, July 18, 1870,” *New National Era* (Washington, DC), 28 July 1870, 2. I find no coverage of this address in Massachusetts newspapers. Greener, born in Philadelphia in 1844, moved to Boston with his mother about 1853. The abolitionist Franklin B. Sanborn, for whom he worked, sent him to the preparatory department of Oberlin College; Greener then graduated from Phillips Academy in 1865, spent the next three years at Oberlin, and then graduated Harvard in 1870. He was a principal in African American schools in Philadelphia and Washington, the first African American on the faculty of the University of South Carolina, and the dean of the Howard University School of Law from 1878 to 1880. Greener was later consul to India and Vladivostok, Russia, and died in Chicago in 1922.

55. Edward Atkinson, “History of the Shaw Monument, by the Treasurer of the Fund,” in *Monument to Shaw*, 8, and Edward Atkinson, “I. The History of the Monument,” in “The Shaw Memorial and the Sculptor St. Gaudens,” *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, new ser. 32, June 1897, 176.

56. Edward Atkinson, Boston, to Henry Lee, 4 October 1892, Lee Family Papers, MHS, and Atkinson Letterbooks 46:411–12, Atkinson Papers, MHS. That a meeting took place in January 1876 is suggested in *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture*, 29 January 1876, 3: “An equestrian statue to the late Robert G. Shaw has finally been decided on.”

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Atkinson stated some thirty years later in a letter to Henry Lee that the “documents to that effect were signed and returned to me. A considerable part of the unpaid subscriptions were paid and I continued to invest the money.”⁵⁷

The results of this notification were not all that Atkinson might have hoped for. On 1 February he wrote to Smith, “I have a note from Col Shaw’s mother. She is very averse to having any further application made for money for the statue and wishes that which I have in hand to be returned to the subscribers. Please call at my office soon to consult upon the matter.”⁵⁸ Clearly Atkinson and Smith and possibly others on the original 1865 committee either changed Sarah Shaw’s mind or, far less likely, chose to disregard her wishes, for at some point before 15 March 1876 the former abolitionist Maria Weston Chapman donated \$100 to the Shaw fund. On that day, however, she wrote to Atkinson that she had accepted the alternative to withdraw her donation and asked Atkinson “to pay to Mr. J. B. Smith the amount of my subscription.”⁵⁹ Again, Atkinson must have asked Chapman to leave her money in the fund, and he consistently listed her as a donor in all later materials he left that document the fundraising effort.

The name of Joshua Bowen Smith or any other person of African descent does not, however, appear in any of Atkinson’s lists of donors. In his letter to Henry Lee in February 1897, he mentioned “one or two embarrassing points” about the subscription campaign:

57. Edward Atkinson, Boston, to Henry Lee, 18 February 1897, Lee Family Papers. I found none of these signed documents among Atkinson’s papers at MHS.

58. Edward Atkinson to J. B. Smith, 20 December 1875 and 1 February 1876, Letterbook 7:90, 162, Atkinson Papers. I find neither a letter to or from Sarah Shaw in the Atkinson Papers. Eleven years earlier Mrs. Shaw applauded Sumner’s call for a statue: “Only last evening I saw for the first time what you wrote for the Advertiser, & I cannot help telling you how beautiful we think it, & thanking you. How it takes me back to that beautiful day in May, which was the culminating point of the happiness & pride of my whole life. I need not say now much I thank you for what you are still doing in honor of that dear child.” Sarah B. Shaw, North Shore, Long Island, to Mr. Sumner, 21 October 1856, Sumner Papers 34:422.

59. M. W. Chapman, Weymouth, to Atkinson, Shaw monument fund, 15 March 1876, General Correspondence, carton 2, Atkinson Papers. I found no other letter from a fund subscriber from January 1876 to February 1877. Atkinson wrote a few weeks later to Forbes, “The subscribers to the Shaw Monument have all agreed to the last proposition submitted to them, except Mr Sumner’s executors who have made no reply, but as he had given up the equestrian plan there need be no hesitation in using this money.” Why Atkinson stated that Sumner “had given up the equestrian plan” is so far unknown. See Edward Atkinson to J. M. Forbes, 7 April 1876, General Correspondence, carton 8, folder 20, Atkinson Papers.

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In a recent conversation with Mrs. Lyman I learned that she had the impression that the Colonel and herself, one or both, had subscribed and paid two hundred dollars, more or less, to this undertaking. There is no record either of the subscription or the payment, but J. B. Smith was one of the active men who subscribed five hundred dollars who never paid it. I always had a suspicion that he might have collected a part of this money intending fully to account for it, but he had no method in his affairs and we have no trace or proof of any such collections. I do not like to speak to Mrs. Lyman about it because I do not care to solicit any money from any one. What shall we do in the matter?⁶⁰

No known source indicates whether Smith had collected money as well as pledges for the Shaw memorial, as Sumner had earlier stated. Nor is it documented whether Atkinson in March 1876 or afterward had himself contacted, or asked Smith to contact, African American subscribers to whom Smith circulated his initial subscription paper.

Chapman did not state why she wanted her Shaw memorial donation given to Smith, but it is possibly related to why, if Atkinson's statement is accurate, Smith did not make good on his pledge to the campaign. By the mid-1870s, despite having served in the state legislature, Smith was in his sixties and heavily in debt. Chapman—and Peter Bent Brigham, whose 1877 will left five thousand dollars to his “very early, constant and esteemed friend, Joshua B. Smith”—were no doubt aware of Smith's financial distress and probably knew that he had long been involved in a dispute with the state government. Smith had never been reimbursed fully for provisioning the 12th Massachusetts Regiment while its ranks were being filled in Boston between late April and late July of 1861. The citizens' committee formed to support this regiment while in Boston had hired Smith to provision it at a rate of 50 cents per private per ration and 75 cents per officer per ration. Smith's bill came to \$40,378 and was approved by the regiment's quartermaster, and at some unstated point the committee paid him \$23,700. Smith claimed that Governor Andrew had assured him that he would be paid the same as any other person engaged in provisioning a regiment, but when he presented the bill on 26 July 1861 Andrew told him that the state had appropriated no funds for this purpose. Early in 1879, the year he died, Smith submitted a bill for the balance to the state legislature. The Massachusetts Senate agreed to pay the claim but permitted Governor John Davis Long and his executive council to refer the matter to arbitration, which they chose to do. This negotiation

60. Edward Atkinson, Boston, to Henry Lee, 18 February 1897, Lee Family Papers.

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came to naught, and in April 1879 Smith's claim came before the legislature again. The House voted to pay Smith, but the Senate refused in a tie vote. By 14 May 1879 the state legislature created a "Superior Court of Claims" to assess and award claims against the state treasury, and Smith, through his lawyers, filed the first petition for reimbursement under that act. He sought \$16,617.20 plus interest from 26 July 1861. The state's behavior triggered a letter to the editor from "Justice" about Smith in the 15 May 1879 *Boston Post*:

He has been widely known for over forty years in this city, and has ever been in the front rank with good and generous deeds. He is now in his old age, sick and poor, *while the State owes him enough to make him comfortable*. All through the community the expression is strongly made that the State cannot afford to have such injustice done to this most worthy citizen, and it is inquired, Why should the Governor have set himself so hardly against this reference? He could attend a meeting at Faneuil Hall to see what should be done about the colored people at the South, while here at home a colored men can be allowed, as far as he is concerned, to go to the poor house when the State owes him for feeding her soldiers. It makes the eyes suffuse and the cheeks flush to hear this poor sick man tell his story, and it will be disgraceful to the Commonwealth if he is kept from his just dues.

It was stated by Senator White, in opposing the resolve, that in the exciting days of 1861 *promises were freely made that were never intended to be kept*, but we opine that the people of Massachusetts, if the Legislature fails in doing justice to a man who trusted all of his substance on the word of John A. Andrew that he should be paid for feeding the soldiers of the State, will determine that "retrenchment" does not mean the repudiation of a just debt.⁶¹

61. The regiment was encamped at Fort Warren on George's Island in Boston Harbor during recruitment. According to one account, the state had paid all other regimental caterers and had been reimbursed for this expense by the United States Congress. See Justice, "Chapter in Legislative History," letter to the editor, *Boston Post*, 15 May 1879, 4. See also "At the State House," *Boston Post*, 25 January 1879, 3; State House Notes, *Boston Herald*, 12 February 1879, 1; "The State-House," *Boston Globe*, 13 February 1879, 1; "The Legislature," *Boston Globe*, 1 March 1879, 6; "Beacon Hill Topics: Back Pay for Rations," *Boston Herald*, 1 March 1879, 6; "Massachusetts Legislature," *Boston Post*, 6 March 1879, 3; "The Legislature," *Boston Globe*, 1 April 1879, 6; *Boston Post*, 17 April 1879, 3; *Boston Globe*, 18 April 1879, 4; *Boston Herald*, 23 April 1879, 2; "J. B. Smith's War Claim," *Boston Herald*, 15 May 1879, 2. Before the war Peter Bent Brigham (1807-77) had made a will directing that his estate "should serve as a fund for the emancipation of the slaves in this country," but with emancipation achieved he altered the document to leave almost three-quarters of his estate, after 25 years of accumulated investment, to a hospital for the poor of Suffolk County, which became Peter Bent Brigham Hospital in 1913 (now Brigham and Women's Hospital). See "Noble Bequests," *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1877, 6.

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Joshua Bowen Smith died on 4 July 1879 with \$22,600 in debt. In April 1880 his widow Emeline, then working in domestic service, again petitioned the legislature for an allowance based on her husband's uncompensated service. The committee reportedly allowed her three thousand dollars, but Boston newspapers did not report whether this allowance was paid.⁶²

As historian Kirk Savage has noted, Atkinson's revived campaign "effectively erased the fact that Smith had initiated the Shaw monument effort in 1863, to say nothing of the subscriptions and actual funds he might have gathered from black Bostonians. "A movement that began in the African American community ended up in the hands of a few Boston Brahmins, and the original black contributors actually received less recognition here than they did in the case of the Freedmen's Memorial to Lincoln," Savage has stated.⁶³ In 1880 the *Boston Journal* noted that the Shaw monument fund had reached nearly thirteen thousand dollars, "more than sufficient to secure the erection of a portrait statue; it is not enough to pay for an equestrian group, and it is the latter that is desired by several of the gentlemen who are directly interested. If it should be decided to represent the hero mounted, or in the act of mounting, there are two gentlemen who have pledged gifts of \$500 toward its cost, provided the group is placed at the junction of Commonwealth avenue and West Chester Park." By 4 August 1882, when the committee signed a contract with Augustus Saint-Gaudens to execute the Shaw memorial, the fund stood at more than sixteen thousand dollars. It was Saint-Gaudens, with the Shaw family and possibly also the committee, who realized what Savage has termed the "irony" of the monument—its transformation from "the traditional hero monument contemplated by Smith" into, "in the hands of the Brahmins, . . . a monument commemorating black soldiery as well." Just as the Shaw Memorial was to be unveiled, the *Springfield Republican* thought it strange that the sculptor had been the one—though not solely, as more closely connected accounts indicate—to bring black soldiers and white commander together but "still stranger that Charles Sumner, who had himself undergone sacrifices and martyrdom in behalf of the negro, should not have thought at once of that coupling in the races, but should only have suggested an equestrian statue of Robert Shaw."⁶⁴

62. On Emeline Smith's petition, see "Legislative Acts," *Boston Journal*, 6 April 1880, 1, and "Boston and Vicinity," *ibid.*, 20 April 1880, 4.

63. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 197.

64. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 197; Atkinson to Lee, 19 June 1891, Lee Family Papers; *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897, 8.

Sculpting African American Soldiers

What inspired Saint-Gaudens's final design for the Shaw Memorial has been explored often, but it is worth noting that few monuments of any kind in the United States depicted Americans of African descent at the time he was hired. Savage has noted that even as novelist, editor, and critic William Dean Howells urged that "memorials of the war should be about emancipation," almost invariably cities and towns across the country instead built statues of "common white soldiers." In October 1868 cartoonist Thomas Nast depicted a monument featuring African American figures in a drawing titled *Patience on a Monument*, published in the *Cincinnati Gazette* and soon afterward in *Harper's Weekly* (fig. 3.6). Nast meant to satirize the fact that African Americans had fought for the Union but remained subject to blatant and often violent discrimination after the war and after the ensuing constitutional amendments legally guaranteed their freedom.

That Nast chose to represent the matter in statuary suggests that representation of the African American body in that form was novel, which in fact it was. The harrowing print depicted a monument as a two-tiered base supporting an obelisk. On top of the obelisk Nast featured an African American soldier surrounded by his gun, his gear, and a broken chain; the soldier looks down at what Nast intended to be read as the soldier's wife, holding a baby, and their small daughter. Both wife and daughters lie on the bottom tier in pools of blood. The phrases on the text-heavy monument address the "whipping-post" and "auction-block" of the enslaved past; whites' sexual predation of black women; efforts to ban African Americans from voting, jury service, and education; lynchings; and the burning of African American schools and churches (fig. 3.7). Nast also cited numerous historical scars—the Dred Scott decision of 1857, the New York City draft riots of 1863, the Fort Pillow massacre of 1864, Confederate officer Wade Hampton's open hostility to the presence of African American Union troops in South Carolina throughout the war, the exclusion of African American representatives from the Georgia legislature in 1868—and quoted numerous newspapers advocating continued white supremacy in the post-Civil War South. In the background of the statue Nast depicted the burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum in New York in 1863, the burning of a freedmen's school, two lynchings, and Ku Klux Klansmen and other whites in various violent postures.⁶⁵

It is perhaps needless to say that nothing like Nash's scathing vision was ever realized in sculpture. Savage has stated that "the first figure of an African American on a



Fig. 3.6. Thomas Nast, "Patience on a Monument," *Cincinnati Gazette*, 8 October 1868. Courtesy National Museum of African American History, Washington, DC.

monument outside a cemetery," and the first representation of emancipation to appear in American sculpture, was depicted in the sculptor Randolph Rogers's *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument* in Providence, Rhode Island, installed in 1871. Rogers there featured

65. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 64, 175. Savage has stated that Nast's cartoon appeared in a "rare broadside supplement" to the 8 October 1868 *Cincinnati Gazette* and the 10 October 1868 issue of *Harper's Weekly* on page 648. Philip Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* (2002; reprint, New York: Modern Library, 2003), 50, states that though Nast had once been sympathetic to plight of freedmen, by 1874 he was making fun of their efforts and depicting black legislators as "apes and drunken buffoons."



Fig. 3.7. Detail of "Patience on a Monument."

an African American woman in supplication, and he added another in similar posture to his Civil War monument in Detroit in 1881.⁶⁶ In between the two, Martin Milmore had included African Americans on his 1877 Soldiers and Sailors Monument on Flagstaff Hill in Boston Common. And though it has never been cited as such, Milmore's sculpture, both in its depictions of people and in its bas-relief treatment of soldiery, may have been a model for Saint-Gaudens's Shaw.

66. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 84–86.

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Martin Milmore and Augustus Saint-Gaudens had similar backgrounds. Milmore was born in Sligo, Ireland, in 1844; Saint-Gaudens was born in Dublin in 1848. Both had come to the United States as children with their families. Saint-Gaudens apprenticed in his early teens as a cameo cutter; Milmore's older brother Joseph taught him to carve, and when he was sixteen Martin Milmore began to work for the sculptor Thomas Ball at his studio in Charlestown, Massachusetts. While working for Ball Milmore sculpted busts of both Charles Sumner and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow from life, and in 1869 he created a bust of the abolitionist Wendell Phillips. In 1867 Milmore was commissioned to create the first soldiers' monument in Boston, initially installed in front of Boston City Hall on School Street and soon afterward moved to Forest Hills cemetery in the Roxbury section of the city.⁶⁷ In 1872 Jacob Bigelow, a founder and president of Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, commissioned the Milmore brothers to create a memorial to the Union troops killed in the Civil War; the inscription commemorates both the preservation of the Union and the end of American slavery. Instantly famous, the Mount Auburn Sphinx placed Milmore among Boston's preeminent sculptors.

Milmore was commissioned to sculpt the Boston Common memorial in October 1870 after the city council rejected the choice of the first monument committee—Hammatt Billings as sculptor and Gridley J. F. Bryant as architect. The team initially estimated the cost of their proposed monument—a tall column on a cruciform base with panels in bas-relief depicting volunteers leaving for war, “the charge on the battlefields,” emancipation, and the return from war—at \$100,000, later at \$160,000. The council felt the price was too high, and historian Thomas J. Brown has suggested that the Boston elite objected in particular to the emancipation panel, depicting “the destruction of slavery by force.” A city document reporting on the “remonstrances against the erection of a monument” lists the objections to the Billings proposal—that its cost was not fixed and was bound to be higher than \$160,000, that its location on the Common was improper, that Billings's proposal came in after the first design competition deadline, that architects who met the first deadline thought the cost would be limited to \$50,000. More nebulous

67. Thomas J. Brown, “Civil War Monuments in New England” (Paper, Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Chicago, 1996), cited in Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 249 n.11; Edwin M. Bacon, *The Book of Boston: Fifty Years' Recollections of the New England Metropolis* (Boston: Book of Boston Co., 1916), 54; Peggy McDowell, “Martin Milmore's Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the Boston Common: Formulating Conventionalism in Design and Symbolism,” *Journal of American Culture* (Spring 1988): 63–85. On the Sumner bust of 1864 see Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Sumner*, 4:199, 609.

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were the criticisms that the subject of the memorial “had not received that consideration which its great importance demanded” and that it was “not in good taste.” No city document or newspaper account addresses the specific nature of these last complaints save one statement in the 21 December 1866 *Boston Evening Transcript*, which noted that some “who want to stop the work were against the war, and think a monumental shaft will perpetuate sectional strife.” The *Transcript* thought this remonstrance would “probably have little weight” with the committee and would moreover be “lightly regarded” by the community at large.⁶⁸ The city appointed a new committee to solicit designs to be built on the foundation already constructed on the site and selected Milmore’s from sixteen proposals.⁶⁹ The cornerstone for the immense memorial was laid on 17 September 1870.

When the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument was unveiled, Milmore provided a description of and a key to it, published as a broadside by Boston printers S. Woodberry and Company (figs. 3.8 & 3.9).⁷⁰ Like the Billings monument design, the Milmore statue features four bas-reliefs on the pedestal, and projecting on each side are bronze figures representing the Army, the Navy, History (as a seated Clio, the Greek muse of history), and Peace (seated and holding a wreath). At the top of the pedestal were four granite figures symbolizing North, South, East, and West sections of the country, and in the center a Doric shaft ornamented with wreaths rose into the air. Including the base the statue was ninety-five feet high, Milmore stated. On top of the shaft a “colossal statue bronze representing America” stood on a circular pedestal. The inscription, written by Harvard President Charles Eliot (who later wrote the inscription on the back of the Shaw Memorial), faces south on the upper part of the pedestal (see fig. 3.8 for text).

68. McDowell, “Martin Milmore’s Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument,” 64; Brown, “Civic Monuments of the Civil War,” 135–36, 300 n. 11, which cites City of Boston, *Report upon a Design for a Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument*, *City Doc. 103* (1866), and *Report upon the Remonstrances against the Erection of a Monument*, *City Doc. 123* (1866). Thanks to Thomas J. Brown for directing me to the mention of reconciliation in *Boston Evening Transcript*, 21 December 1866, 2. The city documents, including the committee’s 29 December 1866 report that the monument could not be built for \$100,000 and the city council’s refusal to raise even an additional \$25,000 for it, are available online at HathiTrust: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015068186496&view=1up&seq=74>, =1475, and =1541.

69. “The Patriot Dead. Boston’s Memorial. The Army and Navy Monument,” *Boston Journal*, 17 September 1877, 2. On the first design competition of 1866 see “The Proposed Soldiers’ Monument,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 September 1866, 4, and “The Soldiers’ Monument,” *Boston Herald*, 10 November 1866, 1.

70. *Description of the Soldiers and Sailors’ Monument, Erected on Boston Common* (Boston: S. Woodberry and Co., 1877), Bro. 538, Boston Athenaeum.



Fig. 3.8. “Boston’s Memorial to the Soldiers & Sailors,” 1877, lithograph by Joseph B. Richards and Company bearing the sculptor’s signature. This lithograph shows the four bas-reliefs as insets along with the four female allegorical figures and the figures representing the Army, the Navy, Peace, and History. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

In the key Milmore identified forty-three people whom he represented in the four bas-relief scenes on the pedestal, each by name and number corresponding to images of the reliefs (these last apparently not extant). Each relief represented a typical, not specific, historic event with persons Milmore must have believed were involved in these events or people that he, for some unstated reason, felt should be represented as somehow part of them. On the south side Milmore depicted “the Departure,” which showed five Massachusetts commanders, among them colonels identified by their last names—Shaw, Lowell, and Cass. Shaw was Robert Gould Shaw, Lowell was very likely Shaw’s brother-in-law Charles Russell Lowell of the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, and Cass was Thomas Cass of the 9th Massachusetts Infantry. All had been killed in the line of duty. Also shown

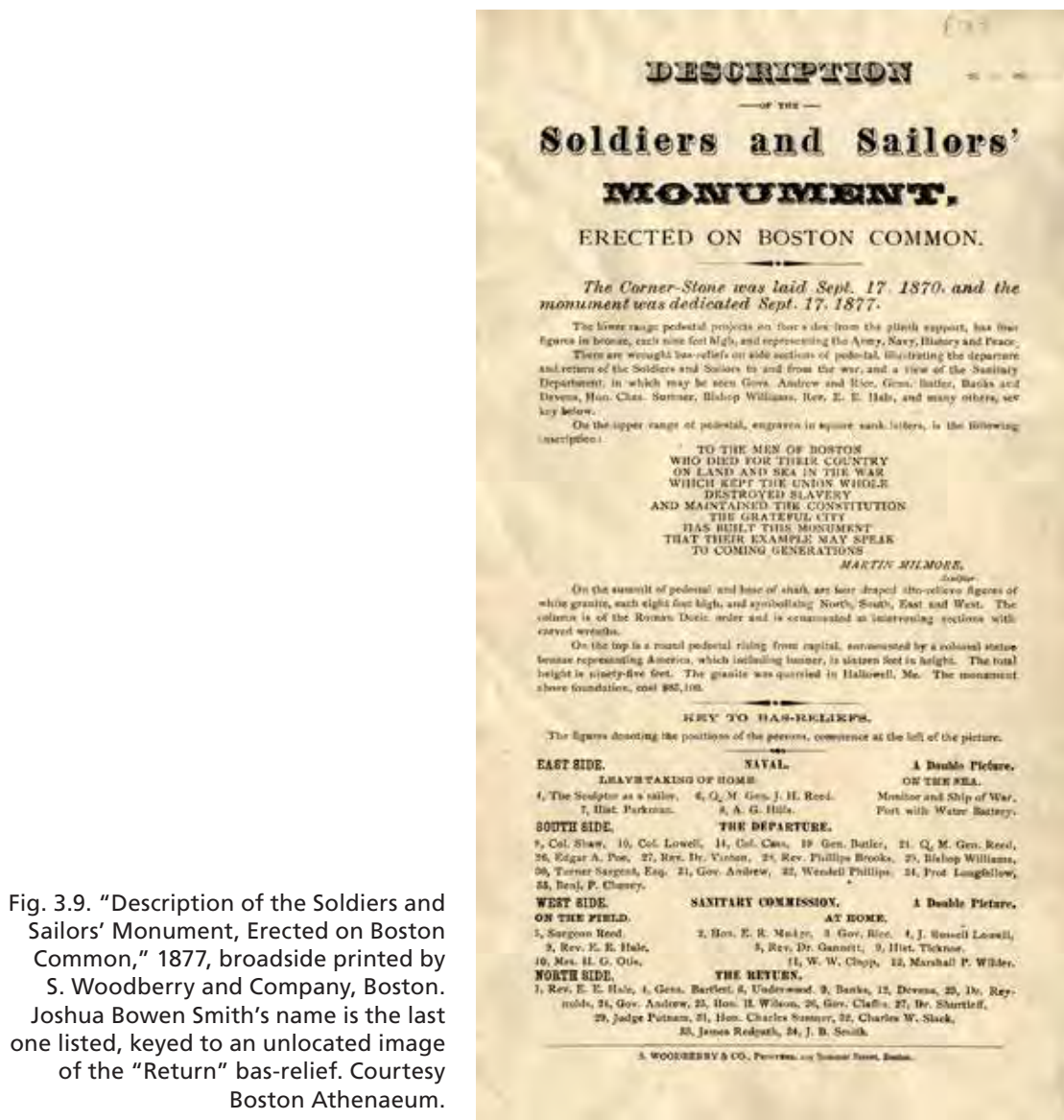


Fig. 3.9. "Description of the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument, Erected on Boston Common," 1877, broadside printed by S. Woodberry and Company, Boston. Joshua Bowen Smith's name is the last one listed, keyed to an unlocated image of the "Return" bas-relief. Courtesy Boston Athenaeum.

on this panel are General Benjamin F. Butler and Quartermaster General John Hooper Reed. Shaw is shown on foot at the head of a column of soldiers; the other four officers are on horseback behind the column (fig. 3.10). The troops are shown four deep in four rows; wives and children watch the soldiers depart. On a row of steps witnessing the departure are the short, curly-haired Governor Andrew, draped in Grecian style (Wendell Phillips stated that Andrew looked like "Falstaff in a horse blanket"), and eleven others including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Wendell Phillips, and the Rev. Phillips Brooks.⁷¹ Milmore



Fig. 3.10. “The Departure” bas-relief, Soldiers, and Sailors’ Monument, Boston Common. The relief shows Shaw at the foot of the steps, Gov. Andrew at the center of the elevated group, and columns of marching soldiers behind Shaw. Courtesy Massachusetts Civil War Monuments Project.

did not identify the woman and child shown at extreme right on the steps, but he did identify the late poet Edgar Allen Poe, who was born in Massachusetts but had little to do with the state and its affairs. A second panel on the east side showed a naval scene in which Milmore represented himself as a sailor, the ironclad *Monitor* and another warship, the historian Francis Parkman, *Boston Journal* war correspondent Albert Gaius Hills, and, again, Quartermaster General Reed. On the west side Milmore celebrated the work of the Sanitary Commission and depicted among others James Russell Lowell, the publisher George Ticknor, Eliza Henderson Boardman Otis (the wife of attorney Harrison Gray Otis), and the Rev. Edward Everett Hale.

The fourth panel, on the north side, showed the return of troops from the war (fig. 3.11). Here Milmore again included Hale and Andrew, the latter offering his hand to a

71. C., “Boston Statues,” *Boston Post*, 15 March 1880, 3, is a letter responding to Phillips’s critique of Boston statues that appeared in an unidentified issue of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. C. quotes Phillips’s specific critiques in some instances, including this one of Milmore’s John Andrew, and his overall sense that the Milmore statue missed greatness by not featuring either “a negro nor a broken chain.” I have not been able to find Phillip’s letter in the *Advertiser*. Brown, “Civic Monuments,” 136, has termed the scenes on the bas reliefs “imaginary moments.”



Fig. 3.11. “The Return” bas-relief, Soldiers and Sailor’s Monument, Boston Common. Milmore’s scene shows Governor Andrew with his hand extended to a military man. Joshua Bowen Smith, listed last on Milmore’s key, may be the man at rear facing right next to the three soldiers at far right. Courtesy Massachusetts Civil War Monuments Project.

now-headless officer. Standing near Andrew on the State House steps, women herald the troops with wreaths, and soldiers flank the people on the steps. Milmore depicted four generals—including Charles Devens, who spoke at the monument’s unveiling—former Massachusetts governor and then-United States congressman William Claflin, the late U.S. Senators Henry Wilson (1812–75) and Charles Sumner, both aggressive fighters for racial equity, abolitionist and journalist Charles Wesley Slack, and “J. B. Smith,” meaning Joshua Bowen Smith, as he was identified in a *Boston Journal* article about the monument. Judging by Milmore’s numbering system, Smith is the man shown in profile just above the soldier group at the far right of the panel. He is the last to be listed on Milmore’s broadside and the only person of African descent to be depicted on the monument. The columns of soldiers in the panels depicted leaving for and returning from the war are markedly similar in style to those Saint-Gaudens created for the Shaw Memorial. Given his frequent presence in Boston and knowledge of contemporary sculpture generally, it seems likely that Saint-Gaudens had seen Milmore’s Boston Common memorial. It is possible that the idea of including marching members of the 54th Regiment was inspired, at least in part, by Milmore’s treatment of the troops, completed fully five years before Saint Gaudens’s commission.⁷²

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The unveiling of Milmore's Soldiers and Sailors Monument (sometimes called the "Army and Navy" monument) was arguably also a precedent for the 1897 unveiling of the Shaw Memorial. The city set aside \$22,500 for the event, and the chief marshal of the proposed dedication-day procession urged "as many of the veteran organizations of officers, soldiers and sailors and others who can do so" to attend on the grounds that "this is probably the last grand demonstration where all the soldiers and sailors of Massachusetts who served in the late war will be called together."⁷³ None of the sixty-three aides appointed to attend the chief marshal were men of color, but numerous African Americans and African American veterans' groups took part in the procession. The Robert A. Bell Post 134 of the GAR, then comprising fifty African American veterans, marched; a "Sergeant Johnson" carried the flags of the African American 5th Massachusetts Cavalry and the 34th United States Colored Troops. The African American Ives Post 13 of Providence, with thirty-four veterans, and the Robert Gould Shaw Post 146 of New Bedford, including twenty-four black veterans under the command of George Delevan, a corporal in Company C of the 54th Regiment, took part as well.⁷⁴ Veterans of fourteen Massachusetts infantry regiments, identified by number, and the 3rd Massachusetts Cavalry were also part of the procession, but the 54th and 55th regiments and 5th Cavalry were inexplicably not among them. Their veterans must instead have marched with their GAR posts.

In their addresses at the unveiling, Boston alderman Francis Thompson and Mayor Frederick O. Prince both emphasized reconciliation between the North and South. Thompson declared that "sectional differences have been allayed" and North and South "have joined hands once more in fraternal intercourse," while Prince stated the same with qualification: if the monument had been installed immediately after the war when Billings's design had been accepted, he averred, "there would not have been as now,

72. Nancy K. Anderson, "For All Time to Come," in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 190 n. 42, stated that one of the Milmore bas-reliefs "depicted Shaw and the 54th Regiment passing by the State House." Shaw is shown on "the Departure" panel, but the troops behind him do not appear to be of African descent, and Milmore does not mention the 54th in his key. The "J.B. Smith" on Milmore's key is identified as Joshua B. Smith in "The Patriot Dead. Boston's Memorial. The Army and Navy Monument," *Boston Journal*, 17 September 1877, 2.

73. "The Patriot Dead."

74. See Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); see also National GAR Records Program: Historical Summary of Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Posts by State, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War website, <http://www.suvcw.org/garrecords/garposts/>.

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peace, harmony and loyal attachment to the Union everywhere throughout our country, for such was not possible until all the States had secured equal constitutional rights.” General Devens’s address also called for “the higher level of patriotism which despises any narrow sectionalism,” but unlike the Prince and Thompson he directly declared the war to have been a conflict aimed to end slavery and heralded “the vast gain for peace, freedom, and equality by the emancipation of the subject race from slavery and the dominant race itself from the corrupting influence of this thralldom.” No account of the ceremonies mentions the presence of Joshua Bowen Smith despite his having been depicted on the monument: between October 1876 and March 1878 he was not often mentioned in Boston newspapers, and he may have been ill.⁷⁵ On the evening of the unveiling the city hosted a banquet at the Revere House that again stressed reconciliation: among the two hundred invited guests were Confederate generals including Henry Heth of Virginia, who surprisingly addressed the issue of postwar racial discrimination. “The colored people, I am sure I can promise, as I have said often in the South, will be protected and guarded in every right and privilege as citizens in common with all other citizens,” he stated, in seeming dismissal of the unabated racial violence in his region. “That there may be occasional clashings is to be expected, but the colored race has a claim upon the gratitude of the white people for their noble conduct before, during and since the war that must ever remain unpaid, though never forgotten.”⁷⁶

By early 1878, within months of the unveiling of his Boston Common monument, Milmore clearly had his eye on the possibility of undertaking the Shaw Memorial. He sculpted a plaster model of Shaw on horseback that the *Globe* described as “projected by the Hon. Charles Sumner, Governor John A. Andrew, and J. B. Smith.” Smith was the only one still living, and the *Globe* stated that he had seen Milmore’s model and “bestowed high encomiums of praise upon its truthful and life-like appearance. It was modeled from materials furnished by the Colonel’s parents, who think it very correct,” the newspaper reported. “It was Mr. Sumner’s suggestion to have it placed in front of the State House. Already \$11,000 have been subscribed. It is to be cast in bronze, and to be twice the size of life.” Whether the Shaw committee had formally commissioned the sculptor is unclear,

75. Quoted in “At the Monument: The Civic Ceremonies,” *Boston Globe*, 18 September 1877, 2. On the unveiling see also “The Patriot Dead”; “Today’s Great Show,” *ibid.*, 17 September 1877, 1, 8; and “The Honored Dead: Boston’s Battle Monument Dedicated,” *ibid.*, 18 September 1877, 1–3, 5, 8.

76. “The Honored Dead,” 8.

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and after Smith died in July 1879 Milmore's work on the Shaw apparently went no further. He died in 1883.⁷⁷

At least one other sculptor contended for the Shaw commission before the committee settled on Saint-Gaudens. In August 1880 Lydia Maria Child urged her friend, the sculptor Anne Whitney (1821–1915), to model a horse for the Shaw committee's consideration. From the beginning of her career Whitney had been interested in representing the release from slavery and oppression, including non-extant sculptures of Africa awakening from slavery (1864) and of Toussaint L'Ouverture (1870), who led the rebellion of enslaved people in Haiti in 1791. "She took a warm interest in the Anti Slavery struggle," Child wrote in 1878, "as she does in the cause of human freedom in every form."⁷⁸ Whitney was friends with African American sculptor Edmonia Lewis and in constant touch with others in the Boston abolitionist circle. At some point, probably in 1881, Wendell Phillips contacted the Shaw committee about Whitney's work. "I had [a] long talk with Lee," Phillips stated in a letter to Whitney; ". . . He promised to come & see the Horse—for he said he was not obstinately wedded to this notion."⁷⁹ Committee member J. M. Forbes told Atkinson he liked Whitney's work. "If she can make as good a horse as she can a man, I think it would be well worth enquiring into her powers as a sculptress," Forbes wrote. Because she expected the committee to sponsor a design competition for the Shaw monument, Whitney continued to work on the equestrian Shaw, but the committee dispensed with any such contest and instead chose Saint-Gaudens on the recommendation of architect Henry Hobson Richardson.⁸⁰ More than a decade later, the committee was so deeply upset with Saint-Gaudens's lack of progress on the Shaw that Forbes returned to the idea of Whitney:

77. "Art Notes," *Boston Globe*, 22 December 1878, 2, and see Greenthal, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 118, 296 n. 14, which cites a 17 April 1879 *Boston Evening Transcript* article that identified Milmore as the sculptor of the proposed Shaw Memorial.

78. Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Lydia Maria Child*, 548.

79. Wendell Phillips to Anne Whitney, 27 February [1881?], Anne Whitney Papers, Wellesley College Archives, quoted in Greenthal, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 119.

80. J. M. Forbes, Boston, to Edward Atkinson, [1881?], carton 8, folder 20, General Correspondence, Atkinson Papers; Greenthal, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 121.

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I would gladly join in a subscription to build a second monument to Shaw at some other suitable place, if Miss Whitney still has her very good sketch of Shaw on horseback and would undertake the work, or if Daniel French, sculptor of the Concord Minute Man, would give us an impromptu statue to be ready about as soon as the St. Gaudens bas-relief, or at least during the probable life-time of some member of the Committee.⁸¹

Two other monuments that depicted people of color were installed in Boston between Saint Gaudens's 1882 commission and the 1897 Shaw Memorial. Neither had evident influence on his work, but the history of each bears significant similarities to the Shaw Memorial and the campaign to build it. Moses Kimball (1809–95), who had founded the Boston Museum on Tremont Street in 1841, donated a copy of Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group*, installed in the District of Columbia in 1876, to the city of Boston and had it installed in Park Square in December 1879 (fig. 3.12).⁸² As with the Shaw Memorial, the idea of the monument in Washington originated with African Americans; initially its funds came almost solely from them. The first contribution came the day after Lincoln was assassinated from Charlotte Scott, formerly enslaved in Virginia by Thomas

81. Forbes to Atkinson, 9 October 1893, Lee Family Papers, cited in Greenthal, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 124, 298 n.43. Lydia Maria Child suspected sexism behind the decision of the Boston committee charged with creating a sculpture of Charles Sumner not to choose the design Anne Whitney had submitted. "I hear that a copy of her Charles Sumner is at the house of Mrs. Chapman's son, in New York. I hope you and Frank will see it," she wrote to Sarah Shaw in 1879. "It seems to me to embody his *character* wonderfully. She gained the prize for it as the best model exhibited; in fact it was so *much* the best, that the general remark was that it made all the others seem mean and poor. Yet when the Committee found it was the work of a woman, they voted not to give her the cutting of the statue, because a woman could not know how to make the masculine figure. The Jackasses! By that showing, what business have men to carve feminine figures?" In 1878 Child wrote similarly of the rejection to James Redpath, then seeking someone to sculpt a bust of John Brown; see Meltzer and Holland, eds., *Lydia Maria Child*, 547, 560. Boston sculptor Thomas Ball received the Sumner monument commission instead; it was installed in the Boston Public Garden in 1878. See "Art Notes," *Boston Globe*, 28 June 1876, which states, "It has been generally conceded that Miss Whitney's model for a statue of Charles Sumner was the best offered in competition for the Sumner Memorial, and a majority of the committee were of the same opinion, but it was thought by some that, being a woman, she would be unable to fulfil [*sic*] a contract for the work to the satisfaction of the committee, and so the commission was given to Thomas Ball, whose model, compared with that of Miss Whitney, is weak and effeminate, and lacks that spirit and majesty which mark the work of the unsuccessful female competitor." Whitney did receive the commission for the statue of Samuel Adams, installed in Adams Square in 1880 and moved behind Faneuil Hall before the construction of Government Center. "Art Notes" stated that her Adams statue "is the best possible answer to the objections of the Sumner Committee." Whitney also designed and sculpted another monument to Adams for the National Statuary Hall Collection in Washington, the monument to Leif Erikson (1887) on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, and the seated Charles Sumner (1902) in Harvard Square, Cambridge.



Fig. 3.12. Emancipation Group, sculpture by Thomas Ball installed in Park Square, Boston; undated photograph by Nathaniel L. Stebbins (1847-1922). Courtesy Historic New England.

Rucker. Scott gave Rucker, who had freed her when he moved with her and his family to Marietta, Ohio, five dollars toward the creation of a monument depicting Lincoln's role in emancipation on the grounds that Lincoln was "the best friend on earth" that African Americans had. Through his pastor Rucker sent Scott's donation to the Western Sanitary Commission, which began a campaign to raise funds for such a monument and "make it known to the freedmen" through broadsides and newspapers. The first broadside for "Freedom's Memorial" stated that that an "old negro woman" gave money "to build a

82. See "A Generous Gift," *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1879, 4; "City Hall Notes," *Boston Post*, 13 June 1879, 3, and 24 September 1879, 3; "Emancipation. Moses Kimball's Generous Gift dedicated," *Boston Globe*, 6 December 1879, 4; and "The Emancipation Group," *Boston Post*, 8 December 1879, 3. Ball had also just completed the Charles Sumner monument, dedicated in October 1879, two months before the Emancipation Group dedication took place.

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monument to good Massa Lincoln,” words she is not recorded to have uttered. African American soldiers gave twelve thousand dollars toward the monument, and after several months the committee had twenty thousand dollars in hand. Yet committee members felt that at least another thirty thousand dollars would be needed, so they asked freed people to give “one week’s free work, or the equivalent” toward the monument; the freed people are said to have contributed about twelve thousand dollars.⁸³

As with the proposed Billings monument on Boston Common, the commission ultimately realized that it could not raise enough to build the monument as designed by its sculptor of choice, Harriet Hosmer, and in the end it turned the funds it had gathered over to the Republicans in the White House and Congress. In March 1867 they formed the Lincoln Monument Association to commemorate emancipation in the District of Columbia. While in Italy William Greenleaf Eliot, the founder of the Western Sanitary Commission, had seen the model Thomas Ball had created in 1874 of what became known as the Emancipation Group and recommended him to sculpt it in Washington. Ball’s sculpture depicts Lincoln standing with his right hand stretched over the head of a kneeling African American whose chains are broken. When the Emancipation Group was installed in Boston, the *Globe* described the enslaved man as “almost prostrate, but apparently . . . about to rise.”⁸⁴ More than a decade later, in an article about the soon-to-be-unveiled Shaw Memorial, art critic Marianna Griswold Van Rensselaer cited the Ball as a precedent only in that it featured a person of color: “Negroes have been introduced into sculptors’ work before,” she wrote in the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1892. “We have seen them on many soldiers’ monuments, and Boston knows them, of immature age, in the figures which, apparently, are blacking Lincoln’s boots, near the Providence Railroad station.” The Ball monument is formally titled “Emancipation,” but its popular title was “Shine, Sir?”⁸⁵

83. See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 18, 88, 90–100, 103–4, 114, 119–20; Katie Mullis Kresser, “Power and Glory: Brahmin Identity and the Shaw Memorial,” *American Art* 20, 3 (Fall 2006): 44; Renée Ater, “Commemorating Black Soldiers: The African American Civil War Memorial in Washington, D.C.,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 123; Early Marietta website, <http://earlymarietta.blogspot.com/2015/02/charlotte-scott-friend-of-lincoln.html>; and *Final Report of the Western Sanitary Commission* (St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Co, 1866), 132–33, quoted in Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 233 n. 2.

84. “Abraham Lincoln. Unveiling the Monument Built by the Colored People,” *Boston Globe*, 15 April 1876, 1; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 119.

85. M. G. Van Rensselaer, “The Week in Art. The Shaw Monument for Boston Common,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 2 July 1892, 6; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 120.

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Ball's *Emancipation Group*, Renee Ater has asserted, "failed miserably and served as an antithetical model of emancipation." Its originators and earliest donors had no influence on its design, and their contributions, though acknowledged in newspapers at the time of the unveiling, were soon forgotten. Instead "the friends of the freedmen"—whites on the sanitary commission and in Congress—chose how emancipation would be symbolized.⁸⁶ Even Frederick Douglass, a member of the commission and the orator at the 1876 District of Columbia unveiling, did not fail to note how oblivious the monument was to the African American experience. As Savage has pointed out, Douglass averred in his address that Lincoln was "preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men" and the enslaved never "the special objects of his consideration."⁸⁷ Of all monuments depicting African Americans, African American art historian Freeman Henry Morris Murray objected particularly to Ball's *Emancipation Group*.

The kneeling—or is it crouching?—figure . . . seems to have a hazy idea that he is, more or less, or maybe is about to be made, free, but it appears probably that introspectively, he is yet a 'kneeling slave.' . . . Emancipation—even under the circumstances through which it came about in this country—is conceived and expressed nearly always as a bestowal; seldom or never as a restitution. Hence American art—and foreign art, too, it seems—usually puts it objectively, "See what's been done for you"; or, subjectively, "Look what's been done for me."⁸⁸

In 1865, an apparently distinct organization of African Americans known as the National Lincoln Monument Association announced its plans to create "a colored people's monument, in memory of our late beloved President Abraham Lincoln; said monument to be a seat of learning, dedicated to God, to Literature, and to the Arts and Sciences, and shall be held and appropriated for the education of the children of freemen and freedmen, and their descendants for ever, and to be called 'The National Lincoln Monument

86. Ater, "Commemorating Black Soldiers," 123; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 92.

87. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 114, 119.

88. Freeman Henry Morris Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture: A Study in Interpretation* (Washington, DC: by the author, 1916), quoted in Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, 172–74. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 119, has stated that most viewers saw the freedman "in the act of crouching, not rising." Ball's source for the freed figure is said to have been photographs of fugitive Archer Alexander (ca. 1810–79), whom the sanitary commission had assisted in 1863 and who afterward became William Greenleaf Eliot's servant. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 81, has stated that Ball initially used a life model but determined the man "not good enough to compensate for the unpleasantness of being obliged to conduct him through our apartment" and so used himself with some "conventional cues of blackness."

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Institute,' to be located in the District of Columbia." Though it predates the Lincoln Monument Association that funded Ball's Emancipation Group, the organization may have arisen when it became clear that African American subscribers would have no say in the form the proposed Lincoln monument would take. The group sought "a monument not of marble or of brass nearly [*sic*], but a monument of Education. Marble may crumble, brass may tarnish, but the light of learning is as enduring as time." The association's published appeal for funds declared that "in no other way can the people of color so well perpetuate the memory of Abraham Lincoln as by carrying out, in this manner, the great aim he had in view—the elevation of their race throughout the land. . . . The National Lincoln Monument Association is a permanency; the Monument will be built; its light will be spread abroad."⁸⁹

Issues quickly arose among African Americans about the alternate Lincoln Memorial campaign. African American cleric and physician John B. Smith, the Boston agent for the association, argued that it should accept contributions toward its goal without regard to the race of donors. "Give us the money then without hesitancy and without grudge," Smith wrote in the *Anglo-African*. "Nor are we so prejudiced, rich, or selfish as to refuse to accept money from our white friends in behalf of such national benefit. Indeed if the nation (white) can pay a tithe of the debt they owe us, by 'bathing our faces with their tears,' (Mr. Douglass,) in God's name and for humanity's sake let them to do it." But African American caterer and restaurateur George T. Downing, who had helped recruit the 54th, provision African American regiments, and was then living and working in Newport, Rhode Island, disagreed. He declined to accept a nomination as an officer of the association because he did not "favor the perpetuation of caste distinction based on complexion" that a school solely for African Americans represented. If white people contributed funds toward the creation of the school, they should be allowed "to share in common its honors or benefits," Downing argued. He also objected more generally to the proposition because freedom for enslaved African Americans stemmed, in his view, from a corrupt impulse. "The freeing of the slave, because he *should* be free, properly carries with it to grant freely all due respect to him as a free man and an acknowledged citizen," Downing wrote, "but when he is freed from 'a military necessity,' he may not be thus respected—in which case how is he to feel? Please excuse me from serving."⁹⁰ A Lincoln monument funded by African Americans was not realized, just as the Colored Soldiers

89. "An Appeal," *Anglo-African*, 2 December 1865.

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and Sailors National League was unable more than two decades later to commemorate in statuary “the deeds of the colored soldiers in the late war.”⁹¹

The other monument featuring an African American installed in Boston before the Shaw unveiling was the memorial to Crispus Attucks and other non-British victims of the Boston Massacre, dedicated on 14 November 1888 (fig. 3.13). The effort of black Bostonians to erect a monument to the Boston Massacre martyr had failed in the early 1850s, but the idea was often revived. Theodore Parker advocated it in Boston’s 1858 commemoration of the massacre:

Compel the white man to write your names, not as they have written them in Connecticut, at the bottom of the rest, with a line between, negro-pew fashion, but make them write them on the same marble, and in the same line. The time will yet come when we will . . . drag this Massachusetts Legislature at our heels, and they shall pay for a monument to Attucks. (Loud cheers, and cries of ‘Good.’) It will be but the magnanimous atonement for the injury and forgetfulness of so many years. They owe it to him, and they shall yet pay for it. You and I, faithful to our trust, will see to it.⁹²

A petition for an Attucks monument sent to the state legislature in the spring of 1887 by Bostonians of both races finally secured its aim. Joshua Bowen Smith, active in the first Attucks campaign and also in the successful effort to memorialize Charles Sumner, was now dead, but ten of the forty-seven signers whose names are listed were African American. Antebellum and postbellum black activist Lewis Hayden headed the list, with author and editor Archibald H. Grimké immediately after. Abolitionist and equal rights activist John J. Smith; the Rev. John Thomas Jenifer, pastor of the Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church and the son of fugitives; the 55th’s William Henry Dupree

90. Dr. J. B. Smith, “The Colored People’s Educational Monument,” *Anglo-African*, 14 October 1865; “George T. Downing, Esq., and the Educational Monument,” *ibid.*, 21 October 1865. See also “The Colored People’s Educational Monument,” *ibid.*, 11 November 1865. Newspapers and other sources always refer to this J. B. Smith as “Dr. J. B. Smith” perhaps at least in part to distinguish him from Joshua Bowen Smith.

91. See Chapter 2. “Colored ‘Vets,’” *Boston Globe*, 2 August 1887, 8, states that Massachusetts Senator George Hoar had introduced a bill seeking a \$100,000 appropriation for a monument “which shall stand as testimony of the courage ad loyalty of the negro.” The African American Bethel Literary and Historical Association began the campaign for the monument in the District of Columbia in 1883; see Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 156–57.

92. “The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770. Commemorative Festival in Faneuil Hall,” *Liberator*, 12 March 1858, 2.



Fig. 3.13. The Crispus Attucks Monument, Boston Common, 1888. Courtesy Boston Public Library.

and Charles L. Mitchell; and attorney Butler Wilson also signed. The Attucks monument effort then proceeded swiftly despite the opposition of some Bostonians, including the Massachusetts Historical Society, which had appointed a committee to ask Governor Oliver Ames not to sign the bill appropriating funds for the monument. The *Boston Globe* reported that the massacre victims “are not patriots, says the society, but rioters, who attacked the British soldiery and were shot down.” Such a position was a “perversion of history” that only a Tory could support, African American Bostonians argued in resolutions protesting the society’s action. “Attucks, Maverick and Carr were actuated by the highest patriotism, and . . . the blows struck by them produced results of which every

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American should be proud.”⁹³ The objection must have been rescinded or silenced over the next year. In late July 1888 a legislative committee chose the design of German-born sculptor Robert Kraus, who later designed the monument of a seated Theodore Parker that sits in front of his first church in West Roxbury. By September of the same year the legislature appointed a committee of nineteen, eight of whom were African American, to arrange for the statue’s dedication. Dupree, who was to play a significant role in the Shaw unveiling, chaired the committee, and Hayden, Mitchell, Grimké, Wilson, and African American attorney Julius C. Chappelle were all members.⁹⁴

The monument features an allegorical female figure representing “Free America” standing before a simple column; above her the names of the massacre victims, Attucks’s first, are inscribed. The figure has a furled flag in her left hand and “the broken chain of oppression,” as the dedication booklet describes it, in her right. Beneath her foot is “the the royal crown, which, twisted and torn, in falling off the plinth.” The column and the figure stand on a pedestal inscribed at the base with the date of the Boston Massacre and featuring a bas-relief of the massacre possibly modeled on Paul Revere’s famed engraving of the event, which did not include the figure of Attucks. William C. Nell’s 1855 broadside promoting his *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* had shown Attucks wounded and held up by a fellow protester (see fig. 1.2); on the monument bas-relief Attucks is depicted shot and supine in the foreground (fig. 3.14).

Hayden and others may have conceived the monument as one honoring Attucks alone, even as the inscriptions and the dedication booklet make plain that the state government envisioned it as one commemorating all Boston Massacre victims. Still, the newspapers consistently called it the Attucks monument, and the composition and leadership of the unveiling committee suggests that the city wished at least in some measure to defer to African Americans in interpreting its significance. According to one newspaper account, the committee invited Frederick Douglass to deliver an oration at its unveiling, but he was either not ultimately invited or chose not to attend.⁹⁵ The monument was unveiled

93. “Crispus Attucks’ Monument,” *Boston Globe*, 17 May 1887, 2.

94. Boston City Council, *A Memorial of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, Samuel Gray, and Patrick Carr from the City of Boston* (Boston: City Council, 1889), digitized on Internet Archives. On Kraus, see “Theodore Parker Statute,” *Boston Herald*, 16 July 1891, 4; “The Fine Arts,” *ibid.*, 2 Sept 1894, 24; and “Artists and Their Works,” *ibid.*, 6 July 1902, 7.

95. “Crispus Attucks Monument,” *Boston Herald*, 22 September 1888, 5.

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Fig. 3.14. The bas-relief showing the slain Attucks lying in the foreground, Crispus Attucks Monument, Boston Common, photograph by Baldwin Coolidge, 8 April 1897. Courtesy Boston Public Library.

on 14 November 1888. The unveiling ceremony began with a prayer by African American Baptist cleric Eli Noyes Smith (1854–96), then minister at Springfield’s Third Baptist Church, which however indirectly acknowledged the persistence of racial discrimination:

We thank Thee that the first blood of the revolutionary conflict was shed by a black man, a representative of the race with whom so many of us here are identified. . . . Help us to lay aside every weight and everything that may tend to retard our progress. . . . Grant that the time may come, and hasten, we beseech Thee, its coming, when we shall know no North, no South, no East, or West; when race or creed shall not enter in

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the question of the solution of any of our problems of government; but when we shall be indeed United States, and the proudest boast of our citizens shall be that they are American citizens.⁹⁶

William H. Dupree (fig. 3.15) spoke briefly at the ceremony and then introduced Governor Ames, who called the people of color present at the event “our special guests . . . representatives of a race whose brother Attucks was the first one to fall in that great massacre.” Then Chappelle’s nine-year-old daughter Lillian pulled the cord that removed the covering from the statue. In his also-brief address Boston Mayor Hugh O’Brien said building the Attucks memorial “ratifies the words of that declaration, that all men are free and equal, without regard to color, creed or nationality” and turned the podium over to Harvard historian John Fiske, who presented the massacre’s history. Irish nationalist and equal rights advocate John Boyle O’Reilly then read his long poem on Attucks, after which a procession formed to march from the monument past the massacre site to Faneuil Hall and then to the Parker House for a banquet. Toward the rear of the procession were forty-eight members of the Robert A. Bell Post 134 of the GAR, led by Isaac S. Mullen; forty members of the Shaw Veterans Association, led by J. Wesley Furlong; forty members of the William H. Carney Camp, Sons of Volunteers; and 30 members of the Crispus Attucks Lodge Knights of Pythias, with George W. Winston as commander.⁹⁷ Mullen later played a key role at the Shaw unveiling; Furlong sought such a role but was denied it.

Though Lewis Hayden was apparently on the platform at the unveiling, he was not well enough to attend the Parker House banquet; he died less than five months later. Julius Chappelle stated there that Hayden was of all those involved in the Attucks memorial the

96. Boston City Council, *Memorial to Crispus Attucks*, 37–39. Born in Toronto in 1854, Smith was the son of Freewill Baptist minister and physician John B. Smith, the agent of the National Lincoln Monument Association. John B. Smith was a native of Snowhill, Maryland, and his wife Rachel A. Sharp Smith was probably born in Philadelphia. What became of John B. Smith after 1865 is unclear, but in 1871 Rachel Smith was hired as matron of the Home for Aged Colored Women in Boston, where she remained for twenty-five years. Eli N. Smith graduated Newton Theological Institution in June 1885 and was installed the same year as pastor of Third Baptist Church. In 1889 or 1890 he became a teacher and later principal at the Howe Institute at New Iberia, LA, founded in 1890 as the first school for African American children in Iberia Parish. The school operated until 1933. Smith resigned in 1896 to become principal of the African American Bordentown, NJ, manual training school, and on his move North visited his mother at the Home for Aged Colored Women, where he died on 3 September 1896. Two months later, in November, his mother died there. See Sarah J. Shoenfeld, “Applications and Admissions to the Home for Aged Colored Women in Boston, 1860–1887,” *New England Historical Genealogical Register* 155, 620 (October 2001): 405 n. 90; “Newton Theologues,” *Boston Globe*, 11 June 1885, 4; *ibid.*, 2 July 1885, 1; “Smith-Lee,” *ibid.*, 25 September 1890, 10; and “Funeral of Eli N. Smith,” *ibid.*, 7 September 1896.



Fig. 3.15. William H. Dupree as a lieutenant in the 55th Massachusetts, undated photograph. Courtesy Burt Green Wilder Papers, #14-26-95, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

97. See Boston City Council, *Memorial to Crispus Attucks*, 37–39; “The Attucks Monument,” *Boston Herald*, 14 November 1888, 5; “The Early Boston Martyrs,” *Boston Herald*, 15 November 1888, 3; “First Martyrs,” *Boston Globe*, 15 November 1888, 5. The Bell Post was founded in 1870 on the seventh anniversary of the Fort Wagner siege; Mullen (1841–1930), who served in the Navy during the Civil War on the gunboats *Chocorua* and *Lillian*, was a native of Stonington, CT, and moved to Boston from Virginia in the late 1870s after having served as a mail agent between Newport News, VA, and Raleigh, NC. One newspaper account states Mullen “was compelled to resign on account of the Ku Klux Klan, and was afterward appointed clerk in the Norfolk Custom House” (“A Good Record,” *Boston Herald*, 24 July 1888, 5). He served on the Portsmouth VA City Council and became a messenger in the Custom House in Boston after moving North. Mullen was removed from that post in early April 1887 by members of the Republican establishment “for the purpose of checking the popularity of Mr. Cleveland

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one “who has watched the sculptor, dogged the Governor, and begged the mayor.” John J. Smith added, “There is no man in Massachusetts who has labored longer and harder to accomplish the erection of the monument than Lewis Hayden,” who had not only been the one to urge the erection of a monument to Attucks in 1851 but had presented the 1887 petition. Among the invited guests at the banquet was Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback (1837–1921) of Louisiana, the first African American to become governor of that or any other state, in 1872–73. At the banquet Pinchback expressed his wonder that he should ever encounter in one place “a Governor of Saxon lineage, opposite him a mayor of Celtic lineage, and sitting between them at the head of the table a black man? Here we see a sight that I shall remember all my life.”⁹⁸ In the evening, the five African American Knights of Pythias lodges in Boston held a mass meeting, reportedly attracting 1500 people, to mark the installation of the monument. There, before a largely if not entirely African American audience, attorney Edwin Garrison Walker—the son of David Walker, one of the most active African American abolitionists in early Boston—sounded the only critical note of the entire affair. Walker cited the monument as a victory over the “reproachful words of many prominent white citizens, who were opposed to the state erecting the monument, and who spoke of the victims of the Boston massacre as ‘rowdies’ and ‘rioters,’ and who, therefore, deserved no such recognition.”⁹⁹

with the colored people,” African American attorney James H. Wolff charged (“Mullen’s Removal,” *Boston Herald*, 9 April 1887, 6). Mullen was active in all African American veterans’ groups, reunions, and other ceremonies. The Crispus Attucks Knights of Pythias Lodge No. 2 was one of five African American Knights of Pythias lodges in Boston in the late 1880s. George W. S. Winston, born in Virginia or Texas about 1853, was a waiter at Memorial Hall in Cambridge by 1880 and moved to Cambridge by the middle of that decade. He later worked as a messenger for the Pennsylvania Railroad. He and his wife Mary E. Craddock Winston both worked at Bryant and Stratton commercial school, he as a janitor and she as a clerk, at least as late as 1940 and lived in the Boston suburb of Malden from about 1920.

98. “The Early Boston Martyrs.” Pinchback, born free in Georgia, lived in Ohio from 1848 to 1862, when he went to New Orleans to raise troops for the African American 1st Louisiana Native Guard; he was later commissioned a captain in the 2nd Louisiana Native Guard. After serving as Louisiana’s governor Pinchback was elected to the United States Senate but was never seated because white Democrats contested the election. He was among those men of color who challenged segregated public transportation in the case known as *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

99. “The Early Boston Martyrs”; “First Martyrs.”

Envisioning a Monument to Black Soldiers

In the same year that the Attucks monument was installed on Boston Common, George Washington Williams published his *History of the Negro Troops in the War or the Rebellion*. Born free in Pennsylvania, Williams (1849–91) enlisted in the Union Army in 1864, when he was only fourteen. He later fought with the Republican forces of the Mexican Army in an effort to overthrow the Emperor Maximilian and with the 10th United States Infantry in Indian territory. Though Williams stated that he could write much about the war from his own experience, both from combat and what he had learned “at the camp-fires and encampments” of the GAR, he based his history instead on “the official record,” including journals and orderly books of those who commanded African American troops and the manuscripts of state war secretaries and adjutant generals.¹⁰⁰ Williams’s account is objective and still respected, and only toward the end of the volume did he express his own ideas—about a monument to African American Civil War soldiers—because he believed that “the surest way to teach national history is in monumental marble and brass.”¹⁰¹

The deathless deeds of the white soldier’s valor are not only embalmed in song and story, but are carved in marble and bronze. But nowhere in all this free land is there a monument to brave Negro soldiers, 36,847 of whom gave up their lives in the struggle for national existence. Even the appearance of the Negro soldier in the hundreds of histories of the war has always been incidental. These brave men have had no champion, no one to chronicle their record, teeming with interest and instinct with patriotism. A government of a proud, patriotic, prosperous, and free people would make a magnificent investment by erecting at the capital of the nation a monument dedicated to its brave black soldiers.

Williams proposed that a monument be built in the “large and beautiful Government Park” in front of Howard University, and he described in minute detail what that monument might look like. For some reasons he did not state he felt it should be made of “southern granite” with a soldier in a great coat surrounded by his “equipments” and looking south toward the United States Capitol. Then he wanted a representative African American member of the artillery, cavalry, infantry, and Navy at the corners,

100. Williams, *History of the Negro Troops*, ix–x.

101. *Ibid.*, 328.

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each with his gear and emblems of his particular branch of service. Williams proposed inscriptions for all four sides. On one side the 36,847 black soldiers who “fought nobly” and died during the war would be cited; a second inscription would note the 449 Civil War engagements in which African Americans “earned the right to be free by deeds of desperate valor”; a third would state the total number (178,975) of African Americans in the United States Army, broken down by the number enlisted by states and territories (79,638) and by “authority of the government” (99,337). The fourth inscription would list the fifteen principal battles, including Wagner, in which these troops fought.

Williams suggested that the park in which his proposed monument would stand be named after Robert Gould Shaw. “His influence over his regiment, his gentle kindness, and yet his firmness as a disciplinarian, his rectitude in camp and his courage in battle, are remembered by all whose good fortune it was to come within the sphere of his military activity,” he wrote. Williams argued that naming the park for Shaw “would quicken the pulse of national patriotism, it would elevate the feelings of the Negro, it would inform the Present, instruct the Future, and bind the friends of freedom to the generous heart of the nation.” And the monument, he declared, “would surely and safely elevate the Negro to a proud place in the history of the nation. . . . No people can be dangerously ignorant if their government builds monuments.”¹⁰²

Williams managed to get the United States Senate to pass a bill for a monument to African American Civil War combatants, but the bill failed to come before the House of Representatives and died.¹⁰³ Another effort to build a monument to African American troops also failed in a peculiar collision of circumstances. In late November 1894 John W. Thompson, the head waiter at the Powers Hotel in Rochester, New York, proposed building a statue honoring “the Afro-American soldiers and sailors who had fallen in the Civil War.” The city appointed a committee with Thompson as chair, and in early December Thompson wrote to former Rochesterian Frederick Douglass, then living at Anacostia, to solicit his support for the idea. Douglass wrote that he was “more than pleased” to support building a monument “in honor of the colored soldiers who, under great discouragements, at the moment of the national peril volunteered to go to the front and fight for their country—when assured in advance that neither by our own government

102. *Ibid.*, 330–32.

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nor that of the confederates would they be accorded the equal rights of peace or of war. The colored soldier fought with a halter about his neck, but he fought all the same.”¹⁰⁴

Despite Douglass’s endorsement, opposition quickly arose to the monument Thompson proposed. Rochester Mayor Richard Curran stated plainly at one late December 1894 meeting that he did not want “a colored man’s monument. . . I don’t believe in reviving the distinctions which the war was supposed to wipe out,” a sentiment akin to Downing’s rejection of an African American school in the nation’s capital and echoed by the pastor of Rochester’s Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁰⁵ Thompson actively disagreed with the contention that, as he put it in the monument’s history and dedication book, “one soldiers’ monument represented all who were killed in the Civil War.” He cited the example of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument, sculpted by Leonard Volk and installed in Rochester’s Washington Square Park in 1892. “I have visited the monument in Washington’s Square,” he said, “and made an examination of the bronze figures. The features of three represent the American white soldier and sailor, one the Irish soldier and one the German, while the Afro-American is not represented in features.”¹⁰⁶ In effect he agreed with Williams: people of African descent must be depicted on monuments in order to document and honor their place in American history.

The issue came to naught only months later. On 20 February 1895 Frederick Douglass died, and Thompson stated that the monument would commemorate not African

103. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 189.

104. J. W. Thompson, *An Authentic History of the Douglass Monument* (Rochester, NY: Rochester Herald Press, 1903), 39–40; Bernier and Taylor, *If I Survive*, 715–16, reproduces and transcribes this letter. Thompson’s origins are obscure. He was in Rochester by 1885, when the city directory shows him as a hotel waiter; in the same year he was named president of the “colored association” then arranging a celebration of Emancipation Day on 6 August 1885. Thompson was a member of the Douglass League in Rochester and one of its two delegates to the Afro-American League’s national convention in Chicago in 1890. By 1900 Thompson ran a restaurant in Rochester, and at the time of his death he was working as messenger for the New York State Attorney General in Albany. See “Police Commissioners,” *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester NY), 14 June 1885, 6; “To Elevate Their Race,” *ibid.*, 22 January 1890, 6; “Negro Leader Here Dies of Long Illness,” *ibid.*, 4 January 1926, 13.

105. “Oppose the Monument: Colored People Seem to be Divided on the Soldier Question,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, 28 December 1894, 9. The Zion pastor is identified as the Rev. Mr. Ely, of whom little is so far known; the only clergyman with that surname in Rochester in the first half of the 1890s appears to have been white.

106. Thompson, *Authentic History*, 40.

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American Civil War soldiers but Douglass alone. As fundraising continued he appointed a new committee of African American men to move it along. In February 1897 the state appropriated three thousand dollars for the statue, and in the end Douglass's son Charles Remond Douglass, a member of the Massachusetts 54th, was disappointed if not angry at the paucity of support for the monument among African Americans. "Less than \$500 came from the pockets of the 10,000,000 negroes in the United States," he wrote in November 1898; Haiti, which Frederick Douglass had served as U.S. Ambassador and which had fewer than one million inhabitants, gave twice as much. "The balance of the \$10,000," Charles Douglass wrote, "came from white people."¹⁰⁷ Between the war and the 1897 unveiling, other efforts arose to raise funds for sculpture honoring African American Civil War soldiers and sailors, but none came to fruition. It remained an unrealized idea until the Shaw Memorial.¹⁰⁸

107. *Ibid.*, 40–41, 43; Charles R. Douglass quoted in Bernier and Taylor, *If I Survive*, 716. The 54th Regiment Band played at the laying of the Douglass monument cornerstone on 20 July 1898.

108. See Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 156–57, on such efforts among African Americans in Baltimore, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and the District of Columbia.

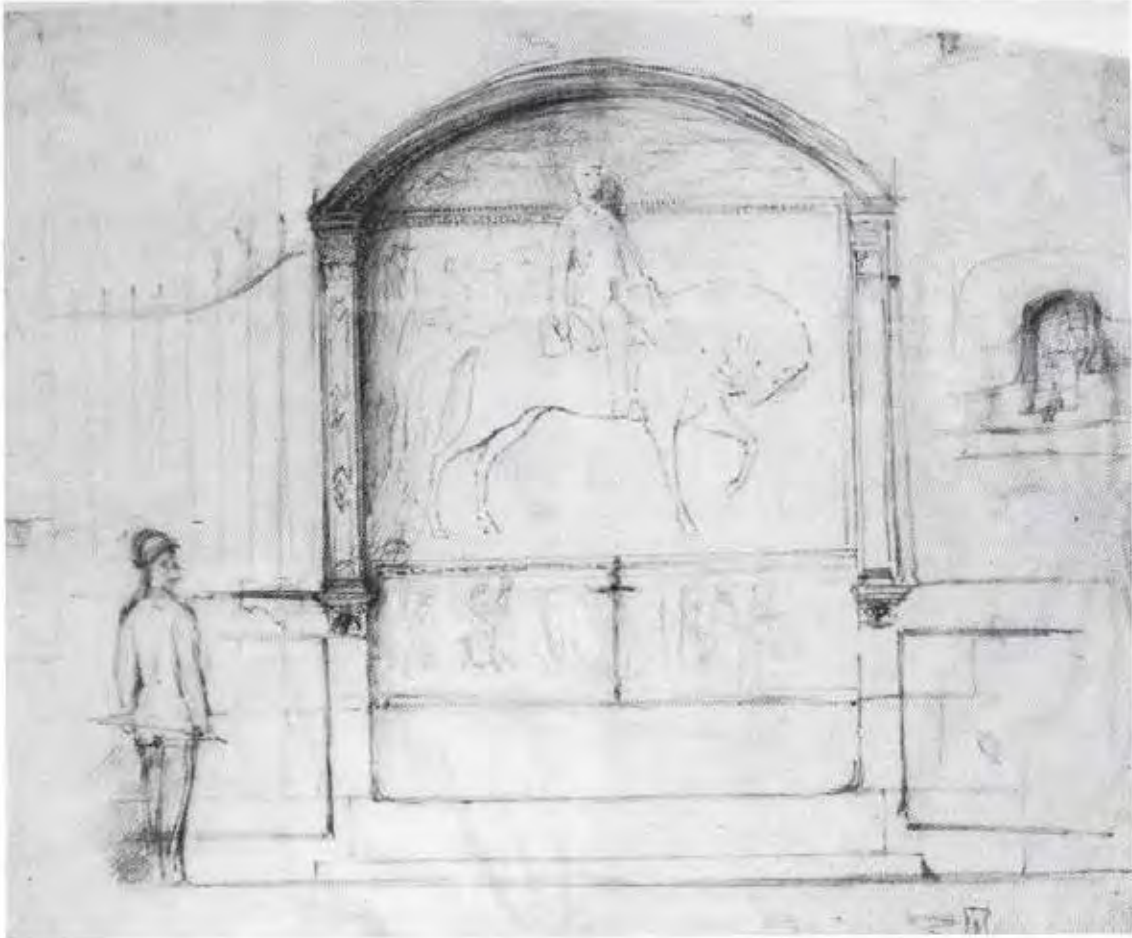


Fig. 4.1. "Architectural sketch by Henry H. Richardson," about 1882-83. Courtesy Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

CHAPTER 4

Making the Shaw

The original intention was to have a statue. By tacit consent we have changed to a bas-relief, which includes soldiers differing to that extent from the original plan. Col. Lee asks what I think it is intended to record? I think the change from a statue to a bas-relief permits us to make it a memento for those who fell at Fort Wagner, and also to make it serve as a record of the Era which the outgoing of the regiment from Boston, and its only memorable battle some sixty days later, marks; but always with Col. Shaw the leading figure in the Memorial.¹

In September 1892, when John Murray Forbes wrote about the developing Robert Gould Shaw Memorial to fellow monument planning committee members Henry Lee and Martin P. Kennard, they and others who knew the most about the work in progress had reached one of several boiling points in the fourteen-year effort to realize it. Well before it was unveiled on 31 May 1897, some who were aware of it recognized the Shaw Memorial as unique: in 1892 New York art critic Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer termed it a “bold thought” on the part of Augustus Saint-Gaudens to bring together in a single work “a handsome, purely Caucasian type, like the figure of Shaw himself, a fine equine type like the horse he is riding, negro types of various carefully studied kinds, and an idealistic figure of Fame.”² Yet in 1892 the committee and its longtime treasurer Edward Atkinson saw only ten years of exasperatingly slow progress and felt only concern that the monument, by then twenty-seven years in the planning, might not be completed before they died, or at all.

In 1876, Atkinson noted that through investment the fund for the Boston Shaw Memorial had reached more than seven thousand dollars with “no executive body in existence” to determine when and how the funds should be spent. By then Andrew and Sumner had died; Joshua Bowen Smith was elderly and probably ill and was, for unknown reasons,

1. John Murray Forbes to Henry Lee and M. P. Kennard, 20 September 1892, Lee Family Papers, quoted in Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 200, 255 n. 94.

2. M. G. Van Rensselaer, “The Week in Art. The Shaw Monument for Boston Common,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 2 July 1892, 6.

no longer involved with the Shaw Memorial campaign. When Atkinson had sought the permission of the original subscribers to continue with the work in 1876, he had also asked them to approve the new committee of Forbes, Lee, and Kennard.³

Martin P. Kennard was a New Hampshire native, a well-known Boston jeweler, and twice assistant treasurer of the United States Subtreasury in Boston; he was also a treasurer of the Boston Art Club and, in the 1890s, president of the Boston Memorial Association.⁴ Yet for all intents and purposes Kennard was a silent partner on the committee, perhaps lending it the aesthetic credibility Atkinson may have felt it needed. For the next twenty-one years Atkinson, Forbes, and Lee remained involved in nearly every aspect of the memorial's creation. John Murray Forbes had inherited and enhanced a fortune in the China trade, later invested in vessels and railroads, and confessed he had been "neutral or indifferent on the subject of slavery" until late 1837, when he heard Wendell Phillips publicly condemn the murder of abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy. Forbes was a Whig until Daniel Webster in his famed 7 March 1850 speech supported the Fugitive Slave Law "and indors[ed] all the compromises by which we surrendered to the slave-owners," he later wrote; "the scales fell from my eyes, and I gave up the Whig party and acted in my quiet way with the Republicans, then called 'Free-Soilers.'"⁵ Henry Lee, the son of an affluent East Indies merchant, was a Harvard graduate and worked in his father's company until 1852, when he and two of his relatives founded the banking and brokerage firm Lee, Higginson and Company. More openly committed to the Free Soil Party than Forbes, Lee also supported a Kentucky antislavery newspaper.⁶ With Atkinson, Lee had been a member of the original 1865 Shaw Memorial committee. Atkinson, unlike Lee and Forbes, was not a wealthy man, but, as an agent and treasurer for numerous textile mills, he was one of the foremost experts on the cultivation and marketing of cotton in the country. And Atkinson, unlike Lee and Forbes, supported the fugitive-assisting Boston Vigilance Committee and identified as an abolitionist.⁷

3. Edward Atkinson to Henry Lee, 4 October 1892, Lee Family Papers.

4. On Kennard see in particular "M. P. Kennard Dead at 85," *Boston Post*, 14 November 1903, 4, which notes that Kennard was "frequently called upon to serve upon important public and art committees" but did not mention the Shaw or any other specific work.

5. Hughes, ed., *Forbes*, 100, 171.

6. John Torrey Morse, *Memoir of Colonel Henry Lee* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1905).

7. Abbott, *Cotton & Capital*, 31, 34–35, 95, 220. According to Abbott, 220, Atkinson once stated, "Before the war I was an abolitionist of the radical stripe," and he was an active member of the Boston Vigilance Committee.

The three men had worked together often before being brought together for the Shaw Memorial. Beginning in 1855 all three had been members of the Emigrant Aid Company, which aimed to resettle New Englanders in Kansas and thus improve the likelihood that the territory would enter the Union as a free state. Atkinson and Forbes had both raised funds to send rifles to Kansas to use in the skirmishes with proslavery advocates there, and both had raised funds for John Brown's legal defense after the Harper's Ferry raid. Both Lee and Forbes were part of Governor John Andrew's wartime staff and in that capacity had arranged to move Massachusetts troops South; both were among the founders of Boston's Union Club in 1863. Atkinson and Forbes recruited for the 54th and 55th Regiments and were involved in the Boston branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, which gathered and distributed clothing, food, and medicine to the Union Army. In December 1863 Atkinson and Lee were among the founders of the Freedmen's Relief Committee in Boston to provide the same supplies to refugees from slavery. And Forbes and Atkinson worked together in the New England Loyal Publication Society, which began in 1863 to distribute articles backing the war.⁸

The committee appears to have been quiescent until 1882, when Atkinson noted that the fund had increased to \$16,656.21; that sum to him "seemed sufficient to procure a suitable work." Generally a good chronicler, Atkinson did not state when the architect Henry Hobson Richardson suggested hiring Augustus Saint-Gaudens to undertake the Shaw Memorial. In 1897 he recalled only that Richardson, who lived less than a mile from Atkinson in the Boston suburb of Brookline, inquired about the status of the project. Richardson stated that he had known Robert Gould Shaw, offered to design the architectural surround for the work, and suggested Saint-Gaudens as the sculptor for, apparently, two reasons: Saint-Gaudens's statue of Admiral David Farragut "had just been placed," Atkinson recalled in 1897 (the Farragut was unveiled on Memorial Day 1881 in New York City), and Richardson had valued the sculptor's advice on the tower he was designing for the Allegheny County Court House in Pittsburgh, construction of which began in 1884.⁹ Saint-Gaudens stated in his reminiscences that "I, like most sculptors at the beginning of their careers, felt that by hook or crook I must do an

8. *Ibid.*, 31-37, 62-63, 73-74, 101-3, 147. The three were involved later in the Massachusetts Reconstruction Association, founded by Andrew on 4 June 1866 to "prevent the creation of an exclusive black man's party and also to kill the schemes of confiscation"; none supported the redistribution of confiscated Confederate land to freed people. *Ibid.*, 209-11. Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 46, stated that Forbes "used his Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad line to transport men and Sharps rifles straight into the troubled territories" during the Kansas-Missouri border wars.

equestrian statue, and that here I had found my opportunity.” Yet Atkinson stated that upon learning of Richardson’s interest “I submitted to him the suggestion for an alto rilievo” to be placed in front of the Massachusetts State House, the original projected location for the Shaw Memorial.

Committee member Henry Lee told Wendell Phillips that he did not favor an equestrian statue. “He objects to monument 1st because a statue wd not be discriminating in what it tells—Wants a bust & under it bas relief showing Shaw at the Fort leading blacks—etc. etc.,” Phillips wrote in one 1881 letter.¹⁰ According to art historian Kirk Savage, in April 1882 the monument committee revealed a design for the Shaw that showed the late colonel nonetheless mounted and three bas-relief tablets depicting the 54th’s departure from Boston, the battle at Fort Wagner, and the regiment’s return. About the same time Richardson completed a sketch of the monument depicting Shaw on horseback in high relief with two panels in bas relief (see fig. 4.1). In keeping with his sense that he must “by crook or crook . . . do an equestrian statue,” Saint-Gaudens began to work on a monument of Shaw astride a horse (fig. 4.2) “until the Shaw family objected on the ground that, although Shaw was of a noble type, as noble as any, still he had not been a great commander, and only men of the highest rank should be so honored. In fact, it seemed pretentious. Accordingly, in casting about for some manner of reconciling my desire with their ideas, I fell upon a plan of associating him directly with his troops in a bas-relief, and thereby reducing his importance.” He stated that the first sketch he made of this idea was destroyed in the fire of his Cornish, New Hampshire, studio in 1904, but that the monument “as it now stands is virtually what I indicated.”¹¹

9. Edward Atkinson, “I. The History of the Monument,” *Century Illustrated*, 176; Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed., *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 2 vols. (New York: Century Co., 1913), 1: 327–28. See also [Col. Henry Lee, ed.], *The Monument to Robert Gould Shaw: Its Inception, Completion and Unveiling 1867–1897* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1897), 8–9, and Kathryn Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 117.

10. Wendell Phillips to Anne Whitney, 27 February [1881?], Whitney Papers, Wellesley College Archives, quoted in Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 119.

11. On Lee see Brown, “Civil Monuments,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*; Kirk Savage, “Uncommon Soldiers: Race, Art, and the Shaw Memorial,” in *ibid.*, 163; Greenthal, “Shaw Memorial,” in *ibid.*, 121; Atkinson, “History of the Monument,” 176; Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1: 332. While the Shaw Memorial was in progress Saint-Gaudens did complete a more conventional equestrian monument, to General John Logan in Chicago; his Sherman monument in New York was in progress.



Fig. 4.2. The sculptor's sketch of an equestrian Shaw monument, undated. Courtesy Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College.

By June 1882 Saint-Gaudens agreed to prepare a model of the proposed monument before any contract was signed (fig. 4.3). In that year Saint-Gaudens prepared a sketch that showed Shaw in front of his horse; the next year he sketched a mounted Shaw with troops behind him. The date of the contract is variously given in sources as 23 February 1883 or the same date in 1884, but in late October 1883 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Shaw's sister Josephine Shaw Lowell that he planned to begin work on the monument "in about two months. He added. "If you come to see the model again, I will be happy to show it to you, and would be glad to see you at my studio at any time. . . I will be very glad to see the veterans and to have them see the work in progress."¹² The sculptor's reference to the veterans is the only known indication that any member of a Civil War regiment might

12. Augustus Saint-Gaudens (hereafter cited as ASG), New York, to "my dear Mrs Lowell," 26 October 1883, Boston Athenaeum. Joan Waugh, e-mail to author, 16 September 2019, states that the notes from her biography of Lowell do not include references to veterans sitting for Saint-Gaudens. See Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer*, 86–87, which asserts that Lowell was intent on "preserving and extending the meaning of the Civil War in her life. . . . She set out for herself the task of making her husband's and her brother's sacrifices mean something for her personally and for the larger society."

Fig. 4.3. Presentation sketch model of the Shaw Memorial submitted by Saint-Gaudens to the memorial committee, 1883. Courtesy Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park.



have seen, to say nothing of influenced, the work. And while it seems likely that he meant to indicate veterans of the 54th—white officers or African American enlisted men—it is impossible to know. What contact Lowell might have had with her brother’s regimental comrades is also unclear.

Modeling the Troops

Many works on the Shaw Memorial cite numerous possible influences on the way Saint-Gaudens modeled its African American soldiers. He had his niece, Margaret Nichols, send him a photograph of Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier’s painting at the Louvre “Campagne de France 1814” (1864), which showed columns of soldiers retreating from Moscow behind Napoleon; he sketched the painting, drew an arrow to the troops, and noted how “in the distance quite dim the troops are marching so.”¹³ Saint-Gaudens’s son Homer noted that his father also emulated in some measure the spears and “vertical lines” shown in Diego Velasquez’s “Surrender of Breda” (1634–35) and brought to bear

his childhood memories of troops passing along New York City's streets and of a French military funeral he had witnessed some years later.¹⁴ It also seems likely that Saint-Gaudens knew Martin Milmore's Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on Boston Common, unveiled in September 1877. He married Augusta Fisher Homer in Boston in June that year and probably lived at least part of the time afterward in nearby Roxbury with his wife and in-laws Thomas J. and Mary E. Homer; his son Homer was born in Roxbury in late September 1880.¹⁵ Historian Marilyn Richardson has suggested that Saint-Gaudens must have known African American sculptor Edmonia Lewis, whose studio in Rome in the early 1870s was next to his; he may have seen both Lewis's bust of Shaw and her small sculpted figure of Carney.¹⁶

Despite his mention of veterans in his letter to Shaw's sister Josephine, Saint-Gaudens did not sculpt a faithful likeness of any member of the 54th other than Robert Gould Shaw. Whether he knew about the photographs taken of the officers and men of the regiment during and immediately after the war is unknown; Luis F. Emilio had collected more than fifty of these photographic portraits for his history of the regiment, published in 1891. Emilio is not mentioned in Saint-Gaudens's published reminiscences. If he had seen Emilio's *Brave Black Regiment*, he would have seen Carney holding the tattered state flag as its frontispiece (see fig. 1.12) and images of twenty-nine other African American members of the regiment reproduced throughout. Yet even if he did know of and consult Emilio's history, the photographs can have been of only limited use: all are frontal views, not the profiles he needed for his design. And by the time Saint-Gaudens appears to have turned to sculpting the figures of the troops, in the early 1890s, the veterans were all nearly thirty years older than they had been when they fought under Shaw.

13. Photograph of partial letter and sketch, n.d., ser. 1, box 62, folder 20, Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover NH (hereafter ASG Papers). In the same letter he asked for photographs of "Baudry's panels in the Foyer of the Grand Opera Paris," perhaps as models for the angel he proposed including on the Shaw bas relief. On the Messonier painting see also Sidney Kaplan, "The Sculptural World of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," *Massachusetts Review* 30, 1 (Spring 1989): 23.

14. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1: 342. See also Henry J. Duffy, "Consecration and Monument: Robert Gould Shaw, the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, and the Shaw Memorial," in Kirk Savage, ed., *The Civil War in Art and Memory* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 197–98.

15. See Chapter 3.

16. Richardson, "Taken from Life," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 115. Saint-Gaudens was in Rome from 1870 to 1875; Lewis was there from the winter of 1865–66 through at least 1875, though she had traveled to the United States at least twice during that time.

Instead Saint-Gaudens sought his models on the streets near his New York City studio. He described this search in his reminiscences, a draft of which is preserved in his papers:

The models I used for my task, a horse and countless negroes, all furnished me with the greatest amusement. . . . The darkeys were more exciting in the entertainment they furnished. In the beginning, when I met a negro who I thought well of, I would approach him politely with evident signs of embarrassment and after hemming and hawing, I would explain that I was a picture maker and wanted to take his picture and that if he would come along with me, I would do it for nothing. Any one who knows the negro of that class can readily understand what followed. They would look at me suspiciously, some would come along part of the way and suddenly go off, others would refuse to come at all; others would come as far as the door and then go. One I remember saying as we reached the door: "You don't kotch me in dat place!" One or two I succeeded in trapping, trembled and perspired in utter terror as I stood them up with a gun over their shoulders and a cap on their heads. . . . I succeeded better later on by following the advice of one who understood them by simply saying: "Do you want a job?" And upon their affirmative reply, I would say: "Well, come along with me. I will give you one." Nevertheless, I had little real success until I found one to whom I promised twenty-five cents for every negro he would bring me that I could use. The following day the place was packed with them and I had not only a great choice, but great trouble in getting rid of them and stopping their coming to the studio. One intelligent chap told me that no doubt what they feared was that I was a physician trying to lure them to their death and cut them up for anatomical purposes.

There were some amusing liars among them. Several, born since the war who did not know how to hold a gun, told me in detail of the battle of Fort Wagner and of their part in it and all that. I modeled some forty heads from those men of which the sixteen that are visible on the relief were selected. Some heads that were very good I rejected for some reason or other not looking well in the place. They ranged in character from the gentle Bahama Islander to the drummer boy in the foreground who told me how he had just been released from prison, where he had gone for cutting his brother with a razor. They were very likeable on the whole with their soft voices and imaginative, though simple minds.¹⁷

Homer Saint-Gaudens added, in another draft (and ultimately deleted) passage, "The darkeys that my father wanted to pose for the Shaw were only urged to come into the

17. This version of the passage in Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1: 333–35, is in a large envelope with other sections of the draft manuscript on cut pieces of paper in Reminiscences ms. file, box 68, file 13, ASG Papers. William A. Coffin, "II. The Sculptor St. Gaudens," *Century Illustrated*, 179–93, offers a similar account.

studio with greatest difficulty. My father's looks were not ordinary and the place seemed to them to resemble a dissecting room. Shaw and the negroes in the relief were painted a brown color, the color of negroes. When a darkey would enter the studio and see that at a distance, 'No, you have killed some nigger and stuck him up there, and I won't come in.' Even when the plaster heads were brought out to them they had some doubts."

Saint-Gaudens reported to Edward Atkinson in late January 1891, "I am at work again on the Shaw: very much at work you would say if you saw the collections of Darkie that have been invading my studio for the past month."¹⁸ But almost exactly two years later he was clearly still working on the troops. On the first of January 1893 he wrote to his brother-in-law about two models in particular:

At Young's Café, in your great City of Boston, there are two gorgeous darkeys, so gorgeous that I wish to put them in the Shaw monument. . . . When they are here I shall select the one that best suits my purpose, send the other right back, and the one that I keep will have from two weeks to a month's work with me at three dollars a day. Their names are John Lee and Riley Lee. In order that I may have them, permission must be obtained from E. McDuffie, the darkey headwaiter at that establishment, a most intelligent man, who does not imagine that I wish them in order to cut their livers out as the average darkey suspects. I've already spoken to him. He knows it all, and if you will step in there and get him to ship me these two beauties at once you will be eternally blessed. Don't let him ship me any others. I've lots of others here, lots, but none such busters. . . . It is possible that when I have them here in the cold light of my studio, and without the enthusiasm that the atmosphere of l'Athène moderne always throws me in, I may find that it was all in my eye, that they are no better than hundreds of Seventh Avenue darkeys, and I may send 'em both back. That should be understood.¹⁹

Whether the Lees came to New York to pose cannot be determined from what survives of Saint-Gaudens's accounts and correspondence, but as his letter to Mariana van

18. ASG, New York, to Edward Atkinson, 20 January 1891, Atkinson Papers.

19. ASG, New York, to Thomas J. Homer, 1 January 1893, quoted in Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1: 337–38. John and Riley Lee were from James City, NC, and were not listed in Boston directories until 1894. John Lee is shown in that year's directory as working at a lunch counter at Young's Hotel, which stood on Court Street on the site of the former Cornhill Coffee House (where the fugitive Shadrach Minkins had worked in 1851). Riley Lee is shown as a waiter. "E McDuffie" was Emanuel McDuffie, a native of Georgia listed as a waiter in directories and in Boston from at least 1889. Riley Lee remained in Boston until about 1930; what became of his brother is not yet known.

Rensselaer indicates he was still at work on the African American figures at the end of 1893. "I've done nothing but model, model, model furiously for the last month," he wrote, "I've been putting negroes of all types in the Shaw, and it's been great fun and I'm as happy as a clam over it and consequently beautifully negligent of every friend no matter how much they may have passed before my vision as I was driving away at my darkeys." In another letter he described his pleasure in this part of the work as being "half drunk with my darkeys."²⁰

Scholars have often noted Saint-Gaudens's consistent use of the term "darker" throughout the process of making the Shaw, and he was not alone among white Americans in the use of the term. Shaw also used it. Still, there were men and women who did not. Norwood Hallowell recalled his own sense of this term and one other when he was helping recruit officers for the 54th:

It was not altogether easy to get gentlemen to take hold. There were many applicants for commissions in a regiment of "niggers." There were few applicants for commission in a regiment of "citizens of African descent." My preliminary examination of candidates always included the orthography of the word negro. An occasional candidate who spelled the word as though it was pronounced darker was admitted. There was some hope for better things in him. Those who spelled it as though it was "nigger" were rejected. In a word, it was essential that our colored regiment should be officered by gentlemen only.²¹

Some scholars have suggested that the realistic and clearly different physical qualities of the troops represented on the Shaw Memorial indicate that the sculptor's ideas were transformed in the process of creating these representations (figs. 4.4 & 4.5). Saint-Gaudens stated that much as he enjoyed working with figures of the troops, they gave him "an immense amount of trouble" as he modeled each of twenty-six "characteristic heads" from one to seven times so that they would "join in groups of four. . . each alone yet people look at it as one." William Coffin, who wrote about the process at the time of the unveiling, stated that any given one of these heads in isolation was "admirable; placed in the niche intended for it, it 'threw out' all the rest, and could not be used. It could not

20. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1: 346, but there undated; a transcription of this letter in box 68, folder 13, ASG Papers, dates it as Christmas 1893. The second quote is an excerpt from an undated letter to an unidentified correspondent in the same collection.

21. N. P. Hallowell to "chairmen and gentlemen of the 44th," undated manuscript, Hallowell Papers.



Figs 4.4 & 4.5. The plaster heads of the troops for the Shaw Memorial, photographs about 1894. Courtesy Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College.

be modified in many cases, and there was nothing to do but to cast it aside and begin anew. . . . Now when we see these troops, and note the fine energy in the head of one man, the dogged determination in another, the grim acceptance of the danger ahead in another, or in yet another the careless look born of the martial sound of fife and drum, it is worth while remembering that others quite as fine in themselves were tried, only with the result of abandoning them.”²² Art historian Kirk Savage, while not dismissing the sculptor’s “racism,” has argued that “an unpredictable process of artistic problem-solving and labor came between the artist’s preconceptions and his final project. His

22. Reminiscences ms. file, ASG Papers; Coffin, “Sculptor St. Gaudens,” 181–82.

artistic discipline took him in a new and unexpected direction. As a social being, he was thoughtless, mimicking the racist beliefs of his milieu; as an artist, he was extraordinarily thoughtful, compelled to search out the humanity even of people he would ridicule in his gentlemen's club." Savage has asserted of the Shaw, "Saint-Gaudens's sympathetic portrait studies of black men do not imply a special sympathy for black men in the mind of the artist, nor does the lack of sympathy he showed in his memoirs invalidate the visual evidence of the sculpture. It was the self-imposed demands of art, not racial ideology, that compelled the sculptor to portray these men as he did. The artistic imperative of difference over repetition was so powerful that it drove Saint-Gaudens to humanize his models in ways he had never originally intended."²³

However that may be, Saint-Gaudens's reliance upon "negroes of all types" and "characteristic heads" for the memorial makes plain that individuation rested solely on his appreciation of physical differences between the men he found on the streets near his New York City studio. The sculptor's descriptions of the African American Hettie Anderson, the model for the Victory figure on the General Sherman monument and for the twenty-dollar gold coin the United States Mint commissioned him to create in 1907, are in much the same vein. In form she was "splendid" and "like a goddess," he wrote in 1897, and her ability to pose "patiently, steadily, and thoroughly in the spirit one wishes" made her a favorite model not only for Saint-Gaudens but for John La Farge, Bela Pratt, Daniel Chester French, and Anders Zorn among others.²⁴

23. Savage, "Uncommon Soldiers," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 162, 201–2. Homer Saint-Gaudens and several earlier studies of the Shaw Memorial have asserted that Saint-Gaudens was an abolitionist, a claim that appears to be based on two facts—that, according to Homer, his grandfather Bernard "became an abolitionist" during the Civil War, and that he attended only African American Masonic meetings in New York City. See Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 17. I find no other evidence that Bernard Saint-Gaudens or his son were abolitionists and am not inclined to accept this assertion based on what is so far known. Saint-Gaudens's comments about people of color throughout his memoir fail utterly to demonstrate any interest in or inclination toward abolitionism.

24. Thanks to Rick Kendall for calling Harriette Eugenia (Hettie) Anderson to my attention. Saint-Gaudens inscribed and gave the first plaster study using Anderson as the head of Victory to her in 1897. She copyrighted it in 1908 and lent it to several exhibitions, but she refused to allow Augusta and Homer Saint-Gaudens to make replicas of it. See Dryfhout, *Saint-Gaudens*, 219, 283–85, and William E. Hagens, "Saint-Gaudens, Zorn, and the Goddesslike Miss Anderson," *American Art* (Summer 2002): 67–89. In Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1:332, Homer Saint-Gaudens stated that the model for the 1908 coin was "a woman supposed to have negro blood in her veins" but did not identify her by name. It is unclear how widely known Saint-Gaudens's use of an African American model for these two works was at the time he created them.

Forbes certainly did not expect more of Saint-Gaudens's depictions of the 54th troops: the monument was commissioned, after all, to memorialize Shaw. In February 1891 he wrote Lee that he planned to enlarge a photograph of a sketch of the memorial "so that we can see whether the likenesses are good; both of Col. Shaw, and of the general characteristics of the negro in the soldiers." Michael Hatt has argued that while the soldiers on the Shaw "defy stereotypical imagery in a number of ways, they are remembered only as a group, as a regiment; indeed, it is as if the remembering of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers requires the forgetting of the individual members." They are not individuals but instead "signify individuality."²⁵ In 1849 Frederick Douglass had declared that "Negroes can never have impartial portraits, at the hands of white artists":

It seems to us next to impossible for white men to take likenesses of black men, without most grossly exaggerating their distinctive features. And the reason is obvious. Artists, like all other white persons have adopted a theory respecting the distinctive features of negro physio[g]nomy. We have heard many white persons say, that "negroes look all alike," and that they could not distinguish between the old and the young[.]They associate with the negro face, high cheek bones, distended nostril, depressed nose, thick lips, and retreating foreheads. This theory impressed strongly upon the mind of an artist exercises a powerful influence over his pencil, and very naturally leads him to distort and exaggerate those peculiarities, even when they scarcely exist in the original. The temptation to make the likeness of the negro, rather than of the man, is very strong. . . . Perhaps, we should not be more impartial than our white brothers, should we attempt to picture them. We should be as likely to get their lips too thin, noses too sharp and pinched up, their cheeks too lantern-like, their hair too lank and lifeless, and their faces altogether too cadaverous.²⁶

Some have argued that Saint-Gaudens, consciously or not, "anonymized" the African American troops "in order to glorify Shaw," who was, after all, the intended subject of the memorial. Art historian Katie Kresser has asserted that for Saint-Gaudens to have added, say, a recognizable William H. Carney "might have undercut the sculptor's larger aim: to figure a divinely sanctioned power arrangement."²⁷ Whether this was Saint-Gaudens's "larger aim" is certainly debatable. Still, as Savage has noted, "The sculptural mold, like a

25. Forbes, Milton, to Col. Henry Lee, 23 February 1891, Lee Family Papers; Michael Hatt, "Sculpting and Lynching: The Making and Unmaking of the Black Citizen in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *Oxford Art Journal* 24, 1 (2001): 19–20.

26. F. D., "A Tribute for the Negro," book review in *North Star*, 7 April 1849, 2.

photograph, was a mechanical impression of form. Unlike the photograph, however, the mold was three-dimensional and therefore transmitted special information. This gave the sculptural likeness a unique purchase on authenticity—for individual heroes as well as ethnographic types.”²⁸ Indeed, the soldiers struck many as so specifically individual that several African American 54th veterans claimed to have been represented on the memorial even as almost all evidence indicates that they were not.

When William Coffin visited Saint-Gaudens’s studio in the fall of 1896, the sculptor told Coffin “that he had received the commission twelve years before, but had spent only two years and a half in actual work on it. During the period between the time he received the commission and the autumn of 1896, when the memorial was finished, he produced, with the exception of the statues of Farragut and Randall and some other less important works, all the sculpture that has made his reputation. It was not the actual execution of the Shaw memorial that took the time, but the thinking about it.” Saint-Gaudens himself cited “the absence of sufficient remuneration” and the “limited sum” stipulated as his commission in the Shaw contract as one reason for what the committee regarded as an unacceptably long time in the making of the work.²⁹ It was not so much, he indicated, that the contracted fifteen thousand dollars was not enough for “an adequate and dignified work”; it was that the sum was insufficient for the work as it grew in his mind.

I, through my extreme interest in it and its opportunity, increased the conception until the rider grew almost to a statue in the round and the negroes assumed far more importance than I had originally intended. Hence the monument, developing in this way infinitely beyond what could be paid for, became a labor of love, and lessened my hesitation in setting it aside at times to make way for more lucrative commissions, commissions that would reimburse me for the pleasure and time I was devoting to this.³⁰

27. Molly K. Eckel, “Model Citizens: Four Studies for Augustus Saint-Gaudens’s Robert Gould Shaw Memorial,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (2017): 53; Kresser, “Power and Glory,” 47. In this vein see also Whitfield, “Sacred in History and in Art,” 20, which states that historian Francis Parkman viewed Shaw as the embodiment of “patrician strength and courage . . . the ferrous proof of the enduring fitness of the ruling elite.”

28. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 217 n. 9.

29. Coffin, “II. The Sculptor St. Gaudens,” 179. That the work involved “something less than three years” is stated also in “Freedom’s Hero Honored.” Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1:333, 2:78–79.

30. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 1: 333.

Between 1884 and the 1897 Shaw unveiling, Saint-Gaudens produced or had begun work on at least thirty-three bas reliefs, ten busts, and sixteen monuments, including the standing Abraham Lincoln in Chicago (1887), the Puritan in Springfield, Massachusetts (1886), the memorial to Clover Hooper Adams in the District of Columbia (1891), and the William Tecumseh Sherman monument (1892–1903) and Peter Cooper statue in New York City, the last unveiled soon after the Shaw.³¹ *American Architect and Building News* slyly suggested the influence of other “more lucrative commissions” on Saint-Gaudens. “It was known that he desired this work to be his masterpiece, and he seemed to shrink from presenting to the world the standard by which he wished his art and himself to be finally measured. . . the nearly contemporaneous unveiling of this monument, the Cooper monument in New York and the Logan statue in Chicago is evidence that the sculptor had other reason than timidity for causing the vexatious delays.”³²

The Shaw memorial committee was aware of at least some of this work and was rankled that it took precedence. In January 1892 Atkinson wrote to the monument committee that he had written “some time ago” to Saint-Gaudens, “telling him that having had his own way in everything it was now time for him to defer in some measure to the wishes of the Committee and to the contract which he had signed. I told him we should consider him under a moral obligation to proceed with the Statue to its completion, without taking on any other work, ‘pot boilers’ or anything else.” A week later Atkinson wrote to Saint-Gaudens’s wife Augusta, “One of the Committee, Mr. Kennard, has lately visited the studio, and he was a good deal disheartened to witness some signs of a large new work which may have been undertaken by your husband; . . . an equestrian statue of General Sherman. This I hope he will be charged with, but certainly not until the Shaw Monument is completed.”³³ In June of the same year the sculptor wrote to Atkinson, “I am working on all the soldiers together. It will take three months to finish them. The horse and rider are virtually finished, and the flying figure is to be done entirely. The whole work will be

31. John H. Dryfhout, *The Work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (Hanover, NH, and London: University Press of New England, 1982). Dryfhout cites the commission amount in only one instance: the standing Lincoln, the contract for which is dated 11 November 1884, offered a \$30,000 commission for the sculpture alone.

32. “The Monument to Colonel R. G. Shaw,” *American Architect and Building News* 57, 1133 (11 September 1897): 88.

33. Edward Atkinson, Boston, to John M. Forbes, Henry Lee, and M. P. Kennard, 11 January 1892, Lee Family Papers; Edward Atkinson to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, 18 January 1892, quoted in Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 124, 298 n. 38.

ready to cast in October.” Atkinson wrote to Forbes shortly afterward, “I am well satisfied from what St. Gaudens tells me that there is a very fair and even great probability that the whole work will be ready to be cast in the autumn.”³⁴ But it was not. In early November 1892 Atkinson wrote to ask Saint-Gaudens, among other things, “how many soldiers are there yet to model?” The sculptor answered, “I have two more soldiers to model beside the figure above, and the heads of the soldiers on the lower planes. I have just completed another one of the soldiers.” More than a month later Atkinson told Forbes about his visit to Saint-Gaudens’s studio to see the progress for himself.

I am very glad to be able to report substantial progress. The horse and man are complete with the exception of one foot, in plaster. The drummer is finished in the clay ready for the mold in which the plaster will be cast.

There are to be four full sized soldiers beside the drummer. Two are finished in the clay, one in plaster, one is modeled but requires finishing in the clay. Aside from this there are some caps and legs behind the horse to be done. This the main part of the work will be completed in plaster on or about January 1st.³⁵

But again it was not. Atkinson’s cause for particular concern was his knowledge that Saint-Gaudens had been asked in the fall of 1892 to design a medal for prize winners at the World’s Columbian Exposition, scheduled to open in May 1893. Saint-Gaudens was well aware that accepting the commission played on the last nerve of Atkinson and the Shaw Committee, and he seems to have engineered a telegram campaign among influential Bostonians to urge the committee to permit the work. Charles L. Mitchell, a commissioned second lieutenant in the 55th Regiment and then working in the Boston Custom House, wrote to Henry Lee that he had received a telegram that John Boyd Thacher, one of the exposition’s commissioners, had sent to Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, within years to become perhaps the most politically active African American woman in Boston (fig. 4.6). “Will you at once see Mr Henry Lee of Lee Higginson Bankers and request him to excuse Mr Augustus St Gaudens sculptor from work on Col Shaw monument for 3 or 4 weeks in order to execute design for medal for Worlds Columbian Commission,” Thacher wrote. Thacher was writing to Ruffin “per” J. Imogen Howard,

34. ASG, New York NY, to Edward Atkinson, 3 June 1892, transcribed in Edward Atkinson, Boston, to the Committee on Shaw Monument Fund, 4 June 1892, Lee Family Papers; Edward Atkinson to J. M. Forbes, 15 June 1892, Atkinson Letterbooks 46:228.

35. Atkinson to ASG, 9 November 1892, and Atkinson to Forbes, 21 December 1892, Atkinson Letterbooks 46:674, 47:262; ASG to Atkinson, 10 November 1892, folder 6, Lee Family Papers.

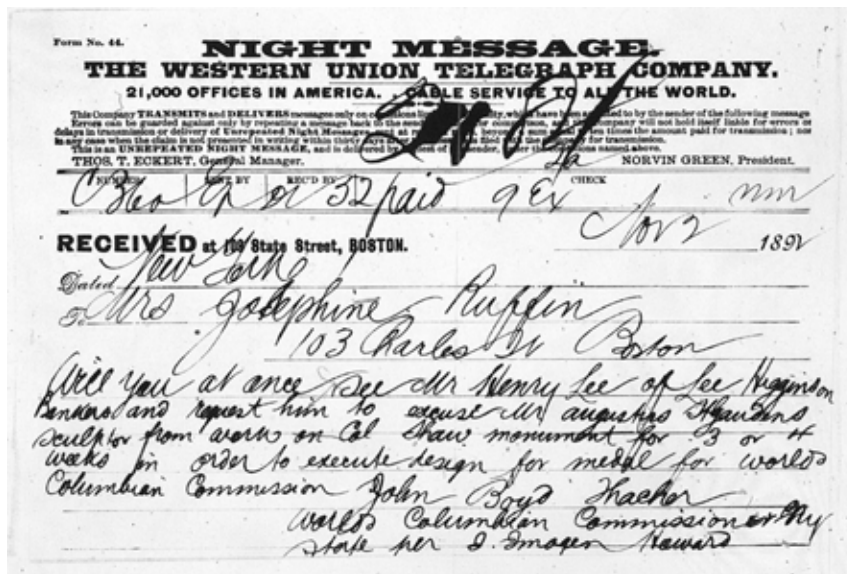


Fig. 4.6. In early November 1892 John Boyd Thacher, member of the World’s Columbian Commission, telegraphed Josephine Ruffin to ask her intervention with Henry Lee of the Shaw Memorial committee so that Saint-Gaudens might prepare the fair medal. Courtesy Lee Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

who was, Mitchell wrote, “a native of Boston, and a graduate of our Normal School. She is now, and has been for some years, a teacher in the public schools of New York City and is also a member of the New York State Commission appointed to represent that state in World’s Fair exhibition in Chicago. If you can telegraph the artist in question a favorable response to her request, she will esteem it a great favor.” Ruffin wrote to Lee to state that she had received the telegram that morning and had failed to find him in his Boston office and so had sent the telegram to him through the mail.³⁶

Within weeks Atkinson wrote to Saint-Gaudens that the committee had “again” voted not to release him from his work on the Shaw in order to design the exposition medal on the grounds that it would not be fair to subscribers, that some one of the committee

36. Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 124; Charles L. Mitchell, Boston, to Henry Lee, 2 November 1892, enclosing John Boyd Thacher, World’s Columbian Commissioner NY State per I. Imogen Howard to Mrs. Josephine Ruffin, 103 Charles Street, Boston, 2 November 1892; Ruffin to Lee, 2 November 1892, folder 6, Lee Family Papers. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin was born in Boston in August 1842, She attended school in Salem when Boston schools were segregated, and in 1858 she married Virginian George Lewis Ruffin, the first African American graduate of Harvard Law School in 1869. Ruffin was a Boston city councilor, judge, and state legislator. In 1893 or 1894 St. Pierre Ruffin founded the New Era Club, which worked to create African American kindergartens and to provide child care for working African American women, and she edited the short-lived *Boston Courant* and *Woman’s Era* (1894–97). See Kerri K. Greenidge, “Bulwark of the Nation: The Northern Black Press, Political Radicalism, and Civil Rights, 1859–1909” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2012), 281–85.

might die before the Shaw was completed, and that his reputation as an artist and a “man” depended upon his allowing nothing “to stand in the way” of finishing the memorial. “The Committee were much disturbed by your taking on the medal and I must allay their anxiety in the matter,” Atkinson wrote again in February 1893. “It may have been right for you as an artist. As a business man it was not consistent with the contract or agreement. I am dealing with business men.”³⁷ Atkinson and the committee hoped for an unveiling in 1893, thirty years after the assault on Fort Wagner. By then the state and city had approved moving the memorial from the State House grounds, as originally projected, to the Boston Common directly across Beacon Street. The city had appropriated funds to build a terrace there for the memorial; ground was broken on 26 July 1893; and Charles Follen McKim (who took on the architectural work after the death of Richardson in 1886) had designed its setting and surround. The terrace, base, and surround were completed by late August 1893.³⁸ For nearly the next four years Atkinson threatened Saint-Gaudens with the possibility that the whole site would be used for a monument to someone else: he mentioned, for one, Ulysses S. Grant.³⁹ By late October 1893, even after the sculptor had told Atkinson that his “incessant prodding does nothing but unfit [me] for work,” Atkinson, the committee members, and members of the Shaw family visited Saint-Gaudens’s studio regularly to check on the memorial’s progress.⁴⁰ In June 1896, after Shaw’s sister Ellen Shaw Barlow visited the studio, Atkinson wrote to tell Saint-Gaudens that “we are all appalled and disheartened, including Mrs. Shaw, the Committee and myself, by learning indirectly through Mrs. Barlow that you have again

37. Atkinson to ASG, 18 November 1892 and 4 February 1893, Atkinson Letterbooks 47:7 and 611. Other letters deal with Atkinson’s frustration over the medal: see Atkinson to ASG, 13 April and 27 July 1893, *ibid.* 48:406, 49:299.

38. See Atkinson, “History of the Shaw Monument, by the Treasurer of the Fund,” in *Monument to Shaw*, 9–11; Atkinson, “I. History of the Monument,” 176–78; Atkinson, Boston, to Col. Henry Lee, 1 March 1897, Lee Family Papers; “After Years. Ground Broken for the Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Globe*, 27 July 1893, 4. In 1886 Mrs. Shaw and her daughter Josephine Lowell suggested to Henry Lee that a better site than the State House grounds might be the corner of Charles and Beacon Streets. Atkinson, “History of the Shaw Monument,” 10, recounted that Boston architect Arthur Rotch suggested placing the memorial “on the Common between the two great trees where it now stands.” Charles F. McKim’s brother-in-law, George von Lengerke Meyer, was then on the Boston city council and secured the appropriation for the Boston Common site work. See Atkinson’s manuscript history of the monument, Atkinson Letterbooks 60: 238–43, and Atkinson to ASG, 6 June 1896, Atkinson Letterbooks 58:17. Meyer had married Marian Alice Appleton on 25 June 1885, the same day that McKim married her sister Julia A. Appleton. Charles F. McKim was the son of Philadelphia abolitionist James Miller McKim.

39. Atkinson to ASG, 1 February 1894, Atkinson Letterbooks 51:146, MHS; see also Atkinson to Forbes, 14 August 1893, *ibid.* 49:400.

decided to reconstruct that angel” and asked Saint-Gaudens for the sake of expediency not to include it. Should another delay occur, Atkinson said, he would turn the monument fund over to someone else and wash his hands of it entirely.⁴¹

The Battle over Inscriptions

Alongside this delay, and in part dependent upon it, was the matter of inscriptions for the Shaw Memorial. Some ideas—the Latin motto on the face of the bas-relief, excerpts from poems by James Russell Lowell, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Anna Quincy Waterston, and part of Governor Andrew’s address to the 54th of 18 May 1863—caused little controversy, and all found a place on the memorial. But what to include on the large blank reverse of the surround triggered years of debate. Atkinson, Forbes, Lee, and Josephine Shaw Lowell all had their own ideas about what words should appear both on the bas-relief itself and on the architectural surround. As early as 1863 Francis George Shaw had suggested to Rufus Saxton that it would be “but simple justice” for the proposed South Carolina memorial to his son to bear the names “of his brave officers and men,” and after her father’s death in 1882 Josephine Lowell took up his crusade. In 1886, she and her mother wrote to Henry Lee with a suggestion about where other than the State House grounds to site the memorial; another letter to Lee suggested that its reverse could contain “the names of all the officers and men of the Fifty-fourth, who were killed.” Lowell wrote to Lee again in late October 1892, “I want very much to have the names of all the men of the 54th killed at Fort Wagner & afterwards, put on the base . . . it seems to me due the privates”; to add their names, she thought, would dispel “the feeling that it is only men with rich relations and friends who can have monuments.”⁴² She had already written, to no avail, to both Forbes and the sculptor himself, in June that year from Venice, about the idea:

40. Atkinson to ASG, 17 August 1893, quoted from ASG’s 2 August letter to him; Atkinson Letterbooks 49:425. ASG Appointment Calendar, 1893–1906, ser. 1, box 57, folder 1, ASG Papers, cites 12 visits between 6 November 1893 and 3 August 1896 by Forbes, Atkinson (at least five times), Shaw’s parents, Shaw’s sisters Ellen Shaw Barlow, Susanna Shaw Minturn, and Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Shaw’s niece “Miss Curtis” (daughter of Anna Shaw and George William Curtis).

41. Atkinson to ASG, 5 June 1896, Lee Family Papers and Atkinson Letterbooks 58:15.

42. Francis George Shaw to Rufus Saxton, 25 November 1863, in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 178, and see chapter 3; Sarah Shaw and Josephine Shaw Lowell to Henry Lee, fall 1886, and Josephine Shaw Lowell to Lee, 30 October 1892, Lee Family Papers, and quoted in Greenthal “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 127.

I believe I have in years past said to you how much I hoped that you would put the names of all the men of the 54th Regiment, who were killed at Fort Wagner on the monument, and now I write to repeat and emphasize my plea.

I saw the other day, as you have doubtless, in the Municipio here, 1800 names of the men who were killed in the siege of the city in 1848-9; a most impressive list, alphabetically arranged on great marble slabs, sixty names in each line, in the entrance Hall. Now, why cannot the names of all the 54th men, killed during the war, at Fort Wagner and afterwards, be put on the back of the monument: It seems to me a most desirable thing to commemorate those men and there will be plenty of room.

I feel more than I used to the value of monuments to patriots and heroes, since seeing these in Italy, and I am thankful that your great work is to be placed where the Boston young men will daily see it and feel its inspiration.⁴³

The committee was not interested in listing the names of those who died at Fort Wagner or afterwards, and in the end only the names of five white officers killed in the battle initially appeared on the memorial. Still, Atkinson, Forbes, and Lee did want the larger significance of the regiment to be included in the memorial's inscriptions in some way. In late December 1891 Atkinson told Lee that he had written to Julia Ward Howe about the possibility that she could write inscriptions for the Shaw. "But in trying to put before her my own conception of what the inscription should be, I am almost inclined to believe that I have invented it myself," Atkinson wrote. "The impression which the work gives me, is that of immense forceful movement, and with that in my mind I put this conception before Mrs. Howe. 'He bore to the black man liberty of action. He bore to the white man freedom of thought.' Isn't that the whole of it? What more can be said?" The next day the often jocular Forbes wrote to Atkinson, "I do not think the Committee ought to ask anybody in particular to write the motto for the statue, but rather let people know what we are looking for that they may send to us . . . Yours is good enough but I think we may get something a little more personal perhaps. If I did not affiliate so much with the Democratic party I should send in for my contribution 'we buried him under his niggars' but I suppose it would hardly be wise in this era of good feeling."⁴⁴

43. J. S. Lowell, Venice, to ASG, 13 June 1892, Lee Family Papers. Eckel, "Model Citizens," 53, has stated that Saint-Gaudens felt adding the names of those fallen "would be too much inscription on the stone."

44. Atkinson, Boston, to Lee, 23 December 1891, Lee Family Papers; Forbes to Atkinson, 24 December 1891, carton 8, folder 21, General Correspondence, Atkinson Papers.

For all his sarcasm Forbes was nonetheless committed to having the monument be instructive for “the lower strata,” as he once put it. Both he and Lee felt that the number of African American men who had served in the Civil War deserved inclusion. “These figures were new to me until the discussion came on,” he stated in a letter to Atkinson, “and not one well versed man in Ten thousand knows this great fact today. So it is not a mere monument to our gallant Colonel Shaw, and without some short prose inscription much of its practical value to the rising generation, and to future generations, may be lost or dimmed.” In numerous letters to Lee he stated that not only “the mob who ride along Boston streets” but “the younger ones of our own circle” knew little if anything about the Civil War, and in view of that fact “I feel very strongly the need of written words upon this historic monument. To illustrate my idea, I have already told you what one of the City Fathers is reported to have said, showing that he thought Robert Shaw was a fine colored fellow. . . . Now, I contend that the adoption of the vigorous Andrew policy of using the colored race to complete their emancipation and our safety, was one of the most important elements, perhaps the most important one, of our success.” Forbes wanted the back of the memorial surround to feature “at least two, and I hope three, verses, some lines hitting one, some another, of the loiterers who stroll along the shady mall, and who twenty years hence will wonder what that mass of granite was meant for?—a back wall of the Reservoir? or a stone wall raised to a colored fellow from Nigger-Hill—perhaps named P. Shaw! or what in He..aven (or ell) does it mean?”⁴⁵

Forbes, Atkinson, and Lee all submitted possibilities for the committee and Saint-Gaudens to consider. Atkinson suggested this inscription, with alternate wording in parentheses:

45. Forbes, Milton, to Atkinson, 11 December 1893, and Forbes, Naushon Island, to Lee, 10 and 15 August 1892, Lee Family Papers. By “Nigger-Hill” Forbes meant the north slope of Beacon Hill, not far distant, which had been an African American enclave since the mid- to late eighteenth century. “Reasons for Form A,” an anonymous comment on the inscriptions probably dating to December 1892, Lee Family Papers, states by contrast, “All the Committee deplores the prevalent ignorance of the present generation, but those who neglect to read some of the many books about the war, will be unable to atone for that neglect by reading the inscription if we cover the stone with narrative. An inscription should be brief, terse, suggestive, not narrative.” Norwood Hallowell told the same story about mistaking Shaw for an African American at the post-unveiling meeting of veterans at Faneuil Hall: “in the discussion as to a site, which the talk of a monument to Col. Shaw provoked, continued Col. Hallowell, a thoroughly well-meaning and as thoroughly a misinformed friend made some remarks in favor of the location where the monument now stands, and in the course of them he said that Col. Shaw was a man without any racial prejudice. He was glad, he said, to pay his respects to the foremost colored men of the age, Col. Robert Gould Shaw.” “In Faneuil Hall,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 7.

In the first days of the Rebellion (Civil War) in 1861 Governor Andrew urged upon President Lincoln the use (enlistment) of colored troops, not upon any narrow but upon the broadest ground both of policy and of principle. Duty and safety alike demanded the immediate use of colored troops as men whose service to the country should be the same as that of our white sons and brethren thus over-ruling all objections growing out of the existing condition of Slavery; thus ignoring the idea (conception) that the colored men were chattels or things belonging to those who claimed to be their masters.⁴⁶

Lee, by his own account, made “sundry propositions for the dedication in the inscription.” For one panel he suggested several options, the shortest being, “This monument is dedicated to the memory of the officers and men of the 54th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers ‘to heroes living and to martyred dead,’ whose services entitle them to a place in the van-guard of one hundred and eight six thousand colored soldiers enrolled in the Army of the United States in the War of the Rebellion.” For a “lower panel,” either Lee or Forbes suggested three options, one that called the decision to permit African Americans into the military “one of the great turning points of the war . . . thus using those for Liberty and Union who had been of vital importance to the Southern Confederacy. The conduct of these troops at Fort Wagner and elsewhere proved that a race which had long been branded as chattels and slaves would fight bravely when treated as men having both rights and duties.” Another option for this lower panel read, “The body of Colonel Shaw was buried by the enemy with those of his men who fell around him. His father protested against its removal and of the desecration of his son’s grave and the disturbing of his remains or those buried with him.”⁴⁷

Whether any of these proposals were considered seriously is unknown. None of them were included in the final batch of inscriptions, and at some point Atkinson, the committee, or Saint-Gaudens himself asked Charles Eliot, the president of Harvard University and the author of the inscriptions on Martin Milmore’s nearby Soldiers’ and

46. Atkinson Letterbooks 46:337.

47. Lee Family Papers, all undated; in “Proposed for Lower Panel,” typescript, marked on back “various inscriptions by J.M.F. Sept 1892,” Lee had written fairly early in the process of determining the inscriptions, “With the record of Col. Shaw’s death and Lowell’s lines to him upon the front; with extracts from Governor Andrew’s speech to him, upon the back of the monument, I should be content, but if we could adjoin something about the effect of the night assault on Fort Wagner in inducing the government to accept the 186,000 colored men who enlisted, it would complete the record.” Henry Lee, Brookline, to John M. Forbes, 17 October 1892, folder 5, Lee Family Papers.

Sailors' Monument, to compose something for the rear wall of the memorial. Eliot's inscription reads,

To the Fifty Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry

The white officers

Taking life and honor in their hands cast in their lot with men of a despised race unproved in war and risked death as inciters of servile insurrection if taken prisoners—besides encountering all the common perils of camp march and battle—

The black rank and file

volunteered when disaster clouded the Union cause—served without pay for eighteen months till given that of white troops—faced threatened enslavement if captured—were brave in action—patient under heavy and dangerous labors—and cheerful amid hardships and privations—

Together

they gave to the nation and the world undying proof that Americans of African descent possess the pride courage and devotion of the patriot soldier—one hundred and eighty thousand such / Americans enlisted under the Union flag in

MDCCCLXIII-MDCCCLXV⁴⁸

According to Homer Saint-Gaudens, his father was unhappy with whatever had been proposed to him before Eliot became involved, and he wrote Eliot as much. “I must ask you to come to my relief in this unending affair of the inscription,” the sculptor wrote Eliot. “I now fear that unless I can placate some of the members of the committee, what you have so kindly composed may fall through, exasperating as that would be, and another year’s struggle commence, resulting perhaps in my complete fatigue and abandonment of the matter, and the placing of such an absurdity as was originally proposed on the back of this work.”⁴⁹ At some point by April 1894 the monument committee asked Eliot to “add a few words indicating that the enlistment of the Fifty-fourth Regiment was a very conspicuous incident in the enlistment of the great body of colored troops which afterwards took part in the contest.”⁵⁰ Eliot, who also resisted listing the overall number of African American troops, detailed his objections to that and other committee proposals for changes in the inscription he had prepared:

48. *The Monument to Robert Gould Shaw*, 16. The date of this letter is not cited.

49. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 2: 92.

50. Atkinson, 23 April 1894 note in folder 8, Lee Family Papers.

I have received from Mr. Atkinson, as I doubt not you have, the result of yesterday's meeting of the Committee on the Shaw Monument. I see no way to meet the wishes of the Committee. I cannot possibly say that this monument marks the most important step in the war, or the turning point in the war. That does not seem to me to be true. It also seems to me an exaggeration to say that the Fifty-fourth Regiment "brought to the Union cause the willing service of one hundred and eighty-six thousand colored soldiers." There were at least five regiments of negroes enlisted before the Fifty-fourth. No statement of doubtful historical accuracy should be put on a monument intended to endure.

I am not able to perceive that the first three lines of the inscription are patronizing toward the blacks. It is a simple fact that Shaw himself did not feel sure that black men would stand in line of battle. I have submitted these lines to Colonel T. Wentworth Higginson, who is likely to be sensitive to any patronizing airs, but he finds nothing of that sort in them—only a statement of obvious facts.

With regard to the mention of the words "white" and "black" I should say that the interest of the inscription was distinctly increased by having them in; but they can be omitted, because your design declares that Shaw was white and his men black.

I can find nothing patronizing in the words "Served without pay for eighteen months until given that of white troops,"—simply because that is one of the heroic things this particular regiment did, and no white regiment ever did anything like it. I confess that the line is jerky; but it has the merit of making a complicated statement in only twelve words, of which nine are monosyllables. It would be easy to write a smooth sentence stating the same fact; but it would be much longer.

The omission of the word "all" after "possess" in the last section seems to me to be an improvement. I am inclined also to strike out the two words "and resolute" following the word "brave."⁵¹

Some two weeks after Eliot wrote this letter to Saint-Gaudens, Atkinson shared with the monument committee the fact that Eliot refused to make the changes they sought because it was inconsistent "with his conception of what the inscription should be." Atkinson wrote to Saint-Gaudens three days later, "President Eliot's inability to add to his previous suggestion some historical points in regard to the number of colored soldiers enlisted after the organization of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, renders all action yet taken on the inscription for the back of the Monument void and of no effect. The whole subject of the back is therefore still open and you must not send any positive instructions to the stone cutters to begin on the back until the Committee authorize it."⁵² The inscription's last statement about

51. Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge, to Mr. St. Gaudens, 10 April 1894, ser. 1, box 18, folder 1, ASG Papers.

the number of African Americans who enlisted in the war was clearly Eliot's concession to the committee. In late June 1894 Atkinson wrote Eliot that the committee had finally approved his inscription but asked for changes based on comments from the usually silent Kennard:

Your proposed inscription was adopted subject to two slight verbal changes. Mr. Kennard thought it might be injudicious to perpetuate the idea of a "despised" race, and therefore suggested the alternative of the "negro" race. He also thinks that "black" is not exactly true to the fact. There were men in the regiment nearly white, and he therefore suggests the substitution of the word "colored" for "black". These points seem to me well taken, but that matter is left to you and St. Gaudens to settle, although not by a vote of the Committee. You can practically determine the exact verbal form of your part of the inscription.⁵³

Eliot rejected both suggestions, and in mid-July 1894 he told the monument committee that if it would not use the inscription as he wrote he wished it not to be used at all. Within a month Eliot wrote to Lee to say that he and Saint-Gaudens had settled the matter of the inscription. Lee by this time had, at least for a time, resigned from the committee, irritated because he felt Forbes's concerns were addressed more seriously than his own; Forbes, Atkinson admitted, deserved greater attention because he was in a better position to contribute funds should the monument exceed its projected cost.⁵⁴ By early August 1896 Saint-Gaudens had completed the memorial, and in mid-January 1897 Sarah Blake Shaw must have seen it in his studio. She wrote to Henry Lee that Saint-Gaudens "has immortalized my native city, my dear son, and himself" and added a postscript: "I do not hesitate to say that it would give me the greatest pleasure to see those men of the 54th a sort of bodyguard to Rob" on the day of the unveiling.⁵⁵

52. Atkinson, 23 April 1894, note in folder 8, Lee Family Papers; Atkinson to ASG, 26 April 1894, Atkinson Letterbooks 51:726.

53. Atkinson to Eliot, 30 June 1894, folder 9, Lee Family Papers.

54. Eliot, North-East Harbor ME, to Lee, 16 July and 14 August 1894, folder 9, Lee Family Papers; Atkinson to Lee, 30 June and 5 July 1894, Atkinson Letterbooks 52:333, 358.

55. Sarah B. Shaw, New York NY, to Lee, 15 January 1897, folder 13, Lee Family Papers.

Planning the Unveiling

The bronze cast of the Shaw Memorial was finished by May 1897. It was installed in its Boston Common niche on 21 May 1897, a Friday, and over the weekend Saint-Gaudens and his assistant Gaeton Ardisson patinated the bronze. The statue was hidden from public view by two huge American flags strung between the elms flanking the memorial until the day of unveiling, set for 31 May 1897. However much disagreement existed about the particulars of the ceremonies, its basic format was unquestioned, established more or less by the numerous unveilings of monuments in Boston's past. It was to begin with a large procession of military men and dignitaries, who would be reviewed by state officials as they paused in front of the monument and the State House. After brief remarks, the monument was to be unveiled and transferred formally to the city. An elaborate post-unveiling ceremony was planned for the Music Hall, built in 1852 on Winter Street and the home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra since 1881; here also abolitionists had gathered to celebrate the Emancipation Proclamation, at the stroke of midnight on 1 January 1863.

The monument committee and others began planning for a grand unveiling ceremony at least by early December 1896, when Atkinson laid out the tasks before them. They had first to identify and secure someone to give "the principal address." Members of both the state and city governments must "be joined in the ceremonies in a suitable manner," and the governor would have to issue an order "for the military parade and the reception of the Seventh New York Regiment," Shaw's first regiment, which had offered to take part as early as January 1894. A "special invitation" should be extended to the five or six persons on Governor Andrew's original memorial committee who were still alive, and to however many of the subscribers to the monument fund were also still living.⁵⁶ Atkinson asked the committee to determine "how and to what number printed reports and the history of the work shall be published." And he supposed that "in view of the event which is to be commemorated, a colored man ought to take some part. The choice would rest between a member of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, if one can be found competent to speak, Principal Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee, Alabama, ex-Senator Bruce of Mississippi,

56. Atkinson in several places stated that 30 people "took part in the meeting in Governor Andrew's office," but no contemporary evidence suggests the committee was that large. See, for example, Atkinson to ASG, 13 April 1893, Atkinson Letterbooks 48:406.

or some other representative man.”⁵⁷ Plainly Atkinson did not or could not conceive that ministers, teachers, legislators, and others adept at oration existed among the ranks of the old regiment.

For some reason not expressed in correspondence Atkinson and the committee wanted Thomas L. Livermore, former colonel of the 18th New Hampshire Regiment, to be principal speaker. When the committee asked him in December Livermore “hesitated” and then declined in January 1897. Shaw’s mother and sister Josephine, through “Harry” Lee, then recommended the philosopher William James, whose brother Willkie had been a captain in the 54th; Willkie James died in 1883 before he was forty years old. In a letter to Josephine Shaw Lowell Atkinson called the suggestion “very welcome to myself and to Harry Lee” after Livermore had declined his invitation. “The support of yourself and your mother was gratefully accepted and I felt a little ashamed of myself that I had not consulted your mother before—suffice it that all comes out right in the end.” Atkinson added that he would write James that day. When he still thought Livermore would agree to speak, Atkinson had written to Booker T. Washington to ask him to “make a response on behalf of your race and people” to Livermore’s address, “being well assured that none can speak so simply, so effectively or so plainly as yourself in that behalf.” Washington accepted before Atkinson invited James to speak in Livermore’s place.⁵⁸

At this moment in the history of Boston and the North generally, Booker T. Washington was the virtually unequivocal favorite as a spokesperson for African Americans. His famed Atlanta Compromise speech of 1895, in which he argued for the economic but not social integration of African Americans, was precisely what many white, and some black, Bostonians wanted to hear. Beginning in 1881 Washington’s program of industrial education at Tuskegee Normal School for Colored Teachers (now Tuskegee Institute) received a great deal of support from Bostonians, who had been backing

57. Atkinson, “Memoranda in regard to the Shaw Monument,” 5 December 1896, Lee Family Papers. On the 7th New York see Atkinson to ASG, 25 January 1894, Atkinson Letterbooks 51:115. Blanche K. Bruce (1841–98) was born enslaved in Virginia and freed by his father and enslaver when he became of age. He taught school, studied two years at Oberlin, and bought a plantation in 1868 in the Mississippi Delta. In 1874 he became the second African American to serve in the United States Senate and was the District of Columbia recorder of deeds from 1890 to 1893.

58. Atkinson to ASG, 1 January 1897, Atkinson Letterbooks 59:754; Atkinson to Booker T. Washington, 29 December 1896, *ibid.* 59:724; Atkinson to Forbes, 25 January 1897, *ibid.* 59:955; Atkinson to Mrs J. S. Lowell, 26 January 1897, *ibid.* 59:983.

freed people's education since the middle of the Civil War.⁵⁹ The gospel of industrial, as opposed to liberal, education had been inculcated in Washington by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the Civil War general of both white and African American troops. In 1868 Armstrong and the American Missionary Association established Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, which trained African Americans to become teachers or practitioners of useful trades. Washington attended Hampton in the 1870s and taught there from 1879 until, with Armstrong's recommendation, he founded Tuskegee on the Hampton model.⁶⁰ The two institutions sometimes staged "educational and industrial exhibits" in Boston to raise funds in support of their work (fig. 4.7), and Washington spoke quite often in and near Boston in the 1880s and 1890s. In November 1891 he laid out his philosophy in an address to Boston's Young Men's Christian Union:

A change will come about in the attitude of the race in proportion as the colored man gets something that the white man wants or respects. At Tuskegee we have from the first supplied the white citizens with bricks, sawed their lumber, built wagons for them, printed catalogues and circulars, and in fact do all the printing in that vicinity for white and colored. . . . Let us go on with this kind of education until a black man can get to the point where he can get a mortgage on a white man's house that he can foreclose at will; that white man will be rather careful about attempting to drive that negro from the polls when he attempts to vote. Along these lines I think we will have to look for the permanent solution of the negro problem, which must be solved in the South, and not in Congress. Give the negro the education which in the end means property and charter, and he will soon be to the point where he can take care of the political side himself.⁶¹

Washington was such a favorite in the region that in 1896 Harvard University, under Charles W. Eliot, granted him an honorary degree.⁶²

59. Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, 58, has stated that "white Bostonians were among his [Washington's] most important financial backers" especially before the Atlanta speech in 1895. See also Greenidge, "Bulwark of the Nation," 351, 351 n. 513.

60. At an 1891 meeting to raise funds for Hampton, held while Armstrong lay ill in Boston after a stroke, Washington stated that Armstrong's "central idea" had been the "industrial development" of the African American with an eye toward securing "the peace of the whole South." See Harlan, ed., *Washington Papers*, 3: 199–200.

61. "His Body His Heritage," *Boston Globe*, 16 November 1891, 5. See "Exhibit Formally Opened," *ibid.*, 20 March 1896, 8.

confiscated land, expanded public services, political spoils—that their hard work had not earned. They feared African Americans would not embrace the “free-labor” ideology that anyone could rise through the social and economic strata through hard work, frugality, perseverance, and sobriety—a pattern of mobility increasingly frustrated by the rise of a thoroughgoing and largely unrestrained industrial economy. “Seeing ex-slaves as abstract figures in a free labor society, Northerners had ignored the devastating effects of poverty, racism, and economic dislocation in the postwar black experience,” Richardson has argued. “When the majority of Southern African-Americans could not overcome the overwhelming obstacles in their path to economic security, Northerners saw their failure as a rejection of free labor ideals, accused them of being deficient workers, and willingly read them out of American society.”⁶³ And even as African Americans were almost everywhere denied access to industrial jobs above the level of janitor, some Americans lumped them in with an increasingly fractious and nearly entirely white industrial work force. In 1884 T. Thomas Fortune, born enslaved in Florida and by then the editor of the *New York Freeman* (renamed *New York Age* in 1885), believed that the struggle of the postwar United States was not “racial or political” but rather between capital and labor. Fortune argued that the federal government’s failure to redistribute land to or provide any meaningful protection for African Americans in the exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed rights had, in the eyes of many white Americans, coupled them with “‘the dangerous classes’—meaning by which the vast army of men and women who, while willing and anxious to make an honest living by the labor of their hands, and who—when speculators cry ‘overproduction,’ ‘glutted market’ and other claptrap—threaten to take by force from society that which society prevents them from making honestly.”

To tell a man he is free when he has neither money nor the opportunity to make it, is simply to mock him. To tell him he has no master when he cannot live except by permission of the man who, under favorable conditions, monopolizes all the land, is to deal with the most tantalizing contradiction of terms. But this is just what the United States did for the black man. And yet because he has not grown learned and wealthy in twenty years, because he does not own broad acres and a large bank account, people are not wanting who declare he has no capacity, that he is improvident by nature and mendacious from inclination.⁶⁴

63. Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, xii–xiii, 7–8, 53, 188–89, 241–42.

Even though his views on labor and land were radical for his time, Fortune agreed with Washington that African Americans must earn their way into white America's estimation by working at such trades as would make them indispensable in their communities. To both, education of African Americans should be "elementary and industrial," as Fortune put it; collegiate instruction in the classics and other liberal arts would not serve as the "preparation for future work" that African American education should, in Fortune's view, strive to be.⁶⁵ In 1897 this philosophy does not appear to have generated the critique it soon would, as early as 1898 among some African American Bostonians. By 1900 William Monroe Trotter, Butler Wilson, Clement Morgan, George W. Forbes, Archibald Grimké, and William E. B. Du Bois actively opposed Washington's ideas and his control of the African American press.⁶⁶ Perhaps the most likely alternative to Washington to speak at the unveiling—other than a 54th veteran, an idea apparently immediately discarded—would have been Du Bois. A Massachusetts native and Harvard graduate, Du Bois was known and evidently respected in and around Boston. In June 1890 he had read before a Harvard audience his "baccalaureate disquisition" on the type of civilization Confederate Jefferson Davis represented, and in 1891, while he was at Harvard on a graduate fellowship, both William James and Charles W. Eliot had invited him to their homes. In 1894 Du Bois had spoken at a meeting of the Colored National League's Boston branch against "the crime of lynching in America," and his master's thesis on the suppression of the African slave trade was published in 1896. Until about 1900 Du Bois supported Washington's ideas, but it may be that the committee thought his scholarly and political work revealed tendencies of thought with which they were less comfortable or thought somehow less appropriate for the occasion.⁶⁷ Moreover, Du Bois largely lacked the national recognition that Washington enjoyed.

64. T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1884), 39–40, 36, quoted in part in Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, 196. In the *North American Review* in 1879, Richardson has noted, Wendell Phillips declared that "treason should have been punished by confiscating its landed property. Land should have been divided among the negroes, forty acres to each family," a federal promise to freed people on the Sea Islands and elsewhere but never made good.

65. Fortune, *Black and White*, 81–82. According to Greenidge, "Bulwark of the Nation," 251, Fortune and Washington were allies from about 1895, which made the former "militancy" of Fortune's *New York Age* "a thing of memory."

66. On opposition to Washington see Stephen R. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 37–38, 63; Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, 61; and Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, 121–25.

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Having secured James and Washington as speakers, Atkinson and the committee recognized that they had “left the soldiers out.” In a letter to Lee Atkinson stated that he and Kennard agreed with the desire of the “veteran officers” to be included, and these veterans had asked that Harry Russell speak before William James. Russell was Henry Sturgis Russell, Shaw’s old classmate, regimental comrade, and first cousin who had been colonel of the African American 5th Massachusetts Cavalry. Russell had married John Murray Forbes’s daughter Mary in 1863 and had been a partner in his father-in-law’s firm John M. Forbes and Company; afterward he was a Boston police and fire commissioner. Russell must have declined, and the officers contented themselves largely with preeminent spots in the procession planned for the day.⁶⁸

The procession required intense planning, and the role that Massachusetts African American veterans’ groups might play—in particular the GAR’s Bell Post of Boston and Shaw Post of New Bedford as well as the Shaw Veterans Association—was argued for several months. Probably in January 1897 54th veteran sergeant Wesley Furlong, president of the Shaw Veterans Association, prevailed upon Sarah Shaw to ask if he might secure, either for himself alone or for the association, “the place of honor on the right of the line.” She relayed the request and Furlong’s letter to both Lee and Atkinson, the latter conveying the request to Governor Roger Wolcott in late January. Atkinson incorrectly identified Furlong as the commander of a GAR post and added, “I assume that almost as a matter of course the right of the line would be assigned to the survivors of colored regiments, whether belonging to the Post or not.”⁶⁹

Henry Lee apparently had reservations about Furlong’s request and in late February consulted on the matter with Norwood “Pen” Hallowell, who had agreed to command the that part of the parade featuring African American Civil War veterans. Hallowell noted

67. On Du Bois see David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1993). Du Bois’s 1890 address on Jefferson Davis is available digitally on <https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/pageturn/mums312-b196-i029/#page/6/mode/1up>. James’s and Eliot’s invitations to Du Bois are in ser. 1A, General Correspondence, WEB Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts. William H. Ferris, a “Hopkins scholar” at Harvard, opposed Washington’s ideas in a talk before the Bethel Literary and Historical Society in Washington in January 1898; see “Booker T. Washington,” *Washington Bee*, 8 January 1898, 5.

68. On the officers’ choice of Russell see Atkinson to Lee, 23 March 1897, Atkinson Letterbooks 60:427.

69. Atkinson to Gov. Wolcott, 30 January 1897, folder 13, and Atkinson to Lee, 18 February 1897, folder 14, Lee Family Papers.

first that no chaplain who had served in the 54th was still living, which was not correct: Samuel Harrison, who had served in that role for the 54th from September 1863 to March 1864, was alive and living in Pittsfield. Hallowell discouraged inviting—whether to speak or otherwise take part—the chaplain of the 55th Massachusetts, by whom he probably meant the Rev. William Jackson of New Bedford, on the grounds that, for unstated reasons, he would be “grotesquely unsuitable.” Hallowell then enumerated, with slight irritation, his other responses:

2. You are logically and irresistibly correct in your reasons for preference to deal with regiments rather than with an Association. 3. There remains however, the association, some 35 men in uniform. With their tattered battle flag they would be the feature of the parade to excite the tears and cheers of the multitude. 4. At a conference today of as many officers as I could hastily get together, the result arrived at was that I should request you to permit the R. G. Shaw Vet Assn Major Wesley J Furlong, Commanding, to act and to parade as an escort to the 54th, 55th & 5th Cavalry regts. The escort would, of course and as usual, march on the right of these regiments. I think I may say that no members of the regiments would object. 5. Be kind enough to let me know whether you approve.⁷⁰

70. Norwood P. Hallowell, Boston, to Lee, 25 February 1897, folder 14, Lee Family Papers. William Jackson (1818–1900), pastor of New Bedford’s Salem Baptist Church, was born in Norfolk, VA, had served on a Navy sloop of war in the 1830s, and became an ordained Baptist minister in 1842. He was a pastor in Newburgh, NY, and Philadelphia, where he worked in fugitive assistance with William Still, before moving to New Bedford about 1852. Jackson had been temporary chaplain for the 54th while it was at camp in Readville, and he was mustered in as chaplain of the 55th on 8 or 10 July 1863. However, “on account of irregularities” his mustering-in was suspended on 27 July. Norwood Hallowell, then colonel of the 55th, wrote on 10 October 1863 that the commissioned officers of the 55th had unanimously voted to appoint Jackson the regiment’s chaplain and stated in a letter that day to assistant adjutant general Samuel Buck that he had never received the reasons for the suspension. On 13 October the War Department formally revoked the suspension. Jackson, however, resigned on 7 January 1864 and was honorably discharged. In a letter to the *Anglo-African*, one 55th soldier wrote on 12 January 1864 that Jackson was “about to resign” over some dispute about the mail, of which he had charge. “I think that better course for him could not have been pursued, as he was never popular with the men, and for some time past they have been murmuring against him, as he never held service, and is considered of little worth amongst us—this last act arousing a feeling of bitter animosity. Mr. Jackson is, I doubt not, a valuable member of society, and an excellent minister of the Gospel in civic life; but is certainly unfit to be chaplain of a regiment.” He was replaced by John R. Bowles within two months. See *Anglo-African*, 30 January 1864, in Noah Andre Trudeau, ed., *Voices of the 55th: Letters from the 55th Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861–1865* (Dayton, OH: Morningside, 1996), 60, 60 n. 42. See also Kathryn Grover, *The Fugitive’s Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 229, 254–55, 262, 329 n. 122 and 123; Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 11 n. 13; and “Had an Eventful Career,” *Boston Herald*, 20 May 1900, 5.

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In another similarly terse letter, Hallowell told Lee that James Thurber, formerly a captain in the 55th, had estimated that seventy-five of the regiment's veterans might attend and asked him to consult with Russell and others to estimate the total number of veterans. And he wrote again of Furlong and the Shaw Veterans:

4. 'Major' Wesley J. Furlong, commanding R. G. S. Vet Assn is a worthy man who was in the famous charge of the 54th. His association embraces many of the members of the three regiments, and, with touching fidelity during all these years, has decorated annually the Shaw tablet and certain graves at Mt. Auburn. They carry a tattered 54th flag presented to them by Mrs. Frank Shaw, the colonel's mother. Better let the Assn in at the head (following however the commissioned officers) provided he will permit under his own regulations as to uniform & the members of the three regiments to march in his ranks. Those members who do not so march can march in his rear. His association certainly does stand for the members better than any organization existing. 5. As you have no money with which to furnish music it seems to follow that others must furnish their own music or go without so far as you are concerned.⁷¹

Yet Lee and possibly others on the committee must have continued to object to a role in the procession for the Shaw Veterans Association as well as for African American veterans of any regiment except the 54th, which clearly incensed Hallowell. In early March he sent Lee another letter that if the "Vet Association" was not to march, Lee himself must tell Furlong as much, and he added, "I should not be willing to command the battalion if the survivors of either the 55th Infantry or 5th Cavalry are to be excluded." Lee must have relented on the 55th's participation but had said nothing to Hallowell about the 5th Cavalry veterans by mid-March. About this time the *Boston Globe* reported on the controversy, which the newspaper characterized as "the question of priority in the procession" planned for the Shaw Memorial unveiling. The memorial committee, the *Globe* reported, had determined "that they will only extend invitations to the survivors of the Massachusetts 54th and 55th infantry and 5th cavalry to take part in the parade. Should any members of the posts or veterans associations in contest be members of one of the regiments mentioned they will parade as members only of those regiments."⁷²

71. Pen Hallowell, Boston, to Lee, February 1897, folder 14, Lee Family Papers.

72. Hallowell to Lee, 6 and 12 March 1897, folder 15, Lee Family Papers; "Shaw Memorial Committee: Contention between Colored G.A.R. Posts and Veterans Association Settled," *Boston Globe*, 12 March 1897, 2.



Fig. 4.8. Nellie Brown Mitchell (1845-1924), 1900-1912, photograph by Drew Studio, Dover, New Hampshire. Mitchell, a soprano soloist and musical director in several New England churches, received her diploma from the New England Conservatory and School of Vocal Arts in 1879 and afterward performed in recitals along the eastern seaboard. She began her own Nellie Brown Mitchell Concert Company in 1886. Courtesy Historical Image Archive, Dover Public Library, Dover, New Hampshire.

African American Bostonians also sought a role at the Music Hall ceremonies. In early May 1897, 55th regiment veteran Charles L. Mitchell wrote to Atkinson and the monument committee about his wife, Nellie Brown Mitchell, an accomplished vocalist and music teacher who performed often in and around Boston and sang at William Lloyd Garrison's funeral (fig. 4.8):

Would it not be an interesting feature to have the 'Star Spangled Banner' rendered vocally during the Shaw Memorial Exercises in the Music Hall May 31st?

Mrs Nellie Brown Mitchell offers her services gratuitously. Our band the Germania, could accompany her. Mrs Mitchell could also render another appropriate selection.

Color Sergt. Carney of the 54th at Wagner on one side of vocalist, with 'Old Glory,' and Jack Redding (one of the Kearsarge crew when she sank the Alabama) on the other side, with 'Union Jack' would be an inspiring site.

Mitchell identified himself as a member of the "surviving Veterans Committee with Col. N. Hallowell" and noted on the bottom of the page opposite his signature that the people he had named in his letter were "all colored."⁷³ Atkinson wrote to Lee on the same day:

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A very intelligent colored man who signs the enclosed presented it to-day. I told him that I thought the request could not receive assent as far as the proceedings in the Music Hall are concerned. I however consulted Mr. Mitchell on an idea which I have conceived myself in which he might serve us, namely, that as many of the colored people of Boston as can be gathered might be massed in a suitable manner near the monument. If permitted the best place would be on the grass in front of the State House flanking the steps on each side inside the fences. That the instructions be given to the troops that when they approach the monument they start the tune of "John Brown's Body," to be taken up and sung by this mass of black people, all of whom always sing well. In this Mrs. Nellie Brown Mitchell could lead off and their band could join in with the bands accompanying the troops.⁷⁴

"John Brown's Body" was sung at the unveiling, though no account of the proceedings indicates that an African American chorus sang it. It is not hard to imagine that Mitchell was offended by the proposal, particularly if Atkinson worded his suggestion in any way resembling the way he described it to Lee. Taken together with the controversy about the procession, the committee did seem to wish to minimize African American participation—at least in the way African Americans conceived it—in the day's more formal events. At the Music Hall Carney did stand with the "tattered" flag, but only at the impromptu invitation of Booker T. Washington.

Largely to Mitchell fell the task of assembling the "Battalion of Survivors." With Hallowell's authorization he printed a circular dated 31 March 1897 seeking "the address, company, and regiment" of the survivors of the 54th, 55th, and 5th Cavalry (fig. 4.9). Mitchell here noted that officers of these regiments had, under the direction of Hallowell, formed a committee of arrangements to invite and host these veterans to take part in the Shaw Memorial's dedication on 31 May. Hallowell had "deputized" Mitchell and William H. Dupree, another veteran 55th lieutenant, to "attend to the details."⁷⁵ Mitchell reported

73. Charles L. Mitchell, Boston, to Col, Henry Lee and Edward Atkinson et al of Committee, 6 May 1897, Lee Family Papers. Mitchell might have suggested the same idea to Sarah Blake Shaw by 15 January 1897: in a letter to Lee, folder 13, Lee Family Papers, Shaw stated that she "did not feel at liberty to endorse" the favor cited in a note she had enclosed and advised the writer to contact Lee "and tell him of his wife." The enclosed note is not included in the Lee Family Papers. On Charles L. Mitchell see Introduction and Appendix C. Nellie Brown Mitchell died in Boston in 1924; see "Mrs Nellie B Mitchell, Singer and Teacher, Dies," *Boston Globe*, 6 January 1924, 7.

74. Edward Atkinson, Boston, to Col. Henry Lee, Brookline, 6 May 1897, Lee Family Papers, and vol. 60, page 587, Atkinson Papers.

75. On Dupree see Appendix C.

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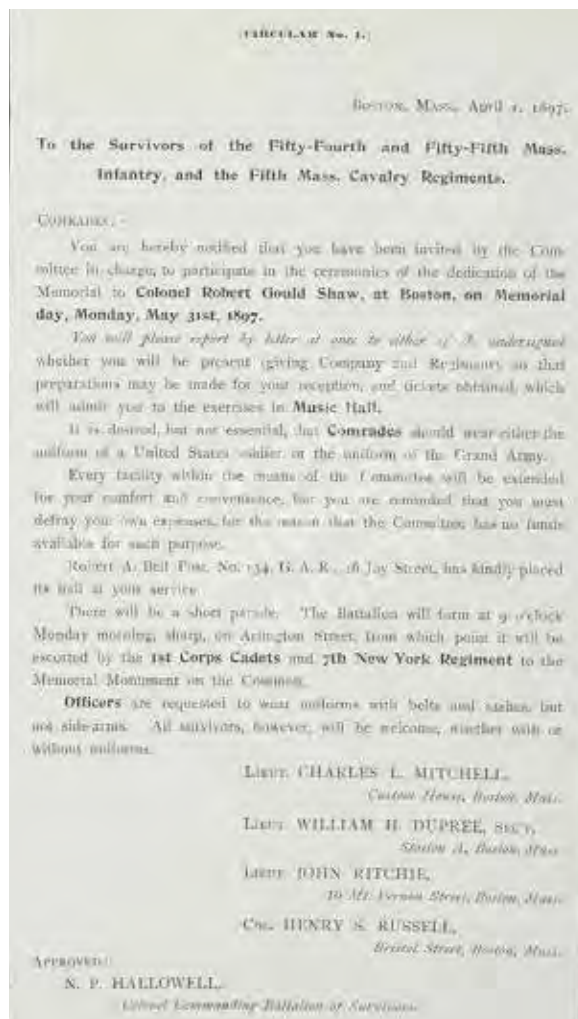


Fig. 4.9. The first of three circulars mailed to the surviving veterans of the three Massachusetts regiments by the committee in charge of planning the unveiling. Hallowell asked Mitchell and Dupree of the 55th—the regiment he commanded—to serve with Harry Russell of the 5th Cavalry and John Ritchie of the 54th on the committee charged with identifying and inviting the veterans. Why Hallowell chose no African American veteran of the 54th to be part of the committee is unknown. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

that Shaw's old 7th New York Regiment together with its 90-piece band would also attend. He sought a reply with names and addresses so that he and Dupree might set aside tickets for veterans to the Music Hall events and arrange for their reception in Boston. The Bell GAR post had offered its hall (the former African American Abiel Smith School at 46 Joy Street) to veterans while they were in town. The circular urged the veterans to take part in the parade, if possible in the uniforms either of the Army or the GAR. "Officers are requested to wear uniforms with belts and sashes, but not side-arms," the circular stated. "All survivors, however, will be welcome, whether with or without uniforms." The circular was signed by Mitchell, Dupree, Harry Russell, and John Ritchie, the last a former lieutenant and quartermaster of the 54th. The *Globe* reported in early April that

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the circular had been “sent out all over the country” and that Hallowell expected about three hundred men to take part in the parade.⁷⁶

Ten days before the unveiling, a second circular indicated that “some 225 officers and enlisted men,” including twenty-five Massachusetts Civil War Navy veterans, would take part in the procession and the dedication events. It directed veterans to report at nine in the morning on 31 May at Arlington Street and to wear “dark clothes, Blue Preferred, with army hat or cap and white gloves.” It also listed the battalion formation and who would be in command of each veteran regiment.⁷⁷ This second circular was signed only by African American veterans—Mitchell, Dupree, Stephen Swails of the 54th, Sergeant Jeremiah N. Kellogg of the 5th Calvary, and Isaac S. Mullen of the Navy: Hallowell had designated these five as his staff for the procession (fig. 4.10).⁷⁸ The circular noted that after the Music Hall program the veterans were to form on Winter Street and march to Faneuil Hall for their own dinner and program; it was here that Nellie Brown Mitchell and others would sing. A third circular, issued five days before the event, amended the first circular in that officers were to be uniformed, complete with “sash, belt, and sword” but that all survivors were welcome, uniformed and equipped or not. In late April eleven 54th veterans met to confirm certain arrangements for the unveiling and issued a notice indicating African American householders in the South and West Ends who could house them during their visit (fig. 4.11). The committee, under Burrill Smith Jr., asked the Shaw memorial committee to provide carriages for blind and disabled members of the regiments and to accept their choice of Carney of New Bedford and Richard Sisco of Boston to carry the battalion flags.⁷⁹

A late May article in the *Globe* noted that neither the Bell nor the Shaw GAR posts had been invited to take part in the unveiling, though veterans of the three regiments who were post members had been asked to march in the battalion. Members who were not veterans would go “as they have in years past, to Rainsford Island” to decorate graves

76. “Robert G. Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Globe*, 5 April 1897, 4. The two circulars are in volume 3 of the Norwood P. Hallowell Scrapbooks, pages 229–30, Hallowell Papers.

77. This circular was excerpted in *Monument to Shaw*, 45. It stated that the Boston Germania Band was to lead Hallowell and his five aides, then the 54th survivors led by Colonel George Pope, the 55th survivors commanded by Colonel William Nutt, the 5th Cavalry veterans to be led by Harry Russell (who was absent and replaced by Henry P. Bowditch), and the Navy veterans led by Joseph H. Smith.

78. On Swails, Kellogg, and Mullen see Appendix C.

79. “Men Chosen to Carry Flags,” *Boston Globe*, 20 April 1897, 2. On Sisco see Appendix C.

EACH HAS A WAR RECORD.

Five Colored Men Who Will Serve on
Col Hallowell's Staff.



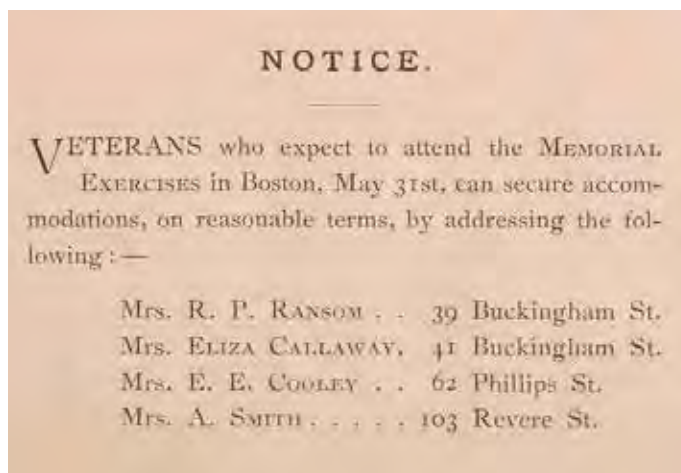
Fig. 4.10. The five African American veterans Norwood P. Hallowell picked as his staff for the unveiling procession, *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897.

and then arrange on their return to walk by and salute the new Shaw Memorial while the others were at the Music Hall. They would then have their own address and collation at “St. Paul Baptist Church” on Joy Street. Soon afterward Charles Mitchell visited Governor Wolcott to ask if he would attend the veterans’ evening dinner and meeting at Faneuil Hall. Wolcott would not commit, but Mitchell believed he would attend. The day before the unveiling and dedication, the veterans met at Tremont Temple, where Hallowell outlined the plan for this “provisional battalion”:

Upon the arrival of his battalion he is to face them toward the south side of Beacon st, facing the monument. They will then, if there is room, about face and step a few paces toward the state house and then about face, that is if there is room, otherwise some other maneuver will have to be executed, but all aimed so as to give the veterans the best view of the memorial.⁸⁰

80. “Colored Vets’ Plan,” *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1897, 1.

Fig. 4.11. Just as for the 1887 veterans' reunion, the planning committee for the unveiling issued a card indicating where out-of-town African American visitors might stay in Boston during the event. The card illustrates not only the unlikelihood of finding a room at a Boston hotel but the shift of the city's African American population from the West End—where Elizabeth E. Cooley and Mrs. Armistead Smith offered rooms—to the South End, where next-door neighbors Mrs. Robert P. Ransom and Eliza Callaway offered their homes during the event. Three of the four were born in Virginia, but only Cooley, a fugitive who escaped with her daughter in 1852, had lived in Boston since before the war. Courtesy Hallowell Scrapbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.



The “colored vets’ plan” made the front page of the *Globe*, after a long, illustrated article describing the arrival of the 7th New York regiment in Boston. The *Globe* reporter felt it worth noting by name the presence of four veterans at the 30 May meeting—the Rev. William Jackson of New Bedford; James Jameson of Syracuse, New York; former first sergeant James W. Bush of Lincoln, Nebraska; and S. J. Patterson of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, who, though a veteran of the 5th Cavalry, declared at the meeting that “many would have come three times the distance to do honor to their old commander, Robert Gould Shaw.”⁸¹ The *Globe*’s article specified the number of officers of the three African American Massachusetts regiments who would march in the procession, but no firm number of veteran enlisted men was reported here, to say nothing of their names.

The *Globe* published two other articles about African American veterans of the 54th before the unveiling, one about Carney and the other about Stephen Swails. Swails, then living in the District of Columbia and working in the federal treasury department, told the *Globe* that he had been in Boston only once before, when the regiment was mustered out and returned to the city. During the protracted dispute over equal pay, the *Globe*

81. See Appendix C for biographical detail.

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noted, perhaps incorrectly, that Swails's wife and children had been sent to the poor house in Elmira, New York, where they then lived; "the knowledge of this caused a wave of indignation to sweep over the north," the newspaper noted, and it further claimed that the situation of Swails's family was one reason why the government finally agreed to pay black and white soldiers equally.⁸²

One last detail remained to be ironed out—the physical unveiling itself. Roughly a week before the monument's dedication day, Atkinson wrote to Sarah Blake Shaw that Augusta Saint-Gaudens had suggested that "representatives of the family" assist in the removal of the two large American flags that had concealed the memorial from view. "Would it not be most suitable that while I stand on one side to untie the cord Miss Lowell and one of your grandsons should untie the cord on the other side? If you think it would be right and suitable, I leave it to you to designate whom among your grandchildren shall assist me in the unveiling, having ventured to suggest Miss Lowell for one of the two."⁸³ In the end neither Mrs. Shaw nor Josephine Lowell took part in the ceremony, but they must have designated the sons of Robert Gould Shaw's sisters Susanna and Ellen—Hugh Minturn, then fifteen years old, and twenty-five-year-old Charles Lowell Barlow.

Some three weeks before the event, veteran captain Nathan Appleton strongly urged his fellow Bostonians to attend the unveiling. Appleton, the son and namesake of the man who introduced the power loom to cotton manufacture in 1813 and helped found the textile city of Lowell, had served in the 5th Independent Battery of Massachusetts Light Artillery during the war, was wounded in the Battle of the Wilderness, and was active in many postwar veterans' events. Appleton told the *Boston Herald* that the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial would probably be "the last great state pageant of the war," and he suggested that it be scheduled so that "the young soldiery of the militia" might attend along with the veterans "as an object lesson."⁸⁴

82. "Family Starving While He Fought." Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 73, states that Swails got a letter informing him, "inaccurately," that his family had been sent to the poor house. Swails's father Peter had died in 1862, and it is possible that his death caused some financial distress in the family, but whether Swails's family actually was committed to the poorhouse is unknown. The 1865 census shows Stephen Swails in the military and his wife Sarah, a native of Otsego County, with two young children, Stephen A. Jr. and Susan. See also "Color Bearer at Fort Wagner," *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1897, 1, which notes that Carney was expected to arrive in Boston that morning and would carry one of the "old flags."

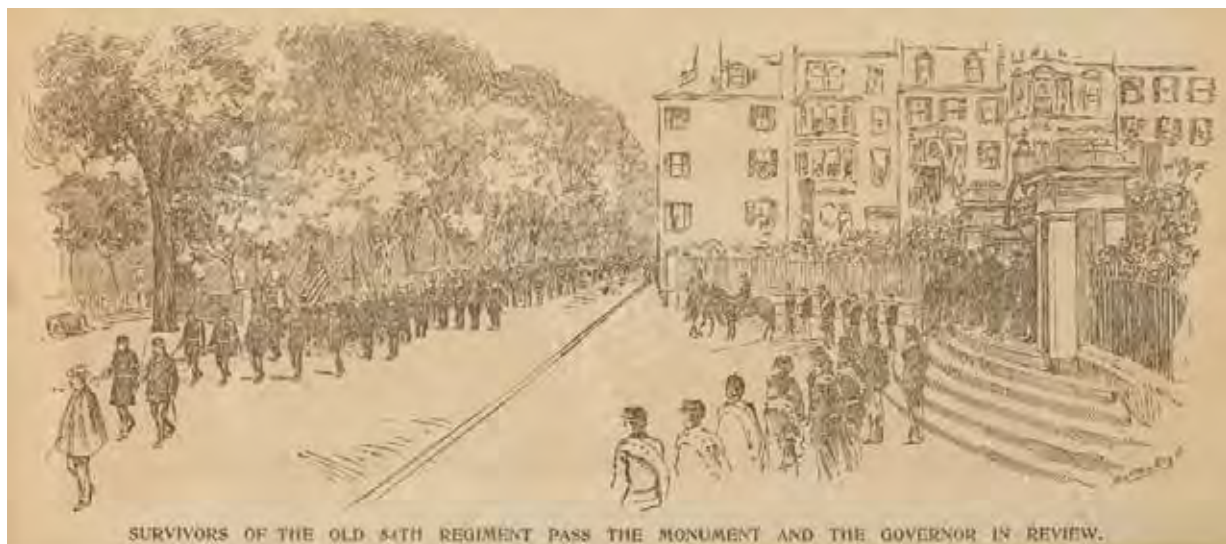
83. Atkinson to Mrs Francis G. Shaw, New York NY (118 E 30th St), 25 May 1897, Atkinson Letterbooks 60:816.

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The evening before the event, the African American veterans who were in or came to Boston met at the old Twelfth Baptist Church in the West End for a service in Shaw's memory. Wesley Furlong marched the Shaw Veterans Association to the church, where a "life size portrait" of Robert Gould Shaw had been placed on one side of the pulpit. The group was addressed that evening by Dolphin P. Roberts, who had been pastor at Boston's Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church since June 1893. "Tomorrow a monument will be dedicated to the memory of a man, and his followers, who made for themselves a place in the history of the nation," Roberts declared. "There should be a clean tablet in the heart of every one of our race whereon can be inscribed a never-dying memorial to this young commander and his soldiers."⁸⁵ Indeed, while the unveiling may well have been the last full-blown state pageant commemorating the Civil War, it was something of a beginning for African Americans, in Boston and elsewhere.

84. "Memorial Day Suggestion," *Boston Herald*, 9 May 1897.

85. "Shaw's Memory Honored," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1897, 6; "They Shared Col. Shaw's Glory," *ibid.*, 31 May 1897, 6.



SURVIVORS OF THE OLD 54TH REGIMENT PASS THE MONUMENT AND THE GOVERNOR IN REVIEW.

Fig. 5.1. Pen Hallowell cut out and pasted in his scrapbook this view of the unveiling procession from the 1 June 1897 *Boston Herald*. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

CHAPTER 5

“A Man, a Race, and a Cause”

At nine o'clock in the morning on a rainy 31 May 1897, veterans of the three Massachusetts African American Civil War regiments and the United States Navy assembled on Arlington Street to prepare to march to the unveiling and dedication of the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial on Boston Common. The *Boston Herald* put their number at 144—65 veterans of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 30 from the 55th, 25 veterans of the state's 5th Cavalry, and 24 who had served in the Navy during the war. The men who assembled on Arlington Street, according to the *Boston Globe*, had come to the city from as far west as Nebraska and “from the southern states,” as well as from all over the Mid-Atlantic and New England; Norwood “Pen” Hallowell noted later in the day that one veteran had traveled fifteen hundred miles to attend.¹ Along Beacon Street many houses had been decorated with flags and bunting, and Bostonians had already begun to mass for the ten o'clock parade. On the roof of the Massachusetts State House stood members of the Army's Signal Corps, who were to coordinate two gun salutes with three warships in Boston Harbor and with Battery A of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, standing ready on Boston Common.

Henry Lee asked wealthy Bostonian Francis H. Appleton, who had been a faithful member of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia since January 1870, to serve as chief marshal of the parade.² The procession began at 10 a.m. at the corner of Beacon and

1. “Heroes from Chattels,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 1, 7; “From Many States,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 5. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 338, states that the entire procession involved some 3500 persons. Hallowell's statement was quoted in “In Faneuil Hall,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 7. The veteran who traveled 1500 miles was probably the same man as the Nebraskan cited in the *Globe*—James William Bush (1843–1918), who was a first sergeant in Company K of the 54th and lived in Lincoln, 1500 miles from Boston. For more on Bush see Appendix C. His presence at the unveiling is documented in “From Many States.”

2. Appleton, born in 1845 in Boston, was described as a “gentleman of leisure” in the 1880 census. The son of Francis H. and Georgianna C. Appleton, he is more often called an “agriculturist”; after graduating from Harvard in 1869 and a brief time at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Appleton enrolled in Harvard's Bussey Institute, its agricultural department, in 1874, and ran a large model farm in nearby Peabody. He also had a home in Boston's Back Bay. On his MVM service see “Society,” *Boston Home Journal*, 12 May 1900, 7.

Clarendon streets, then marched along Clarendon to Commonwealth Avenue, then down Hereford Street to Beacon Street again, and then up Beacon Street to the State House and Park Street. Mounted police headed up the long train, followed by the 2nd Corps of Cadets of the MVM escorting Appleton and his staff. In Appleton's retinue were an adjutant general, two former colonels, and twenty-six "mounted aids." Two of these aides were African American—Samuel E. Courtney, a physician and graduate of Harvard Medical School who had taught for several years at Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, and attorney Clement G. Morgan, a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School who had been elected an alderman in Cambridge the year before. Why Appleton should have chosen these two men in particular is not known. Both represented the "new" African American Bostonian who had begun moving to the city from the South after the war, and both were professional men. But even then they had begun to occupy opposite sides of the "Bookerite" spectrum, with Morgan solidly in the anti-Washington camp and a later founder, with Du Bois and others, of the Niagara Movement, predecessor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (fig. 5.2).³

After Appleton and his aides and staff came active military units from the Army, the Marines, the "Blue Jackets," and the MVM, including the African American Company L of the 6th Regiment. Then came the famed 7th Regiment of New York, Shaw's first regiment, whose arrival and presence in Boston seemed more interesting to local journalists than the Massachusetts men, whether active servicemen or veterans.⁴ The 1st Corps of Cadets, MVM, was next, and after that came the "Provisional Battalion of Survivors" commanded by Pen Hallowell, who had assembled new coats and hats for

3. *Monument to Shaw*, 40; "Plans Complete," *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1897, 24, lists Appleton's aides and the order of the procession. Samuel Edward Courtney (1865–1941) was born in Malden, WV, attended Hampton Institute, and came to Massachusetts in 1884 to attend Westfield Normal School. After graduation he taught at Tuskegee Institute and then returned to Boston to attend Harvard Medical School, from which he graduated in 1893. He then practiced at both Boston City and Boston Lying-in hospitals before he established his own practice in Boston's South End. In 1896 Courtney and Stanley Ruffin were elected alternate delegates to the Republican National Convention in St. Louis, and the refusal of the Massachusetts delegation to stay at that city's Southern Hotel if Courtney and Ruffin were denied rooms made national news. Courtney was a member of the Boston school committee in the late 1890s and was active among those who supported Washington and his National Negro Business League. See "Messrs Courtney and Ruffin," *Boston Globe*, 11 June 1896, 7; "Colored Men Admitted," *Berkshire County Eagle*, 17 June 1896, 9; "Booker Washington Dined," *Boston Globe*, 10 Dec 1901, 11; "Dr. Samuel Courtney Dies in City Hospital," *ibid.*, 2 June 1941, 13. On Clement Morgan see Appendix E. The activities of both men were often covered in Boston newspapers, but I found no narrative obituary for Morgan.



Fig. 5.2. Clement G. Morgan (right) and W. E. B. Du Bois sat in front of the delegates to the Niagara Movement meeting in Boston in 1907. Photograph by E. Chickering. Courtesy Department of Special Collections and University Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

the veterans who might want or need them (fig. 5.3). The survivors were followed by the volunteer militia's ambulance corps and seven carriages conveying dignitaries and principals. Governor Roger Wolcott was in the first carriage with Henry Lee and the procession's adjutant; Mayor Josiah Quincy and others followed in the second carriage. Edward Atkinson was in the fifth carriage with Booker T. Washington and Shaw's nephews Charles Lowell Barlow and Hugh Minturn; Augustus Saint-Gaudens was in

4. "Statue of Peter Cooper," *Boston Herald*, 30 May 1897, 6, noted that when the 7th Regiment was on its way from New York City to the steamer that would carry it to Boston, it "stopped at Cooper Union," where Saint-Gaudens's statue of Peter Cooper was being unveiled. "To Col. Shaw," *Boston Journal*, 1 June 1897, 2, noted that Company L "closed the column of the State foot troops" and received "loud applause." "Bravery in Bronze," *Boston Herald*, 3, stated, "Company L, which brought up the rear, is the only colored company in the state, and for that reason, and for its generally smart appearance, received much applause along the route."

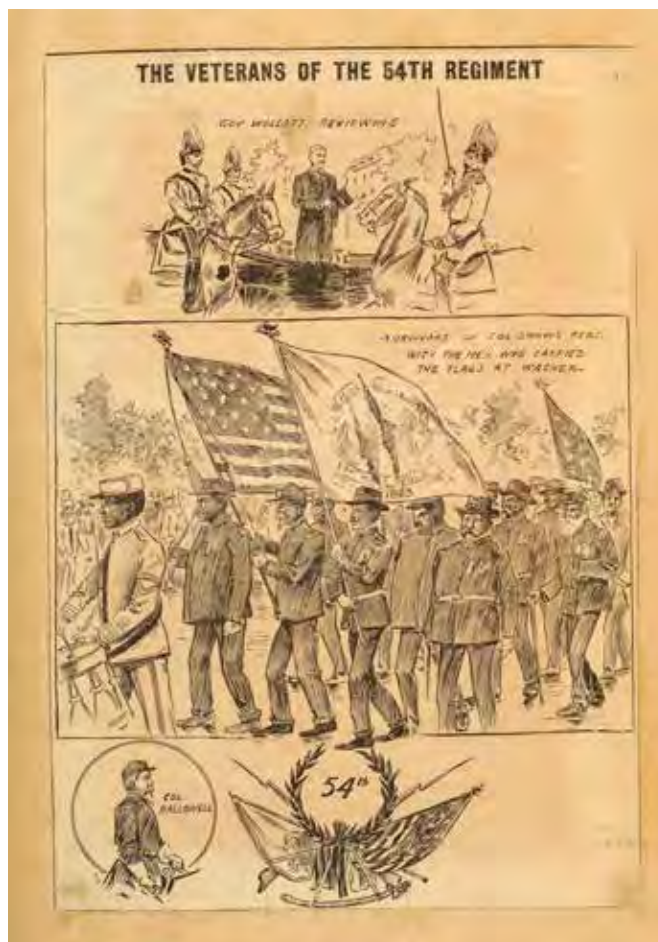


Fig. 5.3. "The Veterans of the 54th Regiment," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, from Pen Hallowell's scrapbook. According to written accounts William H. Carney carried the national flag and James H. Wilkins the Putnam flag; the third flag at far right does not match any description of the four flags presented to the regiment. Though he bears sergeant's stripes, the man carrying the American flag looks nothing like Carney, and while newspaper accounts mentioned the "tattered flag" this view shows no apparent damage to any of the flags.

the sixth carriage with William James; and in the last carriage was Martin P. Kennard. Despite Atkinson's fears, the entire committee had lived to witness the unveiling, but John Murray Forbes did not attend, "the infirmities of age keeping him from us today," Harry Lee said later in the day.⁵

Saint-Gaudens recalled following "at the tail-end of a long line of regiments and societies" in his carriage and recognizing that his face meant nothing to most of the people who crowded the streets to watch the parade. "Yet to see this line of faces on each side of the streets continuing for miles and miles, and all the windows filled with persons gazing at you," he wrote, "is really a profound experience to have." He and the other carriage riders

5. *Monument to Shaw*, 42; Lee quoted in "Eloquent," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1 June 1897, 1.

were directed to the lowest bank of steps leading from the State House to Beacon Street. The sculptor then recorded his impressions of the battalion of survivors:

The regiment that came nearest to us, virtually at the head of the procession, comprised the remaining officers and colored men of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, whom Shaw had led; the bas-relief itself being within thirty or forty feet of where the colors were presented to them by Governor Andrew, before Colonel Shaw started on the march to his death. At the unveiling there stood before the relief sixty-five of these veterans. Some of the officers were clad in the uniforms they had worn during the Civil War, and rode on horseback. But the negro troops . . . came in their time-worn frock coats—coats used only on great occasions. Many of them were bent and crippled, men with white heads, some with bouquets, and, the inevitable humorous touch, one with a carpet-bag.⁶

The *Globe* reported of the battalion, “The formation of the line was so as to bring all of the officers of the 54th into one platoon, leaving the sections of colored men to be officered by Sergts Burrill Smith, James W. Bush, Wesley J. Furlong and John S. Brown,” which in effect segregated the African American troops as much as they had been when in active duty. In another account the *Globe* added that “the tattered remnants” of the three regiments were to march “between the saluting lines of the state and U.S. military and naval forces.” African American journalist Robert Teamoh termed this “a tribute of honor never before received by colored soldiers in this country. They were marched between two lines of infantry, cavalry and artillery, extending nearly two miles, under ‘Present Arms!’” Hallowell’s African American aides Charles L. Mitchell, William H. Dupree, Stephen A. Swails, Isaac S. Mullen, and Jeremiah Kellogg, at least one of them on horseback, followed after Hallowell, and the *Herald* reported that the 54th veterans, with Carney carrying the American flag and James H. Wilkins “the tattered Putnam flag . . . evoked enthusiasm all along the route.”⁷ The *Seventh Regiment Gazette* reported after the event,

6. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 2: 79–80, 83.

7. “From Many States,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 5; “Troops and Vets in Line,” *ibid.*, 31 May 1897, 1; Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 9–10; “Survivors were Applauded,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 3. Why Wilkins took the place of Richard Sisco, the first choice of the 54th veterans, is unclear. On Wilkins see Appendix C. “To Col. Shaw,” *Boston Journal*, 1 June 1897, 2, is the only Boston newspaper account that states that the Putnam flag carried by Wilkins “was never carried into a fight”; engravings of the event do seem to show that one of the two flags carried this day was the Putnam flag as it had been described in detail in *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (Colored) Regiment*, not the state standard, and do not show that it was “tattered.”

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Before reaching the monument the Regiment was halted and drawn up on the curb-side, and presented arms to the Governor of Massachusetts and the veterans of the Fifty-fourth. It is not too much to say that, as these old heroes slowly marched in front of us, every man in our ranks who knew their history and the stupendous principle which they represented thirty-four years ago, felt like throwing his shako into the air and giving them a cheer that would have made old Bunker Hill monument tremble in its deepest stone.⁸

The *Globe* stated that “when Colonel Hallowell and his veterans fell into line once more, and the old tattered battle flag was seen, there was a long cheer and every one of these aged veterans strained his neck to get a view of the bronze figure of the young white chief on horseback beside his regiment marching down the same street” they had trod thirty-four years and three days earlier on their way to the vessel that would take them to the war (see frontispiece). The *Herald* offered its impression of the battalion in an editorial the next day:

The touching and much the most interesting feature of this display was the parade of the veteran colored men, who were the still living remnant of the regiment that Col. Shaw led to the attack on Fort Wagner. Here were men who had been soldiers in the most realistic sense, and whose direct identification with the event commemorated made their presence something never to be forgotten by those who saw them. Some of them bore the marks of battle upon their persons, and forced tears to the eyes of many who had thus brought vividly home to their minds the heroic event of which these men were part.

The *Boston Journal* stated in an editorial note, “It cannot truthfully be said that the Jack Tars and the colored veterans did the smartest marching in the line of the parade, but they were unmistakably the popular favorites.” And the city’s *Daily Advertiser* observed, speaking at first of the 7th New York, “While it was proper that Boston should give them grand welcome for their neighborliness and quality, it was proper, too, that the major salute should go, as it did always and everywhere, to the few dusky, bent and bending veterans of the 54th, whom Col Shaw had led, and whose fault it was not that they were not now lying in the trench at Forts Wagner with him.”⁹

8. *Seventh Regiment Gazette* 11, 7 (June 1897): 139, New York Historical Society digital collections.

9. “Heroes from Chattels,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 7; “The Procession,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 1 (editorial); *Boston Journal*, 1 June 1897, 4 (editorial). “Eloquent,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1 June 1897, 1.

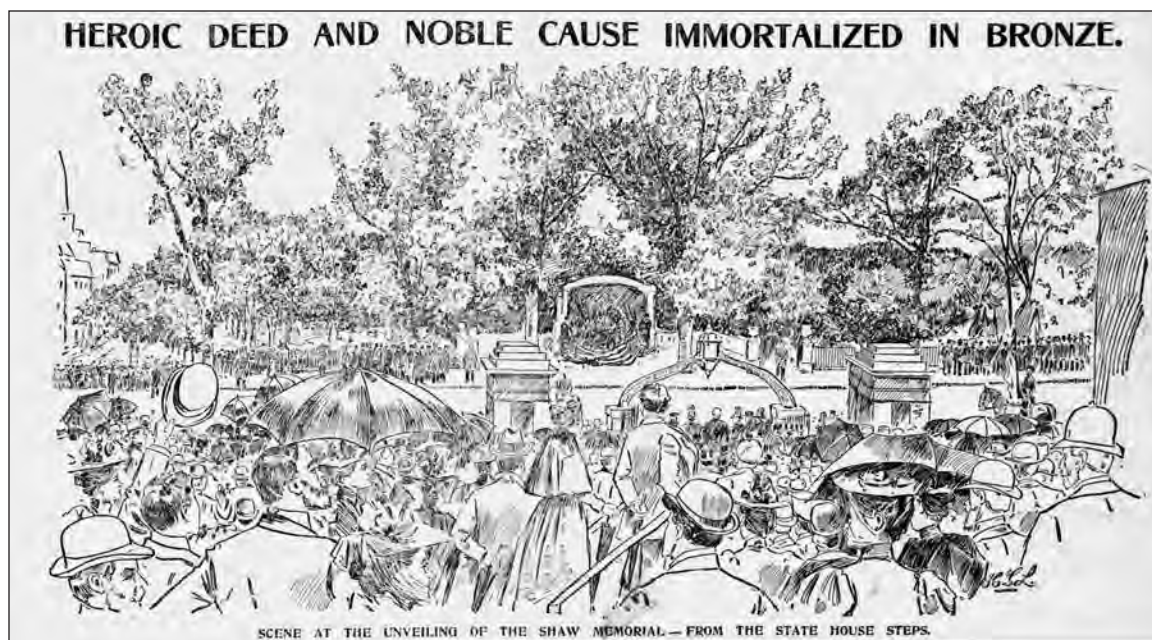


Fig. 5.4. "Scene at the Unveiling of the Shaw Memorial—from the State House Steps," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897. This view shows the two flags that had concealed the memorial after they were dropped.

The battalion of survivors escorted Governor Wolcott and his staff, who had reviewed the procession when it marched past the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Dartmouth Street, to the Shaw Memorial, still hidden beneath the two massive flags. Standing to each side, Shaw's nephews held the ropes that were to be cut to remove the flags, and at precisely 11:17, Henry Lee gave them a signal to do so. But the flags did not yield, and so unidentified persons pulled them down to reveal the Shaw Memorial at last (fig. 5.4). A cheer went up, the Germania band began to play "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and the Signal Corps went to work. Men on the State House roof waved their flags, which cued the seventeen-gun salute on Boston Common and triggered a relay to other men on top of the Ames building, the city's tallest. These men dropped a large flag to signal the men peering through opera glasses aboard the vessels in the harbor. From these issued a twenty-one-gun salute, and after this clamor Lee formally presented the Shaw Memorial to Governor Wolcott.¹⁰ Saint-Gaudens described what he witnessed:

The salute boomed from the cannon on the Common, and was answered by others in the harbor, and the procession began to march by. The impression of those old

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soldiers, passing the very spot where they left for the war so many years before, thrills me even as I write these words. They faced and saluted the relief, with the music playing “John Brown’s Body,” a recall of what I had heard and seen thirty years before from my cameo-cutter’s window. They seemed as if returning from the war, the troops of bronze marching in the opposite direction, the direction in which they had left for the front, and the young men there represented now showing these veterans the vigor and hope of youth. It was a consecration.¹¹

William L. Whitney Jr., who had been a lieutenant in the 54th, described the scene for regimental historian Luis Emilio, who did not attend:

It was a cloudy wet day, not a hard rain but fine sprinkle most of the time, but notwithstanding that the sidewalks were packed from beginning to end of the route, the 54th had the head of the line (that is of course after the escort which consisted of the 1st & 2nd Corps of Cadets, mariners from the U. S. Navy in the harbor, six or eight companies of military artillery from Mt. Warren and Newport and the N.Y. 7th) When the head of column reached Joy St. going up Beacon the escort halted and lined up next to the memorial, when it was unveiled the signal corps on top of the State House signaled the navy in the harbor and the artillery on the Common both firing salutes. . . . Swails (I think) was mounted & on Hallowell’s staff, directly behind the Lts. came Alec Johnson (drummer), a U.S. colors carried by Sgt. Carney the Putnam flag by Lt. Wilkins followed by about 60 men, after them the 55th and then the 5th Cavalry, DeMortie was on hand with a covered wagon in which he took care of coats or umbrellas and from which he issued white gloves, caps or blouses to all the men who needed them. I think the parade was a great success, of course the weather was against us but it was a success and we met with a great applause all along the line.¹²

The *Boston Globe* reported the event in effusive terms:

It was a great day for the colored race throughout the country, and it must have aroused great feelings in the hearts of the colored veterans and their white officers as

10. *Monument to Shaw*, 43; Gregory C. Schwarz, “The Shaw Memorial: A History of the Monument,” in *Shaw Memorial*, 40–41. The composition of the Germania Band is unclear. Charles Mitchell had termed the group “our Germania Band,” but other sources indicate that the group was made up mostly of Boston-area German Americans.

11. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences*, 79–83.

12. W. L. Whitney Jr., Newton, to Luis F. Emilio, 28 June 1897, reel 14, 54th Records, MHS. On DeMortie, a sutler for the 54th, see Appendix C.

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they paraded through the streets and saw the crowds and the flags and bunting and listened to the cheers and applause in honor of their own bravery and the bravery of their dead comrades and their white chief.

It was a sight long to be remembered and the day will remain sacred for all time to the colored race as a day of vindication—a vindication of the sentiment, which has always been regarded as the corner stone of American liberty, “That all men are created equal.”¹³

African American Bostonians probably found the *Boston Daily Advertiser’s* assessment of the event and the memorial more satisfying:

Yesterday there took place for the first time in this country an adequate notable and appropriate public, official acknowledgment of the debt which our country owes to the members of the African race who enlisted as soldiers in the Union army. . . . Until now, there has existed in all this broad land no single, separate, enduring and conspicuous memorial to tell their story to all men through all time.

It is true that the magnificent triumph of monumental art which was yesterday dedicated on Boston Common is primarily a memento of a white soldier. It is called, for short, the Shaw memorial, and Col. R. G. Shaw was not a colored man. None the less, it is distinctly and supremely a tribute to the part which men with African blood in their veins bore in putting down the slaveholders’ rebellion.¹⁴

Given the interest the newspapers took in the “colored veterans” generally, it seems surprising that none recorded their reactions to the memorial at or soon after the time it was unveiled. Only one account has yet been found that documents the feelings of those African Americans who took part in the procession or those who witnessed it.¹⁵ George T. Downing, the well-known Providence and Newport caterer who had helped raise recruits for the 54th in 1863, presented his views that evening when the veterans gathered at Faneuil Hall:

13. “Heroes from Chattels,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 1, 7.

14. “The Colored Troops,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1 June 1897, 4 (editorial).

15. “The Brave Col. Shaw,” *Boston Herald*, 30 May 1897, 25, featured interviews with Burrill Smith Jr. and Wesley Furlong for an article published about Shaw the day before the unveiling; “Each Has a War Record. Five Colored Men Who Will Serve on Col. Hallowell’s Staff,” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7, offered brief biographies of Swails, Mitchell, Dupree, Mullen, and Kellogg, the five African Americans on Hallowell’s staff, with sketched portraits of each.

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Of the brave and daring Col Shaw the colored people feel proud. They would have his name go down to posterity, not only as a patriot, but as an American, who was not ashamed of being identified in an honorable relation with his black countrymen. I am delighted to see sculptured on the beautiful monument, erected to his memory, the recognition of the black man's bravery, loyalty and service in saving the nation.¹⁶

Not only were none of the veterans interviewed, but the *Globe's* headline on 1 June, "Heroes from Chattels," suggests how little local journalists knew about the regiment and the men who composed it: most were not enslaved or fugitives from slavery. Even though many accounts state that sixty-five veterans of the 54th attended the dedication, not one listed their names, to say nothing of the roughly eighty other African American Civil War veterans who were part of the battalion of survivors.

Four days after the unveiling, Harry Russell wrote a letter to the editor reminding Bostonians about the origin of the memorial:

Now that Boston has, through her determination to honor one of her most gallant and notable soldiers, acquired a speaking work of art which must for all time stand as evidence of her justice to her citizens as well as evidence of her ambition to possess the very best expressions of such justice, it is only fair that the man should be known who, in this first conception of a monument to Colonel Shaw and by his successful effort to raise the first money for it, has made possible the glowing satisfaction of us all at the happy completion of his work, and that man was Joshua B. Smith, who, as a fugitive slave from the South, found shelter and work in the family of Colonel Shaw's father for several years before starting the catering business for himself, in which he was most successful until his death. The meeting called at the State House by Governor Andrew was the outcome of Mr. Smith's consultation with the Hon. Charles Sumner, and I well remember his saying, "I am bound to have a monument to that boy" before any action had been taken by others; his work adds or detracts nothing from the success attained; but, knowing his all-important part in the result, it seems only fair to bear testimony to it.¹⁷

Yet despite the efforts of the Shaw family and such others as Russell to make it a more inclusive tribute, for most Bostonians and others who knew of it the Shaw Memorial was

16. "In Faneuil Hall," *Boston Journal*, 1 June 1897, 6.

17. Henry S. Russell, "Who First Suggested the Memorial?" 4 June 1863, in *Boston Transcript*, n.d., Hallowell Scrapbook 3:231.

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about Shaw and Boston liberality. That it included African American soldiers was at once remarkable and, among many white Americans, almost instantly forgettable. It did not signal the advent or existence of a new era in race relations: indeed, it was unveiled at a particularly dispiriting moment. Less than two years earlier African American woman's rights activist Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin described "the growing spirit of the times— sympathy with the south and its methods, a growing belief in the inferiority of the negro, a disposition to put him down and back—these are the sentiments which are growing daily stronger in the North as well as the South." The Shaw Memorial dedication exercises both before and after the unveiling revealed some of the tendencies Ruffin cited; so too, in greater measure, did the "spirit of the times" as manifest in Boston and elsewhere. "Ironically," as historian Ludwig Lauerhass has noted, "Saint-Gaudens' long-delayed completion of the monument meant that the exuberant dedication ceremonies occurred in times that were becoming ever less sympathetic to the ideals which they proclaimed."¹⁸

The Shaw memorial committee organized a full slate of events around the dedication. First was the address by Henry L. Higginson, a distant cousin of Thomas Wentworth Higginson and a prominent Boston banker and philanthropist. Higginson first met Robert Gould Shaw at what had once been Brook Farm in West Roxbury in May 1861, when both were in military training; Higginson became a second lieutenant and ultimately a major in the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry and was wounded at the Battle of Aldie in Virginia in June 1863. Speaking at Harvard College's Sanders Theatre on the afternoon before the memorial dedication, he began with a preemptive apology should he say anything that rankled "our brothers of the South," for he meant no offense:

The sin of slavery was national, and caused the sin of disunion. Together we wiped out with our blood these two great wrongs long ago, and we also wiped out all unkind feeling. I for one feel sure of this last fact, and think that it has been helped by the conviction that our blows were aimed at the sins of slavery and of disunion, and not at our opponents.¹⁹

18. [Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin], "Dr. Donald as a Sign of the Times," *Woman's Era*, July 1894, 12–13; Lauerhass, "A Commemoration," in *Shaw Memorial*, 75. Ruffin was editor, with her daughter Florida Ruffin Ridley, of *Woman's Era*, first published on 24 March 1894 about a year after she founded the Woman's Era Club in Boston. The monthly newspaper aimed to be an organ for African American woman's clubs across the country, and it shared news of their political activities in Boston and elsewhere.

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In this view of sectional reconciliation as in numerous other respects, Higginson acknowledged that he stood before the war with many who had opposed slavery but had felt trapped between the abolitionists on one hand and those who “spoke of the anti-slavery cause as hopeless, and of the United States as irretrievably given over to a deadly sin” on the other. He admitted his distaste for abolitionism and other forms of radicalism, including Charles Sumner “speaking his mind in an unwise fashion before the United States Senate” and bearing the blows of Preston Brooks’s cane as a consequence. Higginson asserted that when Fort Sumter was attacked “the abolitionists stood aloof, refusing to help, unless slavery was at once abolished by law. They even clamored to ‘let the wayward Southern sisters go in peace,’ and convinced many good people of the wisdom of this course.” Higginson continued, “The mass of Northern citizens stood only on keeping the Union whole; and most of our young soldiers, refusing to touch the question of slavery, or to tread on the rights of the slaveholders, enlisted in order to save our country.” To him the war was “caused by slavery” but waged “chiefly to uphold the integrity of the United States”—until “by the light of the camp-fires” it became clear that the country “could not exist in peace and health” if slavery were sustained. In Higginson’s view Shaw was unique among Union soldiers not because he had “selflessly” done his duty but because, though he had been “happy and content in his own regiment” he “chose the nobler part of serving at a post of greatest danger and of obloquy, and thus helped the negroes to a standing unknown and indeed denied to them before.” At Fort Wagner “these white officers and these black men had atoned, so far as in them lay, for the sin of slavery.”

So Higginson represented what he termed “the thought and feeling of the North,” but few if any African Americans can have shared those sentiments. A considerable segment of white northerners also would not have agreed. Given the failure of Reconstruction, the restriction of the elective franchise, the persistence of discrimination, and the growing incidence of outright atrocity in the South, most African Americans were at the very least suspicious of reconciliation. To them it was indisputable that the war had not “wiped out all unkind feeling.” Frederick Douglass believed efforts at sectional reconciliation had in fact only empowered Southern resentment. “The spirit of secession is stronger today than ever,” he stated in 1871. “It is now a deeply rooted, devoutly cherished sentiment,

19. Henry Lee Higginson, “Robert Gould Shaw: An Address Delivered in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, May 30, 1897” in *Four Addresses by Henry Lee Higginson* (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1902), 72–73, and *Monument to Shaw*, 22.

inseparably identified with the ‘lost cause,’ which the half measures of the government towards the traitors has helped to cultivate and strengthen.” African American educator Joseph Price of North Carolina stated in 1890, “The South was more conquered than convinced; it was overpowered rather than fully persuaded. The Confederacy surrendered its sword at Appomattox, but did not there surrender its convictions.” Charles Sumner had agreed. He did not believe, as many in his party did, that there existed in the South “a powerful latent Unionism which Northern victory would revive”; instead, Union victory was apt to trigger “a bitter, sullen, rebellious, and probably conspiring faction,—breeding discontent and breathing a hatred the malignancy of which will have been intensified by defeat.” Similarly, in 1864 George E. Stephens felt that the evidence of dissension among Republicans in the North put the country “on the threshold of a pro-slavery reaction. In that event the world will witness the deep perfidy and criminal meanness of a nation which is so lost to duty, dignity, and a sense of national greatness as to call to its defense the victims of its own cruel oppression, and then spurn and spit upon them.” In 1893 African American activist Ida Wells compared the situation of the South’s people of color unfavorably to that of the liberated serfs of Russia, who were given land and tools. “We were liberated not only empty-handed but left in the power of a people who resented our emancipation as an act of unjust punishment to them. They were therefore armed with a motive for doing everything in their power to render our freedom a curse rather than a blessing.” Even John Murray Forbes opposed returning power to former Confederates. “I have seen no signs at the South of a desire for reconciliation on the part of the old slavery party,” he wrote to Sumner in 1872, and he predicted that if the government failed to distribute confiscated land among freed people “they will never be safe from something like peonage.”²⁰

20. Frederick Douglass, “Wasted Magnanimity,” *New National Era*, 10 August 1871, quoted in Blight, “Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 81; Price quoted in *ibid.*, 89; Sumner quoted in Donald, *Sumner*, 2:53; George E. Stephens, near Jacksonville, 6 March 1864, in Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 299–300; Ida Wells, “Class Legislation” in *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World’s Columbian Exposition* in 1893, pamphlet transcribed at <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/wells/exposition/exposition.html>; J. M. Forbes, Naushon, MA, to Charles Sumner, 10 August 1872, in Hughes, ed., *Forbes*, 2:179–81. Biographer David Herbert Donald noted similar feelings on the part of Sumner, who had “long been concerned about the possible reestablishment of ‘Slavery under an alias,’ whether of peonage or of forced labor. . . . Already, as members of the American Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission warned him, the former slaveholders were planning to ‘establish some new system of serfdom.’” See Donald, *Sumner*, 2:174.

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For their part few former abolitionists could have conceded Higginson's views of them; many had helped raise troops and otherwise gave funds and labor to the Union cause. And some would argue that Higginson had the war's impetus backwards. From the start many Northerners, including Lincoln, believed that the war was necessary to save the Union, not to rid it of slavery. There can have been few African Americans in the North, at the time or retrospectively, who thought Sumner's 1856 "Crime against Kansas" speech a foolhardy expression of what only he thought: indeed African Americans championed him for it and for every other stand Sumner took on racial equality in the Senate from 1852 forward.²¹ And no Americans of African descent can have accepted that they had any need to "atone" for slavery. Still, some who heard it thought Higginson's speech admirable, including Edward Atkinson, who called it "equal to anything that has been said" and was happy to have it included in the dedication's souvenir volume.²²

On the evening before the unveiling, African American Bostonians and their veteran visitors from afar met at Twelfth Baptist Church, and at some point before the unveiling the 54th veterans laid a wreath of lily of the valley on the memorial. Boston was much concerned that the memorial dedication would interfere with the usual observance of Memorial Day, but the GAR posts and other organizations carried on their customary practices, well covered in the newspapers. The Robert Bell GAR Post, its Woman's Relief Corps auxiliary, and the William H. Carney Camp 82 of the Sons of Veterans may have

21. "Brave and True," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1897 6; "Braved Obloquy," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7. On African American views of Sumner, see chapter 3 and, for example, J. B. Smith, New England Emigrant Aid Rooms, Boston, to Charles Sumner, 7 June 1860: "There is no man in the world in whom we have more confidence, and very few in whom we have as much. We honestly believe that you are the only senator or representative in Congress who is to [sic] honest and pure to be corrupted by the polluted politics of this slavery curst and corrupt country. Your able speech on the 'Barbarism of Slavery' confirms us in our opinions of your invaluable worth, and demonstrates your claim to our highest esteem, admiration, and gratitude." Smith was physician and emigration advocate John B. Smith of New Bedford and Boston; Sumner Papers 19:443. Eleven days after Smith's letter African American Bostonians met at the Joy Street church to applaud Sumner for his 4 June 1860 speech, and Lewis Hayden wrote to ask Sumner for pamphlet copies of it to give to people "calling on me for them." Sumner Papers 19:560. To Joshua Bowen Smith Sumner was "the greatis [sic] champion of Liberty of this or any other age"; Smith to Sumner, 31 March 1870, Sumner Papers 50:296, 219. Donald, *Sumner*, 220–21, 222 n. 7, 224–25, has noted that "every Massachusetts anti-slavery man was conscious of Sumner's slowness to make a demonstration in the Senate against slavery" from the moment he was elected to the US Senate in 1851, and it was not until 27 July 1852, when he introduced a motion for the immediate repeal of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, that he began a consistent campaign to achieve racial equity.

22. Atkinson to Henry Lee, 21 June 1897, Atkinson Letterbooks 61:198.

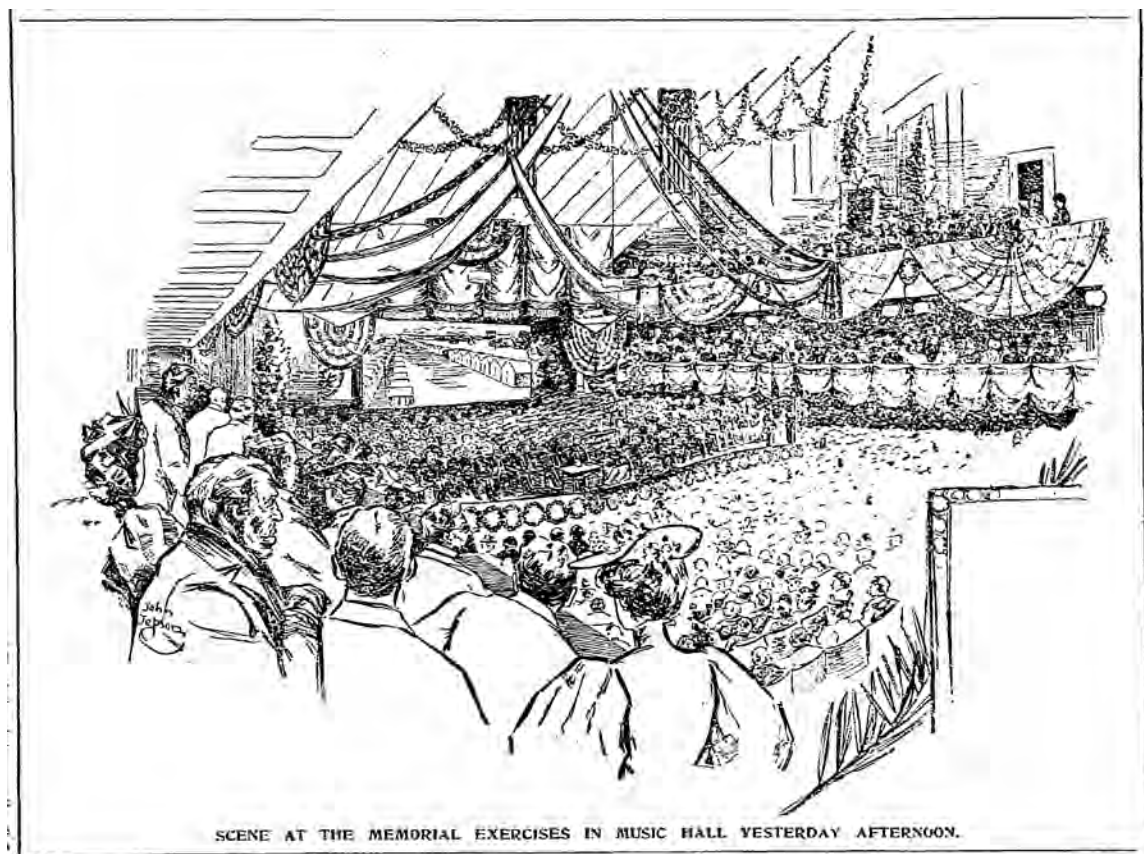


Fig. 5.5. "Scene at the Memorial Exercises in Music Hall Yesterday Afternoon," *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897.

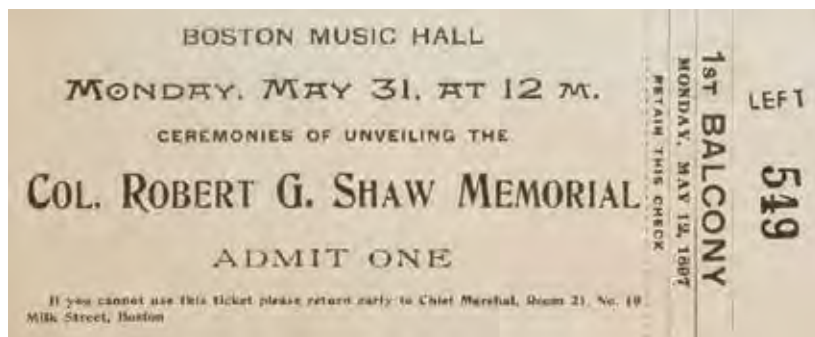
attended the unveiling parade, but soon afterward they went to Rainsford Island to decorate 105 graves. They were back in the city for a dinner and an oration at St. Paul Baptist Church by one in the afternoon.²³

At the Music Hall

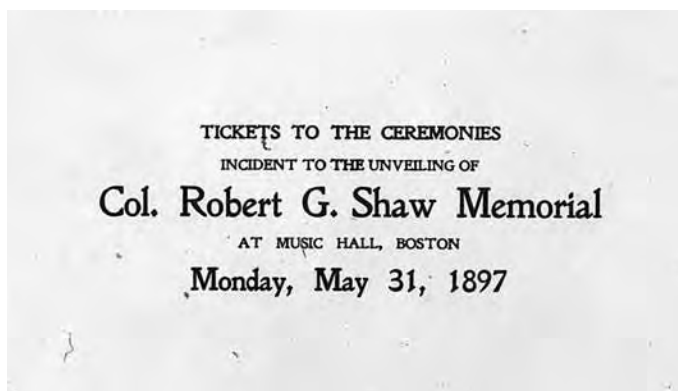
Carriages brought state and city officials and their guests to the Music Hall by noon, when the seats on the floor and in the gallery were filled and "hundreds" stood where they could

23. "At the Graves," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 4.

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Figs. 5.6 & 5.7. Both N. P. Hallowell and Henry Lee preserved tickets issued for “ceremonies incident to the unveiling” at the Music Hall as well as tickets to the platform, the first balcony, and unstated seats, these last perhaps in the gallery. Courtesy Lee Family Papers and Hallowell Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.



to view the dedication ceremony (fig. 5.5).²⁴ Atkinson appears to have delegated the job of disbursing tickets to the event to Henry Lee, whose “most careful supervision” assured “that no one might be forgotten who had even a remote claim to be present,” Atkinson later wrote. A typewritten list of tickets, their bearers, and the locations of their Music Hall seats documents that Lee distributed at least 423 tickets, sometimes as many as thirty to a given individual: Josephine Shaw Lowell received seventeen, which probably covered her mother and the rest of her immediate family; other Shaws received 31, the Hallowells received 30, and Lee, Kennard, and Atkinson received between fifteen and twenty tickets each (figs. 5.6 & 5.7). None of the ticket holders listed were of African descent. Not even Joshua Bowen Smith’s widow Emeline, who was still living in Cambridge, received one. Lee reserved fourteen rows below the stage to one side for the battalion of survivors, and it is clear from one letter that all other African Americans were to be seated in the gallery. Atkinson wrote to Lee in mid-March 1897 that he would like his allotment of sixteen tickets increased to twenty, “with two added in the gallery where you intend to place

24. “At Music Hall,” *Boston Journal*, 1 June 1897, 2.

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the colored friends of the colored soldiers. I desire to gratify a colored man and his wife whom I esteem very highly but who may not have any connection with the survivors.” Lee may not have appreciated the irony of placing African Americans in the gallery, to which most white Protestant churches had consigned them for many decades before the Civil War, but African Americans must have.²⁵

According to the official record of the dedication, eighty-one people were seated on the stage at the Music Hall, the only person of African descent being Booker T. Washington. At 12:30 the battalion of survivors marched in. “When the colored veterans arrived at the hall, which was crowded with people, and gay with bunting, what a shout went up. The sight of that old tattered battle flag aroused every heart.”²⁶ The Germania Band played “patriotic airs,” and “a chorus composed of old Harvard glee club singers” sang “Our Heroes” and “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” before and after William James’s oration. After Washington’s address the band, the chorus, and the audience sang “America.”²⁷ Then Governor Wolcott spoke briefly, citing, as Henry Lee had earlier, white Northerners’ doubt that men of African descent could or would fight. Wagner called them “into manhood” and taught the North that “whatever the color of the skin, the blood that flowed in the veins of the colored man was red with the lusty hue of manhood and of heroism.” Wolcott made much of the fact that the Shaw Memorial stood near where the 54th had halted its parade before the governor in May 1863 and expressed his sense of the monument’s significance and potential:

Facing the capitol of the state in whose service they were mustered in, on the spot where Governor Andrew reviewed them and sent them forth with the Godspeed of the commonwealth, we place this memorial, not as a mere likeness of the face and form of Shaw, but as a monument to the soul of the regiment which he led, as an expression of the great idea, of the high purpose, which called it into being. Once more it marches

25. *Monument to Shaw*, 13; Atkinson to Lee, 16 March 1897, Atkinson Letterbooks 60:372. No member of the Forbes family received tickets to the Music Hall event. The typewritten list of ticket holders, dated by hand 30 April 1897, is in the Lee Family Papers. At least one person seems to have questioned whether all of the 54th survivors should be invited; in a letter to Francis H. Appleton Lee stated, “One gentleman writes that he supposed we will give tickets to the governor, to the mayor, to a certain number of the survivors of the 54th regiment, to the legislature, to the aldermen and council, to the United States officials in town, to the newspaper and to the committee who will be under pressure” (emphasis added). Lee to Genl. F. H. Appleton, 12 April 1897, folder 16, Lee Family Papers.

26. “Heroes from Chattels.”

27. *Monument to Shaw*, 51; “In Music Hall,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 7.

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today with full ranks—its survivors again passing through the streets which first knew their martial tread a third of a century ago, its dead, recalled to life by the genius of the sculptor, again marching by the side of their heroic young commander. . . . May the lesson which it teaches sink more deeply into the hearts of our people as years go by. If they ever feel in doubt as to the future of American political institutions, if they ever despair of the republic, may they here gather new inspiration and courage; may they here more fully realize that the country of freemen, which was worth dying for a generation ago, is worth living for now and hereafter; and let us here catch the forward step of the 54th Massachusetts and serve, in whatever manner the peaceful opportunities of our time may permit, under the same glorious colors which it bore.²⁸

Wolcott then for a second time transferred the Shaw Memorial to Mayor Josiah Quincy, representing the city, and William James began his oration.²⁹ The United States had from the first been “a singular anomaly,” James observed—“A land of freedom, boastfully so-called, with human slavery enthroned at the heart of it, and at last dictating terms of unconditional surrender to every other organ of its life, what was it but a thing of falsehood and horrible self-contradiction?” Only “policy, compromise, and concession” had kept the nation together until the war. James saw that war in a different light than Henry Lee Higginson did. The Civil War “freed the country from the social plague which until then had made political development impossible in the United States. More and more, as the years pass, does that meaning stand forth as the sole meaning,” he asserted. Nor did he accept Higginson’s view of the abolitionist influence. “‘Only muzzle the Abolition fanatics,’ said the South, ‘and all will be well again!’ But the Abolitionists could not be muzzled,” James said; “they were the voice of the world’s conscience, they were part of destiny. Weak as they were, they drove the South to madness.” Robert Gould Shaw “recognized the vital opportunity: he saw that the time had come when the colored people must put the country in their debt.” Addressing parts of the audience directly, James claimed that commemorating the young colonel in a great monument was a worthy act not because of “the common and gregarious courage which Robert Shaw showed when he marched with you, men of the Seventh Regiment” but because of “that more lonely

28. [Lee], *Monument to Shaw*, 68–70; “Mayor Josiah Quincy,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 7.

29. W. E. Barton, pastor Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, to William James, Cambridge, 14 May 1897 asked James if he would be willing to “speak a word concerning the important work of Maj. Geo. L. Stearns” in raising the 54th and 55th regiments, which James evidently chose not to do; Henry Lee to N. P. Hallowell, 4 June 1897, stated that the committee “succeeded in inserting a pleasant allusion to your friend, George L. Stearns, by sending an account of him to Booker T. Washington, who availed of it in his oration.” Lee Family Papers.

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courage which he showed when he dropped his warm commission in the glorious Second to head your dubious fortunes, negroes of the 54th.” And the memorial itself was special for being “the first soldiers’-monument to be raised to a particular set of comparatively undistinguished men.” Its significance, in James’s view, followed from that singularity:

Our nation had been founded in what we may call our American religion, baptized and reared in the faith that a man requires no master to take care of him, and that common people can work out their salvation well enough together if left free to try. But the founders of the Union had not dared to touch the great intractable exception; and slavery had wrought and spread, until at last the only alternative for the nation was to fight or die. What Shaw and his comrades stand for and show us is that in such an emergency Americans of all complexions and conditions can go forth like brothers, and meet death cheerfully if need be, in order that this religion of our native land shall not become a failure on the earth.

“Onward they move together,” James said of the men depicted on the memorial, “a single resolution kindled in their eyes, and animating their otherwise so different frames.” And Shaw’s image by itself might stand for all time, he declared, as “an inciter to similarly unselfish public deeds,” though the history of the regiment and the “single resolution” the memorial depicted arguably made the enlisted men of the 54th as inspiring as Shaw alone was.³⁰

Booker T. Washington’s address was much shorter and also, reportedly, more enthusiastically received.³¹ In effect Washington cast Shaw much as Thomas Ball had Lincoln in his Emancipation Group: he was the great white father. As Katie Mullis Kresser has noted, Washington described Shaw as a man with Christ-like qualities who was “altogether lovely” and “willing to make himself of no reputation that he might save and lift up others.”³² To the 54th, he ventured to declare, Shaw “is not dead,” and even if Boston had no monument to him the enlisted men should never forget him. Moreover, Washington maintained, “as grateful as we are to artist and patriotism for placing the

30. *Monument to Shaw*, 73–87.

31. “Memorable Words” (editorial), *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, new ser. 32, August 1897, 636, stated, ““In the mere accomplishment of oratory, in the power to speak rather than read, in the skill to seize and bear along the minds and the emotions of listeners, in dramatic climax, it was the colored man who excelled.”

32. Kresser, “Brahmin Identity,” 45. Kresser here has unpacked the Biblical and other allusions in Washington’s address.

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figures of Shaw and his comrades in physical form of beauty and magnificence . . . after all, the real monument, the greater monument, is being slowly but safely builded among the lowly in the south, in the struggles and sacrifices of a race to justify all that has been done and suffered for it.” Washington thereby effectively externalized the African American struggle, as though only whites had worked to ameliorate it. And though he averred that whites who could not sympathize with, would not hire, or would in other ways oppose African Americans were “but half free,” Washington set the burden of realizing freedom squarely on African Americans:

The full measure of the fruit of Fort Wagner and all that this monument stands for will not be realized until every man covered by a black skin shall, by patience and natural effort, grow to that height in industry, property, intelligence, and moral responsibility, where no man in all our land will be tempted to degrade himself by withholding from his black brother any opportunity which he himself would possess. Until that time comes, this monument will stand for effort, not victory complete. What these heroic souls of the 54th Regiment began, we must complete. It must be completed not in malice, nor narrowness, nor artificial progress, nor in efforts at mere temporary political gain, nor in abuse of another section or race.

As he had in his “Atlanta Compromise” speech of 1895, Washington articulated an agenda that disdained political activity among African Americans and favored instead their “industrial development.” Like Higginson he also spoke of reconciliation as achieved, and as a positive good. “My heart goes out to those who wore the gray as well as to those clothed in blue, to those who returned defeated to destitute homes, to face blasted hopes and shattered political and industrial system,” Washington said. “To them there can be no prouder reward for defeat than by a supreme effort to place the negro on that footing where he will add material, intellectual, and civil strength to every department of state,” a claim that must have struck many African Americans, especially those who had come from the South, as scarcely credible. The “key that unlocks every door of opportunity,” Washington argued, was for the African American “to so grow in skill and knowledge that he shall place his services in demand by reason of his intrinsic and superior worth.” All other routes to equality of opportunity, in his view, were doomed to fail. Washington then addressed William H. Carney, who had brought the 54th’s national flag to the Music Hall (fig. 5.8). Just as Shaw had wished that his men might prove their mettle by fighting alongside white soldiers, the African American in this time of peace “shall fight by the side of white men North and South . . . in the battle of industry, in the struggle for good



Fig. 5.8. William H. Carney wearing the Gillmore Medal, probably before 1900, photograph by William Hawes, New Bedford. On his own initiative and with his own funds, General Quincy Adams Gillmore had four hundred bronze medals made to commemorate “gallant and meritorious conduct during the operations before Charleston” and awarded at least one hundred of them. According to Gillmore’s General Order No. 94 of 28 October 1863, officers were to recommend not more than 3 percent of the men in any regiment to receive the medal. Colonel Edward N. Hallowell recommended four men from the 54th, Carney among them. The medal showed Sumter in ruins on one face and Gillmore’s facsimile signature on the reverse. The buckle attached to the medal was engraved with the soldier’s name, company, and regiment. Courtesy Carl J. Cruz Collection.

government, in the lifting up of the lowest to the fullest opportunities.” If that happened, Washington declared, “that old flag, that emblem of progress and security which brave Sergeant Carney never permitted to fall upon the ground, will still be borne aloft by the southern soldier and northern soldier, and in a more potent and higher sense we shall all realize that ‘The slave’s chains and the master’s alike are broken. The one curse of the races held both in tether; they are rising,—all are rising, the black and white together!’”³³

In his ghost-written *Story of My Life and Work*, published three years later, Washington noted that the newspapers had failed to “describe fully” the moment when he addressed Carney:

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Before I made this address I had never met Sergeant Carney. Sergeant Carney, however, together with a remnant of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, was present on a front seat, and he held in his hand the same flag which he had held on to safely during the battle of Fort Wagner. When I turned to address the colored regiment and referred to Sergeant Carney, he rose as if by instinct with the flag in his hands. It has been my privilege to witness a good many satisfactory and rather sensational demonstrations in connection with several of my public addresses, but in dramatic effect I have never seen nor experienced anything that equaled the impression made on the audience when Sergeant Carney rose. For a good many minutes the audience seemed to entirely lose control of itself and patriotic feeling was at a high pitch.³⁴

Upon this display Governor Wolcott was said to have sprung to his feet and proclaimed, “Three cheers for Booker T. Washington”—as though the event had been staged to honor him, not Shaw and the 54th.

The racial sentiments and ideas manifest at the events surrounding the Shaw Memorial dedication were complex, and they are as difficult to categorize as Saint-Gaudens’s views of African Americans. James’s oration, and his reaction to Washington’s, reveal an aspect of this complexity. Even as his own address was the less conservative of the two, James in his private language was more closely aligned with Saint-Gaudens than with Norwood Hallowell, for example, or Edward Atkinson. James expected that his own oration would be “too academic for any real effect” but that “the Darkey,” meaning Washington, “will sound the big drum and cymbals.” “Read the darkey Washington’s speech, a model of elevation and brevity,” he wrote to his brother Henry after the unveiling. “The thing that struck me most in the day was the faces of the old Fifty-fourth soldiers, of which there were perhaps about thirty or forty present, with such respectable old darkey faces, the heavy animal look entirely absent, and in its place the wrinkled, patient, good old darkey citizen.” To Booker T. Washington at the same time he wrote, “What struck me most in

33. [Lee], *Monument to Shaw*, 91–95. The last lines of Washington’s address were from “Howard in Atlanta,” a verse composed by John Greenleaf Whittier upon hearing that, after the war, General Oliver Howard had queried African American schoolchildren in Atlanta, “What shall I tell your friends in the North?” A young Richard Robert Wright, later president of Georgia State Industrial College, answered, “Tell them we are rising.” See H. F. Kletzing and W. H. Crogman, *Progress of a Race; or, The Remarkable Advancement of the Afro-American Negro* (Atlanta GA: J. L. Nichols and Co., 1898), 279.

34. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, quoted in Harlan, ed., *Washington Papers*, 1:11–12. He stated much the same in less detail in *Up from Slavery*; see Harlan, ed., *Washington Papers*, 1:347–49.

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the whole thing was the faces of the survivors of the 54th and 55th, such excellent, patient, furrowed old citizens as they were.”³⁵

After the Music Hall ceremonies, African American Bostonians continued their usual Memorial Day routine. Wesley Furlong and the Shaw Veterans Association placed a wreath at the Attucks monument, left a “floral column” on the Shaw Memorial, and decorated Attucks’s Granary Hill Burial Ground grave with flowers. When they reached the Shaw monument they found miniature American flags all around the monument and “an immense broken column of rare flowers, left by some unknown admirer of their dead colonel,” the *Herald* reported. The group then went to Mt. Auburn Cemetery for services at the graves of the Shaw family, Edward N. Hallowell, Charles Turner Torrey, Anson Burlingame, George L. Ruffin, and Charles Sumner, and returned at last to Twelfth Baptist Church, where they dined and listened to an oration. The *Herald* noted that Bostonians visited the memorial throughout the afternoon and evening. “All races and conditions of men, women and children were represented,” the newspaper reported, “but the colored people were especially numerous, and seemed to realize that the memorial was intended to honor the soldiers of their race, as well as the man who commanded them.”³⁶

In the evening of 31 May African American veterans gathered for “a welcome and benediction meeting” at Faneuil Hall. The audience, according to the *Herald*, was “composed largely of colored citizens.” The hall’s galleries “were crowded with the wives, sons and daughters and the friends of the survivors of the three famous regiments,” the newspaper noted in a second article. As William C. Nell had done at his 1858 Attucks commemoration, several veterans brought mementoes: an aide to General Quincy Gillmore brought a flag “which had been placed over Fort Wagner after the surrender,” and Charles L. Mitchell displayed “a sand bag taken from the face of the fort, near the spot where Col. Shaw fell.” Again the Germania Band, Governor Wolcott, and Mayor

35. See Robert H. Bell, “William James, the Memory of Glory, and the Work of Mourning,” in Savage, ed., *Civil War in Art and Memory*, 232; William James, Cambridge, to Henry James, 5 June 1897, in Henry James, ed., *Letters of William James* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920), 2:60–61.

36. “Decorated the Shaw Lot,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 4; “Crowds Admire the Work: Colored People Proud of Their Part in the Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 5. “Decorated the Shaw Lot” states that attorney Clement G. Morgan addressed the Shaw Veterans group; “In Cemeteries,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 9, states that attorney Edwin G. Walker spoke. See also “Two Heroes Remembered,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 6.

Quincy were present. Carney, Lewis Douglass, and Navy ensign Charles Redding were seated on the platform with Hallowell, white officers of the regiments, and “prominent colored men of the city,” including Hallowell’s five aides. Here George T. Downing offered his assessment of Shaw and the memorial, and here was enacted the tableaux that Charles Mitchell had proposed, unsuccessfully, for the Music Hall. Flanked by Carney waving the American flag and Redding waving the Union Jack, Nellie Brown Mitchell sang “The Star-Spangled Banner” and “Wrap Me in the Old Flag.” Later she sang “With Shaw at Wagner,” which Boston poet and journalist Henry O’Meara had composed for the event and written to the tune of “Fair Harvard.” Orations were offered both by white men—Wolcott, Quincy, 54th veteran lieutenant colonels George Pope and Norwood Hallowell—and African American men—journalist Robert Teamoh, Downing, Mitchell, Carney, and attorneys James H. Wolff and Edward Everett Brown, Nellie Brown Mitchell’s brother. Where the Music Hall orations offered no critique of current African American affairs, the Faneuil Hall orations did. Brown called the meeting to order, and according to the *Herald* “denounced the bigotry and injustice which he said were shown toward colored people at the present time, notwithstanding their heroism and bravery in the war.” The *Herald* noted that “many of the colored speakers” spoke to the same issue: Downing, an integrationist who longed for a “color-blind” world, “called down shame because, he said, colored Americans are unjusted [*sic*] treated on all sides, discouraged in their attempts to demand respect and pursue happiness.”³⁷

The Context of Dedication

To Downing and Brown, the dedication of the Shaw Memorial was at least in part a sad irony, because it cast the harsh light of broken hope and promise on the nation’s persistent racial issues. As early as 1862 Boston physician and attorney John S. Rock urged his fellow

37. “In Faneuil Hall,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 6 (which quotes from the orations); “War Memories Revived,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 7; “The Great Event,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 31 May 1897, 1–2; “Welcome and Benediction,” *Boston Globe*, 24 May 1897, 12. “Wrap Me in the Old Flag” may be an adaptation of “The British Soldier’s Grave,” written by F. V. S. Clair and E. Jongmans, the chorus of which begins with that phrase. Henry O’Meara (1848–1904) was a native of Newfoundland who came with some of his family to Boston in the 1870s. His brother Stephen published the *Boston Journal*, and O’Meara worked at the Irish American newspaper *Boston Pilot* under John Boyle O’Reilly and later at the *Herald* and *Journal*. “Reception to Officers of the 54th,” *Boston Globe*, 2 June 1897, 1, reports that the Mitchells held a reception for members of the 54th at their home in Roxbury and lists those who attended.

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African American men to enlist for Civil War service because he could not believe that the government could fail to be manifestly grateful for it:

We desire to take part in this contest, and when our Government shall see the necessity of using the loyal blacks in the free States, I hope it will have the courage to recognize their manhood. It certainly will not be mean enough to force us to fight for your liberty, (after having spurned our offers)—and then leave us when we go home to our respective States to be told that we cannot ride in the cars, that our children cannot go to public schools, that we cannot vote; and if we don't like the state of things, there is an appropriation to colonize us.³⁸

Yet the meanness Rock hoped military participation would avert was evident in every southern state and most northern ones virtually from the moment the war ended. As historian David Blight has noted, the sectional reconciliation Higginson believed to exist was “founded on a racial apartheid that was becoming the law and practice of the land.” Republican activist Carl Schurz, asked by President Andrew Johnson to examine and report on conditions in the South in 1865, encountered massive resistance to “the negro's controlling his own labor, carrying on business independently on his own account—in one word, working for his own benefit.” Pauline Hopkins attested the persistence in the early twentieth century of much that Rock had feared forty years earlier:

Compromise and political necessity forced the war. Compromise and political necessity are showing their false, smiling faces all over the country. Compromise and political necessity hope to force us away from this country, or else grind our ambitious advance down to serfdom. But not yet, friends; the same God lives and is supreme today that lived in '60, '61, '62, '63 and '64, and has ruled this country up to 1901, and intends to make the black people a race without fear or reproach. Never did the Negro prove recreant to his trust,—at home with his master's family or on the field of battle he was faithful to his duty and to the flag. The South has that against us. The Negro represented great money investments, unbounded wealth. Rebellion lost the Southern gentleman his capital, his living; he has that against us. Without the Negro the war would probably have ended differently. They have that against us. And so, as the weakest object, the South today takes out of the Negro its losses and its revenge.³⁹

38. “Celebration of the First of August: Speech of John S. Rock, Esq.,” *Liberator*, 15 August 1862, 3; also quoted in McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 253.

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The government had nullified its several earlier promises that confiscated land would be distributed among the newly freed people. Land, Forbes and many others maintained, was fundamental to citizenship and to preventing “something like peonage” from taking hold in the South as former enslavers returned to reclaim their holdings.⁴⁰ In 1867 *Harper’s Weekly* noted that “the freedmen are still pursued and sacrificed by the ancient laws of Slavery, and thus the rage of the baffled rebellion expends itself upon the most helpless and unfortunate of the population . . . no duty of this nation is now so solemn and paramount as to take care that the late slaves shall not be tortured.” Schurz’s report had strongly advised that “not only the political machinery of the States and their constitutional relations to the general government, but the whole organism of southern society . . . must be reconstructed.” The Military Reconstruction Act, which had passed over Andrew Johnson’s veto in March 1867, required the rebellious states to meet certain conditions before they might rejoin the Union—they must, “by universal manhood suffrage,” elect delegates to a convention to rewrite their state constitutions, and those new constitutions had to assure equal male suffrage (in 1865 Johnson had allowed both North Carolina and Mississippi to rejoin the Union without the equal suffrage requirement). Resistance to adopting these new constitutions generated waves of white supremacist violence, and federal troops were stationed throughout the South to protect African Americans’ new constitutional rights, including access to the polls. But Reconstruction lasted only a decade: in 1877 President Hayes removed the troops, and a full range of laws and “Jim Crow” practices severely curtailed the lives of African Americans in the South. In 1883, the Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which Charles Sumner had introduced five years earlier and which guaranteed

39. Blight, “Shaw Memorial,” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 87–88; Schurz and *Harper’s Weekly* quoted in Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, 17–20, 29, 47–48, 121; Pauline E. Hopkins, “Famous Men of the Negro Race. Sergeant William H. Carney,” *Colored American*, June 1901, 89. Sumner had noted that after southern enslavers no longer possessed enslaved people as property, they no longer felt the need to protect their investments. Sumner often received letters from southerners warning that, as he wrote, “in most places the freedmen are worse off than when slaves, being exposed to the brutality and vindictiveness of their old masters, without the old check of self-interest.” Donald, *Sumner*, 2:241.

40. In August 1872 in a letter to Sumner, Forbes noted that the Ku Klux Klan had organized itself “into an army of regulators, to eventually control the Southern elections by intimidation and actual violence against the Union or Republican voters, white or black. . . . if we give back to the rebel States what the Greely party call ‘local self-government,’ it will simply mean the right to control the elections by fraud or violence, as either may promise to be most effective.” Forbes added that the “the old slaveholders show their instinct, too, in discouraging by every possible means the breaking up of large estates and the acquisition of land by the blacks, whether from public or private domains.” Hughes, ed., *Forbes*, 2: 179–81.

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equal access to public transportation and accommodation and the right of African Americans to serve on juries.⁴¹

In the North, there had been considerable postwar gains yet equally considerable indications that the war had not ushered in a new era of race relations. Beginning in 1867 and almost continuously for the next thirty years, at least one African American had served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, the first being Mitchell and Edwin Garrison Walker.⁴² Mitchell had been a clerk at the Boston Custom House, as had Navy veteran Isaac Mullen, who was later a member of the Massachusetts District Police force. Veterans James Monroe Trotter, William H. Dupree, Frank M. Welch, and Carney all had federal jobs with the U.S. Post Office; Carney was later a State House messenger. Elsewhere veterans of the 54th and 55th became legislators, in South Carolina (Stephen Atkins Swails), Indiana (James M. Townsend), and the District of Columbia (Lewis H. Douglass). Veteran Horace J. Gray was an internal revenue collector working from the Boston Post Office. African Americans also ran for and won seats on city councils in Boston, Cambridge, and in other larger cities. And the development of political organizations among postwar African American Bostonians was robust, infused in large measure by people who had been born in the South and had come to Boston since the war. In 1887 they founded the Colored National League, aimed to insure that all Americans were protected in their constitutional rights, their right of access to public institutions and modes of transport, their “fair and impartial” treatment in the courts, and their “freedom from insult, from odium, and proscription, because of race or color.”⁴³ Dupree was the first president of the group. The rest of the officers were not veterans, but at least six of the nine officers were Southerners by birth. Boston native Josephine St. Pierre

41. Abbott, *Cotton & Capital*, 169; Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, 121; James Smethurst, “Those Noble Sons of Ham’: Poetry, Soldiers, and Citizens at the End of Reconstruction,” in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 173, 180. The court held that Congress had no right to regulate the actions of individuals, as opposed to states, and thus could not legislate equal access. Schurz quoted in Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, 20. As Sumner lay dying in 1874, he begged his Massachusetts colleague George Hoar to see that the bill became law; see *ibid.*, 141–42.

42. Later African American state legislators included William H. Lewis, Lewis Hayden, Joshua Bowen Smith, Julius C. Chappelle, Robert Teamoh, John J. Smith, George L. Ruffin, George W. Lowther, William O. Armstrong, Andrew B. Lattimore, Charles E. Harris, and William L. Reed, as well as a “Deacon Hammond” of the Cape Cod town of Mashpee and William Vanderhoof of Martha’s Vineyard. Robert Teamoh listed these members (except for Lewis) in “Red-Hot Shot,” *Boston Globe*, 24 February 1897, 3.

43. The Massachusetts Citizens Equal Rights Association had the same officers and may have been the same organization.



Fig. 5.9. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, photograph in *A New Negro for the New Century* (1900). Courtesy Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Ruffin founded the Woman's Era Club in Boston in 1893 and its monthly newspaper of the same name in 1894 (fig. 5.9).⁴⁴ In 1895 she brought together African American woman's clubs from across the country in a National Conference of Colored Women in Boston, and in 1896 she called for and helped organize the merger of the Woman's Era Club, the National Federation of African-American Women, and the Colored Women's League into the National Association of Colored Women (by 1904 the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs). And in 1895 African American Bostonians founded the Massachusetts Racial Protective Association "to educate the race morally, socially, politically and in a business capacity." Its first foray into public life was a large meeting at Faneuil Hall in November 1895 to protest and pass resolutions against lynching, and it also addressed at its meetings "the Jim Crow car, the chain gang system in the South, the exclusion from Northern hotels and trades . . . as instances of oppression of the race calling for immediate redress."⁴⁵

Lynching, a term understood to include not only hanging but any vigilante killing, had begun to rise sharply in the South in the late 1880s. Ida Wells, born in slavery in Mississippi and living in South Memphis, Tennessee, in the late 1880s, was impelled to

44. On Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin see Appendix E.

an intensive documentation of lynching by the nearby shooting of African American storekeeper Thomas Moss and his two African American clerks in May 1892. In that year, considered the peak year for this brand of terrorism, 241 persons had been lynched, 160 of them African American and 163 of the total in the southern states. Later in 1892, after Wells published her pamphlet *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*, her Memphis newspaper office was burned down. On 1 December 1892, upon Josephine Ruffin's invitation, Wells spoke on the subject of "southern mob rule" to three hundred African Americans, mostly women from Boston, Cambridge, Newton, and Chelsea, at the Charles Street AME church in Boston. It was Wells's "crusade against lynching" that partly inspired Ruffin and her daughter Florida Ruffin Ridley to found the Woman's Era Club.⁴⁶ In late May 1894 the club invited its members and leading African American men to a conference on lynching and what "practical steps might be taken in the work against it." None of the clergy Ruffin invited responded to the invitation, but eight men—four lawyers, two journalists, a druggist's clerk, and a dentist—attended. Meeting attendees formed a committee to undertake the work they had set forth, and as a result Robert Teamoh presented an anti-lynching statement before the state legislature, in which he then served.⁴⁷

45. "The Flagler Case," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 March 1896, sets out the association's goals and activities. "Colored Citizens Agitated," *Boston Herald*, 30 October 1895, 7, states that this association was "recently formed." See also "Anti-Lynching," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 13 November 1895, 1, which notes that 2000 or more adult colored people of Boston attended a meeting with "half a hundred white men . . . most of whom were on the floor below and appeared to be of the working class." In "Flagler Case" the chair of the association's committee on interstate correspondence stated, "The end and aim of the Massachusetts Racial Protective Association is to protect and subserve the rights and interests of the Negro race in America against the discrimination and outrages of a prejudiced and ignorant minority, which more and more offers opposition to the race's advancement."

46. "Plucky Young School Teacher," *Boston Journal*, 2 December 1892, 3, is the most descriptive article on Wells's address and quotes excerpts from it. See also "Energetic Miss Ida B. Wells," *Boston Globe*, 29 November 1892, 3, and "Honored Bright Young Colored Woman," *ibid.*, 2 December 1892, 2. The figures on lynching are cited in Ida B. Wells, "Lynch Law," in *Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*; see also Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, 30. On the club see Florida Ruffin Ridley, *Woman's Era*, 24 March 1894 (first issue), 8, which stated the two had felt "an earnest call for an organization of colored women. There are so many questions which in their application to the race demand special treatment, so many questions which, as colored women, we are called upon to answer, more than this, there was so much danger that numbers of women would be over-looked unless some special appeal was made to them, that in February last, at the time Miss Wells was creating so much interest in her crusade against lynching, it was a good time to carry out the club dea."

47. *Women's Era*, *Woman's Era*, July 1897, 3–4. Greenidge, "Bulwark of the Nation," 314, states that Teamoh presented this statement, but I have found no coverage of it in Boston newspapers in 1894.

Within two years of the Shaw Memorial dedication, the issue of lynching had become part of the wedge between African American Bookerites and those who opposed Washington. The North had already been stunned by the murder of Lake City, South Carolina, African American postmaster Frazier B. Baker and part of his family in February 1898, and controversy over an effort to bring the surviving family members to Boston was still playing out when the horrific torture and immolation of African American Sam Hose in Georgia in April 1899 scandalized the North.⁴⁸ It helped radicalize Du Bois, then teaching in Georgia, and sparked public criticism of Washington for failing to speak out or otherwise act publicly against lynching. Butler Wilson, speaking before African American Bostonians at Young's Hotel less than two weeks later, clearly had Washington in mind when he declared, "Apathy while we are being disenfranchised by Southern State Constitutions with the apparent acquiescence of our political friends, is cowardly and criminal. We can no longer, with safety, allow men, however honest and earnest they may be, to lead us along dangerous paths. We seek to obtain rights, not to surrender them." William H. Lewis, a Cambridge attorney, Harvard Law graduate, and member of that city's Common Council, was even more pointed.

48. In July 1897 President William McKinley had appointed Baker the first African American postmaster of Lake City, and both he and his post office were shot at soon afterward. After a crowd burned the post office building down, it and the Baker family moved to the edge of town, where on 22 February 1898 a mob set fire to the house while the family was inside. Baker was shot and killed, as was his infant daughter Julia; his wife Lavinia and three other children were shot but escaped. In 1899, out of seemingly nowhere white Bostonian Lillian Clayton Jewett offered to go to Charleston, where the remaining Baker family had fled, and bring them to Boston. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin soon learned that Jewett had been hospitalized for "recurrent mania" while in college in Virginia and afterward in Boston, argued against her as "a proper person to represent the colored people on a mission of any kind," and asked the Colored National League to "ask Miss Jewett to retire from posing as the Harriet Beecher Stowe of the race." Jewett, however, went to Charleston and brought the family North in early August 1899. In Providence she arranged a meeting to publicize their fate and founded the Lillian Clayton Jewett Anti-Lynching League. Jewett then brought the family before an audience at the People's Temple in Boston and a Salvation Army convention at Old Orchard Beach in Maine. William Lloyd Garrison Jr. raised funds to buy the Bakers a house in Chelsea, and by August 1900 Lavinia Baker stated that she was no longer in touch with Jewett, who disappeared from news accounts in 1904. What became of her is yet unknown. The Bakers' son Willie died of tuberculosis in 1908, and by 1920 only one of the children, Cora, and Lavinia Baker were still living. After Cora's death in 1942, Lavinia Baker returned to South Carolina, where he died in 1947. See Roger K. Hux, "Lillian Clayton Jewett and the Rescue of the Baker Family," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 19, 1 (Winter 1991): 13-23; "Record Their Protest," *Boston Globe*, 1 March 1898, 12; "Close to a Riot," *ibid.*, 2 August 1899, 1, 3; "Doesn't Worry," *ibid.*, 28 July 1899, 3; "Enthusiasm," *Boston Herald*, 8 August 1899, 1; "Lillian C. Jewett at Bath," *Boston Globe*, 9 May 1904, 11.

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The gospel of industrial education has been declared to be the negro's only salvation. If it is meant by this that through some mysterious process a trade will give to the negro all his rights as a man and citizens, it is a sufficient refutation of the theory to say that the South would not stand for it a single moment. Get education; get property, leave politics alone—is the cry. . . The history of the world shows that education and property follow liberty, not liberty, education and property. Leave politics alone? Why, sir, not all the learning of the ages, not all the wealth of Christendom could compensate the race for the loss of civil and political liberty.

Lewis asserted as well that white southern faithlessness was at the root of what was popularly termed “the negro problem”:

For a quarter of a century before and since the war, perhaps longer, the negro question was the dominant issue in this country, cleaving sections and differentiating parties. The whole vexed question would have been settled in 1870, after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, had the Southern people maintained sacred and inviolate the oaths they took upon readmission to the Union—to support the Constitution of the United States. But, instead of that, the question has been kept alive, a source of irritation and danger to the republic, not by the negro, not by the North, but by the treasonable conduct of the South in attempting, by black laws, fraud and violence, to undo the glorious result of the war, which made us men and citizens.⁴⁹

The Young's Hotel meeting had been called to mark the forty-eighth anniversary of the election of Charles Sumner to the United States Senate, and at least two of those who addressed the group declared the continuing relevance of what African Americans regarded as Sumner's most valued trait. “No real rights have ever been won unless the principle of no compromise is behind them,” attorney Clement G. Morgan declared, and Lewis added at the end of his address that African Americans must keep “the words of Sumner ever before us, no compromise of human rights.” Two African American veterans of the Spanish American War present at the meeting voiced a more radical view, more reminiscent of John Brown (and before him African Americans David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet) than of Sumner. William J. Williams, the first African American to enter the volunteer army with a captain's commission in May 1898, had served in Cuba with first lieutenant William Hubert Jackson, also at the Young's Hotel

49. “Their Idol: Colored Citizens Honor Sumner,” *Boston Journal*, 25 April 1899, 10, is the fullest account of this meeting. See also “Recent Georgia Outrages,” *Boston Herald*, 25 April 1899, 7; “Guiding Star,” *Boston Globe*, 25 April 1899, 7.

meeting. Williams stated, "I am a believer in that doctrine 'an eye for an eye.' I know that a bullet will go through a body at which it is directed. If you put that idea in operation when some of the white men in the South lynch without trial our brothers, you will have an end of the negro problem."⁵⁰ The *Herald* had reported that Williams's statement met "with uproarious applause" and moved the chair of the meeting, apparently Butler Wilson, to stand and state, "That's my sentiments, and I wish they could be telegraphed to President McKinley." Perhaps predictably the meeting triggered blowback. Lewis and George Washington Forbes, a native of Mississippi and editor and publisher of the African American weekly *Boston Courant*, felt compelled to visit the offices of the *Herald* to state that Williams's statement was not the "sentiment of the meeting." The next day the Boston branch of the Colored National League met to disapprove the attempt "to denounce Booker T. Washington, who had done and is doing more good for the colored race than any other man in America." When onetime 54th sutler Mark De Mortie rose to defend the sentiments expressed at the Young's Hotel meeting and to argue that "the name of the Colored National League should not be used to denounce the acts of others," eight men rose immediately to dispute his statements.⁵¹

The Young's Hotel meeting raised another issue related to Washington that troubled African American northerners. George W. Forbes argued that so much focus on Washington and his efforts permitted northerners to ignore the situation at home. "We must file another protest against this continual agitation of the colored men's status in this locality for the mere benefit of primary and industrial schools in other sections," he stated at the meeting. "It injures us here."⁵² The social worker Robert A. Woods later noted this "curious anomaly in the attitude of Boston citizens toward the Negro. Very large sums of money were annually contributed to schools for appropriate and effective measures of

50. "Their Idol." Governor Roger Wolcott, who had taken part in the Shaw Memorial activities, formally awarded commissions to Williams, Jackson, and George W. Braxton on 18 May 1898, exactly 35 years from the day that Governor John Andrew had presented the flags to the 54th Regiment at Camp Meigs.

51. "His Own Opinion Only," *Boston Herald*, 28 April 1899, 6; "Eight on Their Feet at Once," *ibid.*, 26 April 1899, 2. Another of numerous anti-lynching meetings gotten up by Boston's African Americans occurred on the 99th anniversary of the birth of John Brown, on 9 May 1899; see "Nation's Duty," *Boston Globe*, 10 May 1899, 7. Their outrage at McKinley's silence about lynching, riots, and the constant abuse of African American rights in the South is stated in *Open Letter to President McKinley by Colored People of Massachusetts* (1899), Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/lcrbmrp.t1722/?sp=14&r=-0.854,0.536,2.707,1.444,0>.

52. On George Washington Forbes see Appendix E.

improvement among colored people in the South, while practically no specific attention was paid to the serious problem of the steadily increasing Negro population of Boston itself.” And Norwood Hallowell had noted the moral implications of this gaze before Worcester’s African American Civil War veterans in 1886. As long as African Americans were subject to “atrocious massacre,” as long as the public was outraged at political fraud in the North but “cold and apologetic” when it occurred in the South, and as long as “the avenues of labor are closed against citizens of African descent, because of race prejudice, there is work to be done by those who revere the lives of John Brown and Colonel Shaw.”⁵³

Twentieth-century historians have verified Hallowell’s sense of persistent race-based discrimination in employment; Stephan Thernstrom and Elizabeth Pleck have noted that African Americans in Boston, whether northern- or southern-born, had virtually no opportunity to rise above menial jobs in every Massachusetts industry except for shoe manufacture. In 1890 more than half of all employed African American men in Boston (56 percent) were in unskilled labor and service jobs. An occupational profile of 109 African American veterans of the 54th, 55th, 5th Cavalry and the Navy who were alive when the Shaw Memorial was unveiled is eerily similar—nearly 60 percent were in unskilled work. The proportion of men in civil occupations was very likely higher among veterans than among the general African American population in Boston: ten men (not counting James Monroe Trotter, who died in 1892) held federal or state jobs as messengers, clerks, and sometimes janitors; most had held the rank of corporal, sergeant, or lieutenant in their regiments.⁵⁴ Eight became ministers. None of the 109 were in

53. “Guiding Star,” *Boston Globe*, 25 April 1899, 7; Robert A. Woods, introduction to Daniels, *In Freedom’s Birthplace*, ix–x; Hallowell, *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 29 May 1886, quoted in Salvatore, *We All Got History*, 282–83. Woods added, “A few descendants of the Abolitionists, natural or spiritual, continued to have a care for the broad rights of the Negro, but this somewhat abstract concern seemed to make it the more difficult for them to find that there were once again new occasions bringing new duties; to realize that the issue was no longer merely one of equality but of contact. . . It is hoped that this presentment may help the citizens of Boston to focalize their traditional devotion to the cause of the Negro in greater degree upon conditions that are immediate in time and place.” The African American population of Boston rose from 2348 in 1865 to 11,591 in 1900 and 16,350 in 1920; see Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1973), 178–79; Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, 4; Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston, 1865–1900* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 12–13. Daniels, *In Freedom’s Birthplace*, 85, 113, states that the population increase was largely due to migration from the South and adds, “Never before had Boston experienced the Southern negro en masse.” According to Daniels (140–42), in 1860 almost 70 percent of Boston’s African American population was northern-born; by 1900 only 39 percent were; Thernstrom, *Other Bostonians*, 181, stated that in 1880 38 percent of black Bostonians had been born in the South, and by 1900 53 percent were.

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industrial work except for two shoe workers, one wool puller, and three factory janitors. Many worked at numerous semiskilled or unskilled jobs over the course of their lives. And even as foreign-born persons moved up the occupational ladder over generations, African Americans tended not to. Thernstrom has noted that while first-generation Irish Americans were concentrated in unskilled work, by the second generation people of Irish descent had leapfrogged over African Americans. Even third-generation African Americans, unless their complexion was light, “were no closer to arriving in the white-collar world than their grandparents.”⁵⁵

Amid countless episodes of race-based discrimination throughout the country numerous glaring instances were nationally publicized. Only six weeks after Robert E. Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Court House, the federal War Department staged a “Grand Review of the Armies” in the District of Columbia on 23 and 24 May 1865 for some sixty to seventy-five soldiers before formally discharging them. The Pittsfield, Massachusetts, *Sun* reported that “no negro troops were in the procession,” though it is worth noting the possibility that few had been discharged by that point: the 54th was not mustered out until late August 1865 and was not discharged in Boston until September. Renée Ater has noted that the only African Americans to parade before President Andrew Johnson and General Grant in Washington were “‘pick and shovel brigades’ or former slaves used as comic relief.” In mid-November 1865, some veterans of the 54th and 55th Regiments traveled to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to take part in a parade and reception specifically for African American troops. An untold number of men from ten infantry regiments

54. Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown*, 116, notes that Republicans had used post office jobs to reward African American party loyalists since at least the 1880s. Beginning in 1888, when President Harrison chose onetime John Brown ally James S. Clarkson as postmaster general, Clarkson appointed 16,000 African Americans to federal post office positions; William McKinley continued the practice in exchange for support in his 1896 election bid.

55. Thernstrom, *Progress and Poverty*, 184–88, 193–94. I collected biographical data on 109 African American Civil War veterans in and around Massachusetts and on those elsewhere who are documented to have attended the unveiling (Appendix C). Of these 109 for whom more than two directory, census, or other listings could be found, 9.2 percent held civil jobs, 7.3 percent were clergy, 16.5 percent worked at skilled trades, 2.7 percent owned their own businesses; 0.9 percent were in clerical work outside of civic jobs; 59.6 were barbers, cooks, porters, farm workers, whitewashers, janitors, laborers, coachmen, teamsters, and choremen. One man was a junk dealer, another a wool puller, and another, George A. Hayes, had been a carpenter whose wounds were so severe that he could not work after the war. One, Jefferson Ellis, spent most of his life after the war at the Connecticut State Prison in Wethersfield for having allegedly murdered his business partner in 1879; he was pardoned in 1913 and died in his home town, Poughkeepsie, NY, in 1930.

of U.S. Colored Troops and one unit of the Colored Heavy Artillery also took part. One Pittsburgh newspaper noted, “Contrary to what might have been expected of that place, the colored soldiers were not molested or even insulted” during their procession. Former 54th sergeant and newspaper correspondent George E. Stephens was named commander for the event, and the African American physician John B. Smith of Boston was one of two orators. Smith presented resolutions thanking the soldiers for their service, asking whites to help overturn the amendment to the Pennsylvania state constitution denying the elective franchise to men of color, and expressing the group’s enhanced love of country and consequent complete opposition to “any attempt at our expatriation as a class.”⁵⁶

By the time of the Shaw Memorial unveiling, the major international expositions in the United States had routinely relegated African American citizens to a scarcely visible presence. Their requests to help plan and take part in the National Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 and the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 were almost universally rejected, though some few African American works of art and artifacts were shown at both. At the 1876 exposition, Douglass had been invited to sit on the platform but not to speak, and a policeman blocked his entry to the platform until a New York congressman intervened. The Centennial Committee appointed by the 1875 Convention of Colored Newspaper Men contracted with Edmonia Lewis, then living and working in Rome, to prepare a work for the exhibition. Her sculpture *Death of Cleopatra* was exhibited, along with Edward M. Bannister’s landscape *Under the Oaks*, which received a gold medal—almost withdrawn when the award committee learned that Bannister was of African descent. No African Americans were hired for the work crews that prepared the two hundred buildings and grounds, and few were visible in any capacity other than waiters, messengers, and janitors. African Methodist Episcopal minister and *Christian Recorder* editor Benjamin Tucker Tanner stated that African

56. Renée Ater, “Commemorating Black Soldiers: The African American Civil War Memorial in Washington, D.C.,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 124; Cathy Stanton and Stephen Belyea, “‘Their Time Will Yet Come’: The African American Presence in Civil War Reenactment,” in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 256. The estimates of the number of soldiers taking part in the Grand Review are from “The Grand Review,” *New England Farmer*, 27 May 1865, 2, and “The Grand Review at Washington,” *Pittsfield Sun*, 1 June 1865, 2. On the Harrisburg event see “From Harrisburg. Grand Review of Pennsylvania Colored Troops To-day,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 November 1865, 1, and “Speech of Gen. Cameron to the Colored Troops,” *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 17 November 1865, 3. “Reception of the Colored Soldiers at Harrisburg,” *Liberator*, 24 November 1865, noted the participation of some 54th and 55th veterans and transcribed letters from Massachusetts Senator Henry Wilson, George Luther Stearns, and former General Benjamin F. Butler sending regrets at being unable to attend.

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Americans were “completely elbowed aside” except for the temporary installation of a bust of AME church founder Richard Allen on the Centennial grounds.⁵⁷

Nearer in memory was the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, where the record of African American participation is startlingly similar. The 108-person Board of National Commissioners that President Benjamin Harrison appointed to run the exposition included no people of African descent, and though there was some sympathy to include women of color on the fair’s Board of Lady Managers, they were in the end excluded from that body as well. Other than Frederick Douglass, sent by Haiti to represent the republic in its pavilion, no African American represented the progress and achievement of this part of the American community. The poet Paul Laurence Dunbar recited “The Colored American,” and at the nine “special congresses” organized during the exposition’s first month Fanny Jackson Coppin, Frances E. W. Harper, Washington, Tanner, and the clerics Daniel Alexander Payne and Benjamin William Arnett spoke. Some state committees organized to plan exhibits for the exposition did include women: Joan Imogene Howard of Boston, who had raised funds for the 54th’s flags and had grown up in an abolitionist family, was part of the New York Board of Managers. Edmonia Lewis’s Hiawatha and Hagar sculptures were featured in the Women’s Building, and some African American women demonstrated bookbinding, photo retouching, and other trades. But African America at the exposition was depicted largely in the evolving stereotypes of the Mammy and the old Uncle. Georgia included in its exhibit a tableau of idealized plantation life with happy African Americans, a “band of old-time ‘darkies’” sang in one of the fair’s restaurants, and Nancy Green, soon to be nationally known as Aunt Jemima, was introduced to the world as she made pancakes and told stories at the exposition.⁵⁸ As at Philadelphia, African American participation in the fair’s development and on its construction crews and staff was minimal: only two women, both clerks, were hired above the level of janitor or porter, and the fair’s board rejected all proposals for

57. Philip S. Foner, “Black Participation in the Centennial of 1876,” *Phylon* 39, 4 (Winter 1978): 283–9, Mitch Kachun, “Before the Eyes of All Nations: African-American Identity and Historical Memory at the Centennial Exposition of 1876,” *Pennsylvania History* 65, 3 (July 1998): 300–323; Hope Hancock, “The 1876 Centennial Exposed: How Souvenir Publications Reveal Contrasting Attitudes of Race and Gender in the Post-bellum United States” (Paper, n.d.), <https://hopehancock94.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/the-1876-centennial-exposed.pdf>. Kachun states that a painting by African American artist Robert Duncanson was also exhibited at the Centennial, though I have found no record of it, and Duncanson had died four years earlier. See also Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, 12.

58. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (1987), cited in Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown*, 90.

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exhibitions on African Americans. “Only as a menial is the Colored American to be seen—the Nation’s deliberate and cowardly tribute to the Southern demand ‘to keep the Negro in his place,’” African American journalist Ferdinand L. Barnett asserted.

Some who were invited to take part in the exposition, including the famed singer Sissieretta “Black Patti” Jones, refused to do so, and Josephine Ruffin and others urged African Americans to boycott the exposition. Ida Wells raised funds from African American newspapers to publish, with Frederick Douglass, twenty thousand copies of the pamphlet *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World’s Columbian Exposition*, which they hoped to distribute to fairgoers and had translated into French, German, and Spanish. For the pamphlet Wells wrote a preface about the presence of people of African descent in North America—and what their labor had meant for white America—as well as chapters on class legislation, the convict lease system, and lynching. Douglass contributed an introduction—and set up a table in the Haitian pavilion where Wells sold the pamphlet—the journalist Irvine Garland Penn described African American achievements in the arts, trades, literature, professions, and music since the war, and Barnett (whom Wells married in 1895) laid out the frustrating history of African Americans’ efforts to become part of the exposition.⁵⁹ Much the same situation obtained at the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, where Booker T. Washington gave his famous address. The Atlanta African American newspaper *People’s Advocate* noted at that time,

Many people have written, asking whether the exposition is worth coming to see. If they wish to feel that they are inferior to other American citizens, if they want to pay double fare on the surface cars and also be insulted, if they want to see on all sides ‘For Whites Only’ or ‘No Niggers or dogs allowed,’ if they want to be humiliated and have their man and womanhood crushed out, then come.⁶⁰

In *The Reason Why* Wells noted that the nullification of the 1875 Civil Rights Act by the United States Supreme Court removed “the Negro’s only protection in the south,” and the

59. *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World’s Columbian Exposition* (1893), transcribed in full at <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/wells/exposition/exposition.html>. See also Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown*, 90; Anna R. Paddon and Sally Turner, “African Americans and the World’s Columbian Exposition,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 88, 1 (Spring 1995): 19–36, and Greenidge, “Bulwark of the Nation,” 300, 306.

60. Quoted in Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown*, 114.

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postwar constitutional amendments had neither been heeded nor enforced, thus reducing the African American vote “from a majority to a cipher”:

This has been accomplished by political massacres, by midnight outrages of Ku Klux Klans, and by state legislative enactment. That the legislation of the white south is hostile to the interests of our race is shown by the existence in most of the southern states of the convict lease system, the chain-gang, vagrant laws, election frauds, keeping back laborers' wages, paying for work in useless script [*sic*] instead of lawful money, refusing to sell land to Negroes and the many political massacres where hundreds of black men were murdered for the crime (?) of casting the ballot. These were some of the means resorted to during our first years of liberty to defeat the little beneficence comprehended in the act of our emancipation.⁶¹

Wells also noted, as had Douglass and many others, that because the African American in the South was now fully a voter, not three-fifths of a person, the political presence of the South in the U.S. House of Representatives increased even as intimidation, educational tests, and poll taxes effectively nullified African Americans' ability to exercise their right to vote. “Although the negro is carefully enumerated every decade by the census taker, he is as carefully excluded from the ballot-box on election day, it matters not whether that exclusion is the result of open violence or of secret fraud,” Pen Hallowell noted. “This, then, is the result: The South holds on to her added political strength, and at the same time wipes out the votes of those people by whom and through whom she has gained this added power. That this is a matter of national concern needs no argument from me.” John Greenleaf Whittier noted in a letter to John Murray Forbes in 1891, “The entire vote of New England in Congress is neutralized by that of thirty or forty Southern representatives who owe their place to the suppression of the colored vote. Will the time ever come when the Sermon on the Mount and the Declaration of Independence will practically influence our boasted civilization and Christianity?” As Whittier, Hallowell, and countless others knew, the failure of the Federal Elections or “Force” bill, which would have curbed voter intimidation by mandating federal supervision over voting in southern cities and in districts where 500 or more voters requested it, was likely the last attempt in their lifetimes to assure equal access to the polls. As William H. Lewis stated in 1899, “The North has left the negro to the South absolutely since the failure of the Federal Election bill in 1891.”⁶²

61. Ida Wells, “Class Legislation,” *The Reason Why*.

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The era's final blow in the struggle against discrimination was the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, handed down just a year before the Shaw Memorial was dedicated. The case had its origin in the "Separate Car Act" passed in Louisiana in 1890, which mandated "equal, but separate" train car accommodations by race. In June 1892 an interracial citizens' committee in New Orleans recruited Homer Plessy, a shoemaker and the son of Haitian immigrants, to test the new law. He bought a first-class ticket on the East Louisiana Railroad, sat in a whites-only car, and told the conductor that he was only seven-eighths Caucasian. After his arrest, Plessy sued on the grounds that his civil rights under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments had been violated, and when judge John H. Ferguson ruled against him Plessy appealed. The case reached the United States Supreme Court in April 1896. The court, in an eight-to-one decision, ruled that the amendments applied only to "absolute equality before the law" but not to "social, as distinguished from political quality." States had the right to act "with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people," the justices averred, and they denied that a law authorizing or requiring separation of whites and blacks in "public conveyances" was unreasonable. It was no more "obnoxious to the 14th Amendment," the court declared, "than the Acts of Congress requiring separate schools for children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures." It found no substantial difference between the white and black rail cars and concluded that segregation alone was not illegal discrimination.

62. In 1874 Benjamin F. Butler had proposed what was popularly termed the "Force Bill" to create federal oversight of southern elections and prevent voter intimidation. The bill died in Congress, and though Republicans repeatedly sought such legislation not until 1890, when the House asked Massachusetts congressman Henry Cabot Lodge to reconcile the various versions, did it again come to the fore. Massachusetts Senator George Hoar introduced a similar bill in the Senate. The 1890 Federal Elections Bill called for federal supervision of elections in cities of more than 20,000 persons and in districts where at least 500 voters called for such supervision. Actively supported in Massachusetts by the Colored National League and the Massachusetts Citizens' Equal rights Association, the bill failed to pass the Senate. See Richardson, *Death of Reconstruction*, 201, 208, 211, 214-15; Greenidge, "Bulwark of the Nation," 231, 234, 239, 244-46, 250-51; Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, 30, 38, 41. Wells cited Mississippi, where African Americans outnumbered white Americans but where 61.8 percent of whites over the age of twenty-one were registered voters and only 5.8 percent of blacks were. "Col. N. P. Hallowell," clipping from unidentified newspaper, undated but after October 1888, Hallowell Scrapbook 3:29; John G. Whittier, Amesbury MA, to J. M. Forbes, 6 mo 12 1891, quoted in Hughes, ed., *Forbes*, 2:227; Lewis quoted in "Their Idol," *Boston Journal*, 25 April 1899, 10.

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Boston newspapers scarcely covered the Supreme Court's decision, and had it not been for the protests of the city's African Americans there might have been no coverage at all. The public statements of some suggest that the case was the veritable last straw. The Colored National League and the Massachusetts Racial Protective Association both held mass meetings on the decision. The minister W. H. Scott proclaimed it "useless for a colored man to aspire to be anything in this country"; this decision, along with the rulings in the 1858 Dred Scott case and the 1883 decision to invalidate the federal civil rights law, proved the Supreme Court "has always been on the side of slavery." Scott called for "a new court or a new constitution." Attorney Edwin G. Walker held that the only option left was to train African Americans to "fight it out" and "to arraign any judge or man of either party who commits an outrage on the race." At least as Boston newspapers reported it, the African American clergy and women's groups were most vocal in their opposition. At an interdenominational meeting, African American ministers in and around Boston prepared an appeal to President Grover Cleveland and the Congress maintaining that the Supreme Court had eviscerated the substance of the three postwar civil rights amendments, leaving only a "dark foreboding shadow" wherein "unjust prejudice, caste and tyranny are destroying the best fruits of the great war of the rebellion, and nullifying the deliberate mandates of the nation. No state has a right to enact inequitable laws or laws that conflict with existing interstate or national laws. This all intelligent people feel and know. . . . If the supreme court is to be a defense to intelligent citizenship, it must not be an offense to right." The *Globe* reported that Victoria Earle Matthews urged the National Federation of Afro-American Women to take action so as to guarantee that, if separate cars were to be the law of the land, those set aside for African Americans were indeed "equal in accommodation in every sense as is granted to the whites." And Josephine Ruffin spoke with a militancy that showed her plainly at the limit of her patience:

It cannot be denied that sentiment against the Negro and his rights is growing rapidly. As the black man acquires money and education new barriers are raised against him, sometimes old obstacles which pity for helplessness and ignorance caused to be removed are being re-built and it is only to a few enlightened minds that the cause of the Negro has any interest at all.

. . . Appeals for justice by voice and pen go very little ways at present, practically no attention whatever is paid to them; the time is come when they must be backed by aggressive action and a physical as well as mental resistance to every abrogation of manhood rights.

If laws are unjust, they must be continually broken until they are killed or altered. The thing to do is to force the recognition of manhood by any and all means.

The heroes of the South who are meeting cowardly lynchers with a shotgun and the courage of true manhood, the men of the North as well as the South who are meeting insinuations against character and efforts to humiliate them with a strong and ready fist, are doing as much towards the forcing of a right condition as any. The world is turning a callous ear to appeals for justice; it is evident that the only way now to get what we want is to take it even if we have to break laws in getting it.⁶³

Boston and “the Race Problem”

On top of such national incidents of race-based discrimination were regular affronts closer to home. Massachusetts was the first state in the nation to ban discriminatory practices in theaters in 1865, less than three months after African Americans had petitioned for such legislation. But discrimination persisted in other arenas, to say nothing of open violation of state law. In 1866 the state supreme court ruled against an African American man who had been denied admission to a pool hall on the grounds that the state could not govern its practices because the state had not licensed the business. In 1882 Civil War hero and former South Carolina legislator Robert Smalls, brought to Boston as a guest of the Shaw Veterans Association, was refused a room the association had reserved for him at the Revere House, and in 1883 two African Americans were turned away from a roller rink in the South Shore resort town of Nantasket.⁶⁴ In 1893 William H. Lewis, a star Harvard football player and student at Harvard Law School, was refused service in a Harvard Square barbershop on account of his race. These incidents impelled African American Bostonians to prepare a stricter civil rights bill holding that no public establishment, licensed or not, could discriminate based on race. The House passed it, but the Senate judiciary committee declined to support it. A meeting of “colored ex-soldiers” at the GAR

63. Scott and Walker quoted in “Heated Hot,” *Boston Globe*, 20 May 1896, 6; Appeal quoted in “That Separate Car Law,” *Boston Globe*, 8 June 1896, 3; “Appeal is Made,” *Boston Journal*, 9 June 1896, 6, and “Strong Appeal to Congress,” *Boston Herald*, 9 June 1896, 3; “Colored Women Invoke Law,” *Boston Globe*, 3 June 1896, 4; “Editorial,” *Woman’s Era*, June 1896, 4.

64. Kazuteru Omori, “Race-neutral Individualism and Resurgence of the Color Line: Massachusetts Civil Rights Legislation, 1855–1895,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 22, 1 (Fall 2002): 37; Daniels, *In Freedom’s Birthplace*, 94–95 (which cites the year of Small’s visit incorrectly as 1884); “Visit of a Colored Ex-Congressman,” *Boston Journal*, 13 May 1882, 3; “Was It the Color Line?” *Boston Herald*, 13 May 1882, 4; “The Color Line in Boston,” *Boston Globe*, 13 May 1882, 4; “A Threatened Suit,” *ibid.*, 24 May 1882, 2.

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Hall on Cambridge Street in Boston protested the committee's action and urged the Senate to pass the bill. Lewis Hayden, James Monroe Trotter, and 113 others signed a petition to that effect, and the Shaw Veterans Association generated and submitted a second petition. In June 1895 a civil rights bill much as the African American community has proposed it passed the state legislature and went into effect immediately.⁶⁵

Yet discrimination continued. In February 1896 Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett, one of the African American speakers at the World's Columbian Exposition, was refused a room at three Boston hotels when he came to take part in a Christian Endeavor meeting in Boston. Even after a fourth, the now-chastened Revere House, agreed to accommodate him, its managers asked Arnett if he would eat in his room.⁶⁶ Such treatment of respected out-of-towners humiliated African Americans in Boston, as did the actions of Robert Teamoh in 1895. Teamoh was then a member of the state legislature and had been named to its committee on mercantile affairs, which had been sent to the South in March to determine why New England cotton mills were relocating in that region. At Richmond, Virginia governor Charles O'Ferrall, unaware that Teamoh was African American, invited the Massachusetts committee to a "cold lunch" at his executive mansion; when Teamoh appeared, O'Ferrall's wife left the room. "The time has not come when I would knowingly invite a committee of any kind in which there was a colored man to dine or lunch at my private house or the Gubernatorial mansion," O'Ferrall later wrote to Francis W. Darling, the chair of the mercantile affairs committee; he added, "I draw the line on the Negro at the social circle or anywhere else that suggests even a semblance of social equality."

65. "Colored Citizens to Meet Tonight," *Boston Globe*, 28 January 1885, 2; "The Color Line," *Boston Journal*, 29 January 1885, 3; "An Interesting Petition," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1885, 8; Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Journal of the Senate for the Year 1885* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co. 1885), 475, 480, 510. See also Omori, "Race-neutral Individualism," 38-39.

66. On the Arnett incident see "Boston's Color Line," *Cleveland Gazette*, 1 February 1896, 2; "Will Not Speak in Hotel," *Boston Globe*, 31 January 1896, 1; "Like A Criminal," *ibid.*, 3 February 1896, 3; "Will Protest for Bishop Arnett," *ibid.*, 4 February 1896, 8; "Arnett Incident Reviewed," *ibid.*, 13 February 1896, 6. Numerous white and black Bostonians protested the action of the hotels (the Parker House, Young's Hotel, and the Adams House), and Charles Street AME minister Dolphin Roberts declared, "If the question of the entertainment of the colored man, or any other man whose skin is not of an alabaster hue is a question which must be 'considered' and 'debated' and 'hemmed' over and 'hawed' over, by self-appointed judges, the time has come to remove the monument to William Lloyd Garrison from the front of a Back Bay hotel and place it down in Newspaper row, where busy editors and honest reporters seem disposed to give the colored man a fair chance." Benjamin W. Arnett (1838-1906) was born free in Pennsylvania and taught school before he became an AME pastor in Ohio. He was elected bishop in 1888 and represented a largely white district in the Ohio General Assembly in 1885.

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While the rest of the committee stayed in a hotel Teamoh agreed to stay in the home of an African American physician while in Richmond, and he took his meals in a railroad car while the others ate in restaurants. When the committee returned to Boston, Teamoh gave his side of the story to the *Boston Globe*:

It is true that I did not go to the same hotels as the rest of the committee, but that was to please myself and not as a result of a compromise, for no compromise was made. That I wish distinctly understood. . . . The main reason why I did not stop at the hotels with the white members of the committee was because at every stopping place there was a delegation of men of my race to make me welcome. Is it any wonder, does it cause any surprise, that I should accept the hospitality of my own people? Or are there those who would have me exchange the certain warmth of friendly greeting for at best a cold toleration, and possible neglect and insult?⁶⁷

Boston African Americans would have none of Teamoh's explanation, and both he and the committee were uniformly lambasted in the African American press. When one Richmond minister argued that Teamoh should have respected that "there existed nowhere in the south social relations between whites and blacks," should have withdrawn from all but official meetings, and should have used his trip to learn something about the South, John Mitchell, editor of the African American *Richmond Planet*, argued, "Representative Teamoh has a white constituency. He was responsible to that constituency. He did not visit the South as a negro, but as an American citizen." Forbes's *Boston Courant* stated in an article titled, "Boston, Massachusetts, Disgraced":

Think of it, men bred and born in Massachusetts, sent off on public business for the State, by the State, allowing one of their number to be boycotted from his meals with cool submission and private endorsement! And yet that is what this Committee of legislators elected by the people to carry forward the policy and progress of the State have done! . . . How changed from that spirit which sent Samuel Hoar to South Carolina to protect colored citizens, which consecrated the lives of Garrison and Phillips and Sumner and Shaw to their service! The dignity of the State has departed, the pristine glory of this proud city has been compromised.

The *Courant* called Teamoh's actions "both pitiable and reprehensible in the extreme. . . . He has shown himself incapable of looking after his own rights or those of the race."

67. O'Ferrall quoted in "The 'Color Line' In Virginia and Massachusetts," *Literary Digest* 10, 22 (20 March 1895): 632-33; "No Complaint to Make," *Boston Globe*, 20 March 1895, 8.

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Josephine Ruffin called the trip of the committee to Richmond “a record of hypocrisy on the one hand, servility on the other”:

So contemptible does the whole thing appear, that if the actors had stood for themselves alone, it could never have risen to the level of public criticism and condemnation. But the good name of the state has been defamed by its apostate representatives, and the self-respect of the whole colored people has been wounded by Mr. Teamoh’s servile compliance with the humiliation of the visit. . . .

We who are fortunate enough to belong to Massachusetts, we who love her, we who are proud of her traditions and who know that she makes no idle boast when she claims to have always kept in the vanguard of moral progression—we feel a hot resentment that a few time-servers have made it possible to include her dear name in the list of apologists for southern injustice.⁶⁸

The entire affair was deeply embarrassing to many African American Bostonians, and they stated as much at a meeting of the Colored National League branch in late March. Three hundred people listened to former abolitionist and state representative John J. Smith call Teamoh “the Judas of his race. . . . a poodle who sneaked along under the wing of the committee and accepted an insult which retarded the advancement of his race by at least 25 years.” Teamoh’s name was “loudly hissed” whenever it was mentioned. Edwin G. Walker stated that “if the stories are true, and they are, that the other members of the committee were doing their utmost to shake the colored member,” the committee deserved more blame than Teamoh. Nonetheless, Walker argued, “Teamoh had the opportunity of his life and if he had grasped it he would have immortalized his name and lifted his race at least 25 years ahead. If he did not propose to stand up for the rights of the colored race, he should not have gone.” Teamoh had some defenders at the meeting, and he himself was in the back of the AME Zion Church meeting room where it took place. He at last came forward and stated that a “prejudiced reporter” had wired false reports of what had taken place to the northern papers and that he had brought no “disgrace to the colored people.” White journalists and political figures were also incensed. Former federal representative Henry L. Dawes wrote of the committee, “These men hadn’t spirit enough to come home and report that they would not look after the dollars of Massachusetts in any part of this country without leaving at home her principles.” The *Worcester Spy* noted that in return for Teamoh absenting himself when his presence

68. “Browne’s Blunder,” *Richmond (VA) Planet*, 30 March 1895, 3; *Courant* quoted in “Boston, Massachusetts, Disgraced,” *Richmond Planet*, 30 March 1895, 3; “Editorial,” *Woman’s Era*, April 1895, 8.

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might offend, the committee did nothing but misrepresent “Massachusetts traditions and principles.” And the *Springfield Republican*, like the *Boston Courant*, included Shaw and the 54th as instances of how the episode betrayed all that Massachusetts had done for racial justice:

Should they have insisted that if one member must be tabooed in the South, all must be? That might have meant abandonment of the junket, and could we expect a legislative committee to rise to such virtue? And yet Massachusetts men have made every sacrifice even of life itself, to promote the freedom and equality of the Negro. There was Colonel Shaw, who was buried at Fort Wagner “under a heap of his niggers,” as the chivalry of South Carolina announced at the time, and whose name will live forever along with the fame of the brave soldiers for the Union, the men of dark skins, whom he commanded and led in that historic charge.

Just recall the leaders of Massachusetts, who met Frederick Douglass on terms of perfect equality and labored to make all men treat him as he deserved to be treated, like a man and a brother,—Andrew, Sumner, Wilson, Phillips and all the rest. The thought of drawing the color-line on Robert Teamoh at this stage of Progress will not be a pleasant one to the people of Massachusetts.⁶⁹

The Teamoh incident was extensively covered and received a great deal more attention in the Boston newspapers than *Plessy v. Ferguson* or any other race-based issue in the postwar years. It revolved around the thorny issue of so-called “social equality,” that aspect of American life in which Booker T. Washington maintained the races “can be as separate as the fingers,” the point where Governor O’Ferrall would “draw the line.” In an 1894 forum in which the *Boston Globe* asked four white and four black Bostonians their views on the question, “Will the Colored Race Ever Gain Complete Equality?” Teamoh avoided the question of social equality, while Frances E. W. Harper and attorney and Civil War navy veteran James H. Wolff addressed it directly: it was, to them, a straw man. Harper called social equality “a figment of the imagination” not even worth discussing because “no self-respecting person desires to thrust himself on any circle where he is not welcome.” Wolff declared, “So far as social equality is concerned there never has been and there never will be such a thing as social equality. Men choose such companionship as is most congenial to themselves, but morally and physically the negro race in America is

69. “Both Were Criticized,” *Worcester Daily Spy*, 27 March 1895, 7 “Up in Arms,” *Boston Globe*, 27 March 1895, 7. Dawes quoted in “The ‘Color Line’ in Virginia and Massachusetts”; *Springfield Republican* quoted in “Springfield, Mass., Republican,” *Richmond Planet*, 30 March 1895, 3.

destined to attain a standard equal to that of the Caucasian.”⁷⁰ Though Teamoh claimed to have chosen to stay with African Americans on his southern errand, many African Americans in Boston believed that he had failed to stand up for his political rights.

In addition, in the eyes of many black Bostonians, Robert Teamoh had failed to carry the burden he and every other African American felt bound to carry—that of representing honorably his still-proscribed people. The perceived absolute necessity of doing so is the main reason the Shaw Memorial meant what it did to African Americans, both at the time of the unveiling and as the years passed. Still, there was hope, or at least so Harper told the *Globe* in 1894:

I do not despair of the future of the negro. Just now we have the fearful grinding and friction which comes in the course of an adjustment of the new machinery of freedom in the old ruts of slavery, but I am optimistic enough to hope for a higher and better civilization than our country has ever known, a civilization in which the negro will be an important factor. “Give but the light, and Ajax asks no more.”

The Meanings of the Monument

Two days after the Shaw Memorial was unveiled, the *Boston Globe* published a long commentary on it titled “Connoisseurs and Common Men.” The piece described how people who had seen the great sculptural works of Europe, the military men who “paid especial attention to the carry of the muskets,” and the artists, art students, and critics who spent hours studying the work found it equally remarkable:

There was not an out about them. The figures were as life-like as living pictures. . . . While the seemingly wise in matters plastic were going back into the middle ages for

70. “Will the Colored Race Ever Gain Complete Equality?” *Boston Globe*, 2 September 1894, 20. The *Globe* asked the opinions of African Americans Teamoh, Harper, Wolff, and attorney Edwin G. Walker and of William Lloyd Garrison Jr., Boston attorneys Edward Avery and Thomas Riley, and Somerville attorney and city solicitor Selwyn Z. Bowman. Avery answered no, based on his view that African Americans in the state legislature were “generally unaffected by argument and unwilling to think seriously,” though he allowed that there were “exceptions” in which blacks had attained “high intellectual and moral culture” and could not predict whether more also would. Riley and Garrison believed that full equality would be realized, and Garrison stated that until then “our civilization will be defective.” Bowman answered no on the grounds that African Americans had “been cheated out of the right to develop.”



Fig. 5.10. “Shaw Memorial, a masterpiece by the sculptor St. Gaudens, Boston, Mass.,” about 1910, stereoview by Underwood & Underwood, New York. Courtesy Library of Congress.

examples in sculpture such as relief in ivory, effigies in wood and groups in bronze, those who know the pitch of a bullet’s voice were talking over old times. Colored men were telling of the 54th’s valor at Wagner, at Honey Hill and at Ohistee [*sic*], and white men were talking about Gettysburg, Cedar Creek and the Wilderness.

The bronze was so lifelike that the drums seemed to sound, and it would have been no surprise had one of the figures in line turned his head and asked the distance to the old muster grounds at Readville.⁷¹

“I scarcely ever look out from the Union Club windows toward the Monument but what there is a lesser or greater number of persons gazing upon it,” Edward Atkinson wrote to Saint-Gaudens less than a year after the dedication. “I am told by the early birds that the milk men stop on their way, and other men of like kind.” In June 1898 Sarah Blake Shaw wrote to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, “I hear from Boston that it is more & more appreciated there, and that there are people looking at it all the time.” (fig. 5.10). And Augusta Saint-Gaudens later told how her husband had visited the memorial one day in 1898 when a day laborer, “dinner pail in hand,” said to the sculptor, “Fine, ain’t it?” Saint-Gaudens answered, “I think so,” which struck the worker as an “indifferent” response. “Why, it’s

71. “Connoisseurs and Common Men,” *Boston Globe*, 2 June 1897, 8.



Fig. 5.11. The Shaw Memorial, 1897, photograph by Nathaniel L. Stebbins. Courtesy Historic New England.

great, and I ought to know, having gone out of my way three times every fortnight for the last year just to see those soldier boys marching.” Local historian John Daniels stated in 1914 that no Boston monument was visited more often (fig. 5.11).⁷²

The *Globe* called the Shaw Memorial “the first real monument to ‘color blindness,’” while the *Springfield Republican* termed it “the most impressive record of the redemption of the nation from slavery, the raising of the negro from a chattel to a man, the elevation of the

72. Atkinson, Boston, to ASG (then in Paris), 22 March 1898, Atkinson Letterbooks 62:746; Sarah B. Shaw, New York, NY, to Mrs. St. Gaudens, 9 June 1898, folder 3, ser. 1, box 18, ASG Papers; St. Gaudens Lives in Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Herald*, 11 August 1907, 15; Daniels, *In Freedom’s Birthplace*, 79.

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United States to the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence.” Shaw symbolized not only the Union’s victory in “the war for freedom” but “the culture and grace and conscience of New England giving itself to the service of the oppressed and crushed races in beginning a new order of human brotherhood.”⁷³ Paeans to this aspect of New England’s self-image, some quite plainly patronizing, if not racist, were plentiful in the press after the unveiling. *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* published an entire issue of the memorial, with contributions from Atkinson, T. W. Higginson, and art critic William C. Coffin, and its editorial on Shaw described as Christ-like, much as Washington had at the Music Hall:

It is fitting that the art of the New World should culminate in this tribute to one who dedicated his pure young life to his country, to freedom, to the uplifting of a people in bondage, to the ennobling of the whole race of man. . . . In this sculptured picture we see the awakening of a race, the dark, determined mass moved by a common impulse of daring endeavor; lifted above these, the high-bred form, the delicate, intense, intellectual visage, the fair Anglo-Saxon head of their heroic leader; and high over all, the everlasting ideal, the symbol of the spiritual purpose, which beckons, inspires, and gloriously rewards.⁷⁴

The art critic Clarence Cook wrote about the Shaw in less veiled terms:

Across the lower half of the panel press on the ranks of colored soldiers—resolute, earnest movement of strong, uncouth men, against which are silhouetted the clean, nervous limbs of the high-blooded charger. Upon his back sits Shaw, erect and motionless. What an indescribable pathos in the contrast of those coarse faces with the almost feminine sweetness and refinement of his! But with all the contrast there is an identity of purpose; the fearless forward gaze that links them into kinship. On the faces of the privates it is characterized by dumb patience and unquestioning obedience, on the leader by a visible consciousness of the sacredness of his duty, and the extremity of peril that awaits himself and followers. It would be hard to recall a nobler type of strong and yet spiritual manhood.

Cook imagined that Saint-Gaudens had found his largest obstacle in “the delineation of the negro faces. While relying on one type, the strongly African, he has introduced

73. “Grand Tribute to Col Shaw and His Men,” *Boston Globe*, 24 May 1897, 5; “Freedom’s Hero Honored,” *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897.

74. “The Hero,” *Century Illustrated*, 312.

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variety both in the age and features, and has made them true to life, without any detriment to the epic dignity of his panel.” That Cook felt making them true to life might somehow degrade the scene is telling, and in an almost equally curious statement the *Boston Daily Advertiser* suggested the because sculpture, unlike painting, could not use color Saint-Gaudens had somehow missed the mark of African American representation. “The faces of the men may be disappointing,” the newspaper stated, “as it is a well known fact that many of the colored men who followed Col. Shaw were only half and quarter-blood negroes. St. Gaudens, however, finding himself, so it is said, lacking in the element of color in his work, has been able to convey the idea of the African in the piece by selecting the pure African type, with the frizzled hair and flat nose.”⁷⁵

African Americans who wrote about the Shaw Memorial were, as might be expected, far less apt to comment on the physical features of anyone represented in it and to reflect more on its meaning. The AME’s *Christian Recorder* stated that the memorial commemorated both Shaw and “the heroism of the black soldiers who fought and fell with him,” but it focused most of its interest on Shaw as a man “who considered himself honored to be allowed to command a class of men, in that day considered not men but chattels.” The *Cleveland Gazette*, the *Appeal* of St. Paul, Minnesota, and the *Richmond Planet* reported on the unveiling but did not comment upon the memorial itself beyond describing it. The former fugitive and AME minister John T. Jenifer stated that the Shaw, along with the Attucks monument on the same public ground, showed that “Massachusetts is in advance of the nation.” Writing in 1916, the African American art historian and critic Freeman H. M. Murray termed the Shaw not only “a masterpiece” but “the greatest of all American military memorials”; he declared that it “is generally regarded as the finest work of art in America; and for the subject portrayed—a forward-moving body of troops—it is the most impressive in the world.” To Murray the Shaw all at once memorialized “a man, a race, and a cause,” and in his view it was “inspired primarily by the valor and the devotion of Negro-American soldiery.” While the Shaw was clearly not, at least originally, inspired by those men, Murray essentially described one of the essential meanings of the memorial from an African American perspective.⁷⁶ What Cook interpreted as “dumb patience and unquestioning obedience” Murray viewed as valor and devotion to a cause.

75. Clarence Cook quoted in “Freedom’s Hero Honored”; “The Great Event,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 31 May 1897, 5.

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Amid the generally positive reaction to the memorial was the “slight wind-break” offered by *American Architect and Building News*, whose editors had waited to assess the memorial until “the relics of wreaths and other decorations with which the various portions of the monument were decorated at the time of its inauguration and which a natural sense of propriety prevented any one from removing” had been cleared away. To this journal the Shaw was better than any other Boston monument and a “fitting tribute to his self-sacrificing heroism and their racial courage.” Yet it suffered “to an undesirable extent, the attributes of a mere pictorial composition. . . . The result is too nearly the mere graphic record of an historic event, rigidly correct in all its ethnical, social and military details but not quite reaching the height of artistic possibilities that the incident offers. . . . It is extremely difficult to find in the composition much trace of feeling or sentiment.” The editors preferred something more “allegorical,” and in that vein suggested that Dr. William Rimmer’s drawing of the 54th, *Warriors against Slavery*, would have been a better sculptural commemoration (fig. 5.12). Rimmer’s “essentially sculpturesque” drawing “conveyed a suggestion of the unusual character of the event commemorated, and we would like to have had Mr. St. Gaudens introduce in the treatment of his general composition a similar suggestion of exaltation.” *American Architect and Building News* suggested that Shaw and his horse had been exalted in this way, and if it were not possible for the sculptor to “in any way elevate, etherealize and ennoble the files of colored troops . . . why, then it would have been better to leave the composition, as a mere realistic and pictorial record, a result which would have, in all probability, satisfied the expectations of the general populace and the desires of the Association which was erecting the monument.”⁷⁷

The journal did not specify what this might have meant for the soldiers in sculptural terms, and it is clear in any event that most African Americans and many white Americans valued the Shaw specifically for its realism. To many African Americans the memorial is both personal and monumental. Not many people live to see themselves depicted sculpturally, but the members of the 54th in the battalion of survivors did, and for decades afterward

76. “Monument to Col. Rob’t. G. Shaw,” *Christian Recorder*, 17 June 1897, 2; *Cleveland Gazette*, 5 June 1897, 2; *The Appeal*, 15 May 1897, and 5 June 1897, 1; “Statue to Colonel Shaw,” *Richmond Planet*, 5 June 1897, 1; J. T. Jenifer, “Interesting Tid-Bits,” *Christian Recorder*, 19 July 1900; Freeman Henry Morris Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture: A Study in Interpretation* (Washington, DC: by the author, 1916), 164, 165, 172.

77. *American Architect and Building News*, 11 September 1897, 88.

Fig. 5.12. *Warriors against Slavery, Dedicated to the 54th Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, 1863*, drawing by William Rimmer. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of William R. Ware.



some claimed to find themselves in the bas-relief. In “Connoisseurs and Common Men” the *Globe* had described “little coffee-colored boys from the West end,” a stone’s throw from the monument, “calling to each other and pointing out faces that reminded them of men they knew. With these little fellows there was no doubt about who the drummer boy in the van looked like, for he was as like George Dixon as one dhudeen is like another.” William H. Carney, Eli Biddle, and especially Alexander H. Johnson all believed they had been depicted on the Shaw; however unlikely it may be, existing evidence cannot establish that they were wrong. New Bedford family friend Carrie Lee Blanchet wrote in *Negro History Bulletin* that for seven years Carney, as a State House messenger, “worked in sight of the Saint Gaudens monument which immortalized not only the patrician Robert Gould Shaw and his intrepid colored troops, but likewise Sergeant Carney. The features of Carney are perpetuated in the bronze face of one of the soldiers following Colonel Shaw.” The *Boston Traveler* noted that Biddle, a private in Company A and one of the last survivors of the regiment, “was proud that he was one of those boys whose features are depicted on the Shaw Memorial.” And from 1916 until he died in 1930, Alexander Johnson, who joined the 54th as a sixteen-year-old drummer, repeatedly claimed that he was, as the *Globe* put it, “the figure in advance of all in the Beacon-st. bas relief.” Johnson often visited the Shaw on Memorial Day and Fort Wagner anniversaries with a snare drum and sometimes performed (fig. 5.13); in 1924, six years before he died, he brought along “a fragment of the drumhead he beat as a



Fig. 5.13. "Maj. A. H. Johnson, Drummer Boy of the 54th Mass. Regiment Co. C," cabinet card, about 1889. In this image Johnson was wearing the coat of Alexander Hemenway, a first sergeant in Company F and also a resident of Worcester. The "major" in his title referred to "drum major," and Johnson had a drum and bugle corps in Worcester and taught drums. Courtesy collections of Worcester Historical Museum.

boy in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers." In 1920 the *Herald* was bold in its assertion of Johnson's presence on the monument:

"That's Maj. Johnson!" shout natives of Worcester during any worth-while parade in the town, and when the stranger looks in the direction indicated he beholds an old Negro marching in step as he beats a drum.

Every one in Worcester knows Maj. Alexander H. Johnson. Moreover, every one in Worcester knows that the major was once a diminutive drummer boy who made the music Shaw's men marched to back in '63. It may be of interest to Bostonians, and others to know that the famous Shaw memorial in front of the State House contains the figure of Johnson as the drummer boy, for the Worcester man was one of the models for that masterpiece.⁷⁸

CHAPTER 5

Whether they saw themselves in the Shaw Memorial or not, African American veterans prized it. Two months after the Shaw was dedicated the 54th's Burrill Smith Jr. wrote to the *Herald* about the need of some protection for it:

As I was one of the 54th Massachusetts volunteer infantry who marched through the streets of Boston in the ranks of the old 54th regiment, I think that it is fitting that a fence be placed in front of the monument of Col. Robert G. Shaw.

It is with feelings of pride every time I pass the spot where I, but a boy of 17 years, marched behind Col. Robert G. Shaw.

I think a fence should be placed in front of the monument on the side facing on Beacon street. Not knowing whether any arrangements have been made for the same is the reason why I write this letter.⁷⁹

There were some who felt the siting of the Shaw Memorial unfortunate, Smith possibly and Henry James certainly among them. When he visited it on his return to Boston in 1904 after twenty years abroad, James compared it to the two sculpted lions, also Civil War memorials, flanking the main interior staircase at the Boston Public Library. Commissioned by veterans of the 2nd and 20th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry to commemorate their regiments, the lions were sculpted by Saint-Gaudens's brother Louis for the staircase designed by Charles Follen McKim, who designed the architectural surround of the Shaw Memorial. While the library's grand entry offered room for a person to stand quietly and meditate on the significance of these figures, the Shaw's siting permitted no such space.⁸⁰ To Freeman Murray, however, this was no liability. Because sculpture literally represented some person or group and also meant to "say something," the fact that it was often placed "in the open, at the intersections of the highways and in the most conspicuous places" was a positive good. "We cannot be too concerned as to

78. "Connoisseurs and Common Men," *Boston Globe*, 2 June 1897, 8. A dhudeen is a pipe. Carrie Lee Blanchet, "William Harvey Carney," *Negro History Bulletin* 7, 5 (February 1944): 107-8; Q. W. Clarke, "The Stirring Tale of the Last Survivor of the Glorious 54th," *Boston Traveler*, 12 April 1960, 4. On Johnson being represented on the memorial see "Honor Memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw," *Boston Globe*, 19 July 1916, 10; "Major Johnson Old Drummer Boy," *Boston Herald*, 20 June 1920; "Negroes Observe Fort Wagner Day," *Boston Journal*, 19 July 1926; "Sham Battlefield on Common Begun," *Boston Globe*, 8 April 1924, 11. On Johnson see Appendix C.

79. Burrill Smith Jr., "A Fence Wanted," to the editor of the *Herald*, *Boston Herald*, 23 July 1897, 4.

80. Henry James, *The American Scene*, in Henry James, *Collected Travel Writing: Great Britain and America* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993), 558-61, cited in Kirstein, *Lay This Laurel*, and Whitfield, "Sacred in History and in Art," 22.

what they say or suggest,” Murray held, “or what they leave unsaid.”⁸¹ As later scholars have put it, the Shaw Memorial is particularly “multivocal,” offering different people different reasons for appreciating it. And by some invisible consensus the Shaw Memorial became the African American veterans’ monument until the last of them passed on.⁸²

81. Murray quoted in Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, 154.

82. Stevenson, ed., *Forten*, 494.

A Magazine
of
Humor and Stories

The Boston Sunday Globe.

A Magazine
of
Humor and Stories

VOL. LI—NO. 130.

BOSTON, SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 30, 1897.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

“FORWARD, FIFTY-FOURTH!”



Heroic Death of Robert G. Shaw on the Parapet of Fort Wagner. Which, in Marble and Bronze, Boston Commemorates Tomorrow.

Fig. 6.1. “Forward, Fifty-fourth!” drawing in *Boston Sunday Globe*, 30 May 1897, apparently based on the 1890 Kurz and Allison “Storming Fort Wagner” lithograph.

CHAPTER 6

A Speaking Work of Art”

On his second try, in 1933, Ralph Ellison gained admission to Tuskegee Institute. He played trumpet, and his admission is said to have hinged on the fact that Tuskegee’s orchestra needed a trumpet player. Ellison had always been interested in literature, but he did not turn to it until later in life; after music, he grew interested in sculpture. At Tuskegee he studied painting and sculpture with Eva Hamlin, and when after his junior year he decided to leave the school for New York City Hamlin gave him a letter of recommendation to African American sculptor Augusta Savage. The two did not get along. Langston Hughes, whom Ellison had just met, suggested that he study instead with Richmond Barthé, an African American sculptor more adept at “anatomical truthfulness,” Hughes said, and of more modernist leanings. Ellison became Barthé’s first student, but he soon found himself not invested in sculpture and “blundered into writing.”

In the introduction to his first novel *Invisible Man* (1952), Ellison wrote that in his “college days,” presumably at Tuskegee, he opened up a vat of the modeling material known as Plasticine that a “northern studio” had donated to a sculptor Ellison knew. He described what he found inside:

I found enfolded within the oily mass a frieze of figures modeled after those depicted on Saint-Gaudens’s monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his 54th Massachusetts Negro Regiment, a memorial which stands on Boston Common. I had no idea as to why it should surface, but perhaps it was to remind me that since I was writing fiction and seeking vaguely for images of black and white fraternity I would do well to recall that Henry James’s brother Wilky had fought as an officer with those Negro soldiers, and that Colonel Shaw’s body had been thrown into a ditch with those of his men. Perhaps it was also to remind me that war could, with art, be transformed into something deeper and more meaningful than its surface violence.¹

1. Ralph Ellison, “Introduction” to *Invisible Man* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), xvii; see also “Introduction” in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 3. On Ellison’s sculpture period see Lawrence Patrick Jackson, *Ralph Ellison: Emergence of Genius* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 164–68.

This frieze may have been one of the small reproductions that Saint Gaudens commissioned and sold through the art gallery Doll and Richards in Boston and Tiffany in New York and Paris. In 1903 a visitor to the Robert Gould Shaw School in Charleston, South Carolina, seemed to be describing this statue when he wrote, “Back of the boys’ seats was a reproduction of St Gauden’s [sic] bronze group on Boston Common, the Shaw memorial, and those pupils seemed to be the very models from which the colored troops of Col Shaw were taken.” It may be, too, that one of these small bronzes was the frieze that Booker T. Washington displayed in the third-floor study of his home at Tuskegee; a special correspondent to the District of Columbia’s *Evening Star* noted its presence there on a visit in late February 1903.²

Reproductions of the Shaw Memorial existed in an untold number of homes, schools, and libraries across the country, and they were one of numerous means by which the memorial and its meaning were kept alive after the dedication. Photographic reproductions were widely dispersed. In 1899 the Bell Post acquired “special permission” (Saint-Gaudens held a copyright on the memorial) to pose its officers in front of the monument and use that image in a four-page pamphlet its members distributed to a meeting of African American Civil War veterans in Philadelphia (fig. 6.2).³ The memorial also inspired several new institutions in Shaw’s memory, as well as paintings, music, and verse by both black and white Americans. And the memorial itself became both a symbolic reference point and a stage for gatherings of all sorts aimed at demonstrating racial solidarity, agitating for racial and other forms of equality, and protesting the absence of equality.

2. “Textile Schools,” *Boston Globe*, 29 March 1903, 28, which described the Charleston visit of National Education Association secretary Irwin Shepard, as told to Boston’s Twentieth Century Club. Dryfhout, *Work of Saint-Gaudens*, 34–35. It is unclear when Saint-Gaudens began to produce small versions of the Shaw Memorial, though he had begun making “reductions” by 1893; Dryfhout suggested that his work on the Columbian Exposition medal introduced him to the possibilities of diffusing his works and earning income through these reductions. On Washington’s home see “Talks of His Work,” *Evening Star* (Washington DC), 4 March 1903, 6.

3. “Post 134 Souvenir,” *Boston Globe*, 31 August 1899, 3. The pamphlet also included a description of the memorial, a photograph of the Smith School on Belknap Street, which then served as the Bell Post’s headquarters, and a photograph of the gold badge the post was to present to former Boston cleric Dolphin P. Roberts, then living and working in Philadelphia. See also “Given A Gold Badge,” *Boston Globe*, 6 September 1899, 6.



Fig. 6.2. Though the 1899 pamphlet view of Bell Post members in front of the Shaw has not been located, this 1897 Elihu Vedder photograph of African American veterans assembled before the Shaw Memorial is closest in time. It appeared as a frontispiece in the June 1901 *Colored American Magazine*. Courtesy Commonwealth of Massachusetts, State House Art Commission.

The popularity of the Shaw, as of many of his other works, inspired Saint-Gaudens to copyright the memorial and to commission both the frieze and a photographic view of the work from the Boston publishers Curtis and Cameron. The firm issued a series called the “Copley Prints,” reproductions of works of fine art—“not worthless lithographs or cheap photographs,” one 1898 advertisement noted—and sold them in various sizes to individuals and institutions, particularly libraries and schools, where they were “to educate children about the nation’s past.” Saint-Gaudens had clearly already been talking to Curtis and Cameron about the prints before the unveiling, for the day after the publishers wrote proposing to send “from time to time” prints of the 18-by-22-inch edition for him to sign; these the publisher would sell at fifteen dollars and would return to Saint-Gaudens half that sum except when the prints were sold to agents and art dealers. Saint-Gaudens signed a one-year contract with Curtis and Cameron in mid-June 1897.

The art publishers issued the Shaw Memorial photograph in four and later five sizes at retail prices ranging from \$1.50 to \$18.00. Saint-Gaudens initially received a 20 percent royalty on sales, later reduced to 15 and ultimately to 10 percent. The largest were 30-by-40-inch bromide prints.⁴ Between October 1897 and mid-July 1905, according to the sculptor's royalty statements, Curtis and Cameron sold more than eight hundred prints, more than 60 percent of them in the two smallest sizes, 8-by-10 and 11-by-14 inches. In August 1898 the publishers reported to Saint-Gaudens that the signed copies were not selling but that they had framed one the sculptor had signed separately for William James.⁵ It is possible to determine some few of the buyers of these prints. The *New York Age* reported in 1921 that the West 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library had an image of the memorial on its walls, and on the same street Augustus G. Dill used one in his store window on New Year's Day 1933. About 1920 a framed Shaw Memorial photograph was shown over the mantel in Lewis Hine's photograph of an African American family in its southern parlor (fig. 6.3).⁶ The image of the memorial even bridged at least one ideological divide: about 1905 Du Bois and other founders of the Niagara Movement used a sketch of the memorial on its seal (fig. 6.4), and about a decade later the Boston branch of Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League depicted it and the Attucks monument on a poster advertising its sixteenth annual meeting in Boston.⁷

The dedication of the Shaw Memorial also triggered more commemoration of him in institutions. Early in the twentieth century African American children in Indianapolis petitioned the city's school board to name a school then being planned for Robert Gould Shaw; the board agreed to the proposition in May 1903. The Shaw school was segregated, as all Indiana public schools were until 1949. The two-story brick structure, ready for

4. Bromide prints were made on paper containing silver bromide that was sensitive enough to light to allow images to be enlarged. See "About Copley Prints," *The Copley Prints* (Boston: Curtis and Cameron, 1902).

5. Curtis & Cameron, publishers, Boston, to ASG, 1 June 1897; "Agreement between Augustus St. Gaudens and Curtis & Cameron," 12 and 15 June 1897, folder 2; and Curtis and Cameron, Boston, to ASG, 5 August 1898, and royalty statements, folders 2-7, ser. 1, box 18, ASG Papers.

6. *New York Age*, 16 April 1921, 8, and 14 January 1933, 7; Lindsay Harris, "Before the Eyes of Thousands: The 54th Massachusetts Regiment and the Shaw Memorial in Twentieth-Century Art," in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 101-3, 141 (plate 71). Hine included the photograph "Black Family by Fireplace" in his series "South Negroes."

7. Lauerhass, "A Commemoration," in *Shaw Memorial*, 75.



Fig. 6.3. “Black Family by Fireplace” from Southern Negroes Series, photograph by Lewis Hine, about 1920, shows a framed print of the Shaw over the fireplace mantel. Courtesy George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

occupancy by late October that year, had space for three hundred children and a manual training classroom in the basement level. School commissioner Charles W. Moores called the new school “the only modern colored school in this city and will be equipped for manual training.” At the school’s dedication, Martha Nicholson McKay, a daughter of abolitionist Valentine Nicholson and said to be a friend of Shaw’s mother, read a tribute to Shaw “by his sisters”; she was then probably at work on her short book about Shaw and the regiment, *When the Tide Turned in the Civil War*. McKay’s husband Horace, then an Indianapolis attorney, had been a captain in the 15th United States Colored Troops during the war. At the dedication McKay’s sister, normal school principal Mary Ellen Nicholson, gave the school a “large steel engraving” of the Shaw Memorial, and Moores donated a portrait of Lincoln. McKay had hoped that 54th veteran Milton Robinson, whom she



Fig. 6.4. The seal of the Niagara Movement depicting the Shaw Memorial, about 1905. Courtesy Department of Special Collections and University Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

had met while he worked on the lawns and gardens of her neighborhood, would attend the school's dedication (fig. 6.5). Robinson, enslaved in Henry County, Kentucky, had escaped to Indiana by the time the 54th was raised, enlisted in late April 1863 at Readville, and served until the regiment was mustered out in August 1865. When the Shaw school was dedicated in Indianapolis he was living at the Indiana Soldiers' Home in Lafayette and did not attend, but seven years later he either sent or delivered by hand a hickory cane "as a tribute to his commander, Col. Shaw, and his regiment" to Massachusetts Governor Eben S. Draper. Historian Douglas Egerton has stated that a tablet above the school's main door depicted Shaw and his regiment, and a newspaper photograph taken at the time of the school's dedication may suggest its existence. However, none of the newspaper accounts of the dedication describe this tablet, and a 1910 view of the school seems to indicate that, if it existed, it had been replaced by windows.⁸

8. "Name for Colored School," *Indianapolis News*, 27 May 1903, 12; "Shaw School will be One of Best," *ibid.*, 22 August 1903, 14; "Robert Gould Shaw School to be Dedicated to Hero's Valor," *Indianapolis Morning Star*, 22 October 1903, 10; "Robert Gould Shaw School is Dedicated," *Indianapolis News*, 23 October 1903, 4; "School is Dedicated," *Indianapolis Journal*, 23 October 1903, 9; Kathy Mulder, "Digital Diaries: Wandering Off Course," 23 April 2019, Indiana Historical Society website, <https://indianahistory.org/blog/digital-diaries-wandering-off-course/>. Mulder discovered the reference to Robinson's cane in Ellen M. Burrill, *The State House: Boston Massachusetts* (1921), and it is documented in *Boston Globe*, 1 July 1910, 7. The *Globe* quoted a letter from Draper's secretary accompanying the gift when it was placed it for safe keeping with Sergeant-at-arms Thomas F. Pedrick stating that the cane was "highly wrought" and fashioned "from a hickory growing on the battlefield at Tippecanoe," which was near the Lafayette soldiers' home where Robinson then lived. He carved the cane and adorned it with twigs from the same young tree that he painted in red, white, and blue, and beneath these he carved "Co. F" and the number of his regiment. Robinson died in Indianapolis in 1930 on 18 July, the same day as the battle at Fort Wagner. See "Veteran of First Regiment of Negro Soldiers in Civil War Dies of Heat," *Indianapolis Star*, 18 July 1930, 10. The statement about the panel above the school's main entrance appears in Egerton, *Thunder at the Gates*, 344.



Fig. 6.5. Milton Robinson (1840–1930) in his GAR uniform with his sons William and Frederick Douglass Robinson (1892–1906), 1903. Courtesy Indiana Historical Society, M1078.

In 1908, the Boston social workers Robert Archey Woods, Augusta P. Eaton, and others in the city's settlement house movement founded what became the Robert Gould Shaw House, a "fully equipped settlement in Boston's great central colored community on the border line between the South End of Roxbury." By then many African Americans who had lived in the old West End neighborhood had begun to move to the South End, and the population there had swelled with new residents from the South. Woods, a graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, had worked in London as a resident student at Toynbee Hall, the world's first settlement house affiliated with a university (in the United States

often called “college settlements”). He returned to the United States in 1891 and gave a series of lectures in Boston on English social movements, which prompted Andover professor William Jewett Tucker to create Andover House, Boston’s first settlement, and to hire Woods to run it. By 1896 Woods renamed the institution the South End House. Based on a study of London’s poor, Woods began an intensive survey of Boston’s West and South Ends and discovered several enclaves of African Americans in the South End that were far from “centers of good influence”; in addition, though Boston’s settlements were integrated institutions, he had observed that most discriminated in some way or another against African Americans.

Woods and Eaton, who had been in charge of “work among Negroes” at the South End House since 1902, asked Ellen Shaw Barlow, the only member of Robert Gould Shaw’s family still living in the Boston area, if the settlement might be named for her brother.⁹ In a 1913 history of Robert Gould Shaw house, Isabel Eaton, then its head worker, called Shaw “the man who gave his life to champion the rights of the Negro-American.” Barlow, and apparently other members of the family, agreed to lend her brother’s name, and she served on the house’s women’s auxiliary and contributed financially to its work until she died in 1936. Francis George Shaw (1909–97), the great-grandson of Robert Gould Shaw’s uncle Samuel Parkman Shaw (1811–88), was first vice president of the Shaw House in the 1950s; Richard Price Hallowell (1897–1984), great-nephew of Edward N. and Norwood P. Hallowell, was assistant treasurer of the Shaw House’s Breezy Meadows Camp in Holliston, Massachusetts. Isabel Eaton, who had researched and written the section on domestic workers for W.E.B. Du Bois’s 1899 study *The Philadelphia Negro*, recruited members for the NAACP and worked to integrate the Shaw settlement’s various governing boards not only with African Americans but with people, including NAACP president Moorfield Storey, who would “infuse a lot of the best quality of radicalism into a board which is still perhaps a thought too conservative.”¹⁰

9. A later history of the settlement house, [Katherine Watson Frederick], *Robert Gould Shaw House, Inc.: Fifty Years of Service, 1908–1958* (N.p., n.d.), 6–7, credits Rev. Frederick Allen of the Boston Episcopal Mission with seeking to use Robert Gould Shaw’s name from his friend Francis G. Shaw, probably meaning the man of that name born in 1875 and the son of George Russell Shaw (1848–1937) and grandson of Samuel Parkman Shaw (1813–69), the younger brother of Robert Gould Shaw’s father. This anniversary booklet is available online at <https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/collections/neu:rx915w06k>.

Robert Woods stated that the house, at 6 Hammond Street, was “dedicated to the ideal of fair play and equal opportunity—a house in which the colored people should have first claim, though none should be excluded.” Its letterhead stated that the settlement aimed “to promote a just and amicable relation between the white and colored people; to remove the disabilities from which the latter suffer in their civil, political and industrial life; to encourage equal opportunity, irrespective of race, color or other arbitrary distinctions; to establish a centre of friendly helpfulness and influence in which to gather needful information and for mutual cooperation to the ends of right living and a higher citizenship.”¹¹ The Shaw house sponsored a full range of clubs, classes, summer vacations and camps, and conferences, the last devoted at least in the early years to “how to secure an occupation on a basis of individual fitness, and how to make a living on this basis. . . . The question of occupation and its remuneration is undoubtedly the most conspicuous aspect of the problem facing the colored man in Massachusetts.” The poet and activist Olivia Ward Bush-Banks worked at the Shaw House from 1900 to 1914, and many African American Bostonians recall the settlement as a significant feature of their lives. The artist Allan Rohan Crite (1910–2007), whose mother was a faithful member of the house’s women’s club, took frequent part in the

10. Isabel Eaton, Boston, to W. E. B. DuBois, 14 January 1914. Isabel Eaton was head worker from 1910 to 1914. A Maine native, she was the daughter of Civil War General John Eaton, superintendent of freedmen in the Mississippi Valley in 1862, a colonel in the 63rd USCT, and an official with the Freedmen’s Bureau. Isabel Eaton graduated Smith College in 1888 and received a master’s degree in sociology from Columbia University in 1898. She worked at Jane Addams’s Hull House in Chicago, the North Street settlement in Hartford CT, and, in 1896, at St. Peter’s settlement in Philadelphia. See “Isabel Eaton,” *Crisis* 10, 2 (June 1915): 66–67. On 4 April 1914 Eaton wrote DuBois that the Shaw house’s councilors elected African American educator Maria Baldwin of Cambridge to join the governing committee. She added, “The next colored person I should have asked for would have been Mrs Butler Wilson, but for some few odd happenings the general tenor of which you may be able to guess, but as things are & have been I don’t ‘think I see myself’ doing so.” See also Eaton to DuBois, 22 April 1914, and DuBois to Eaton, 20 April 1914. In that letter DuBois recommended as a resident worker for the Shaw house Caroline Bond, a graduate of Atlanta University who was then in charge of the YWCA “colored branch” in Montclair, NJ, and hoped to go postgraduate work at Radcliffe College. “As a go between with your counselling high brows on one side and the rank and file of your constituency on the other, she might prove a veritable god send,” DuBois wrote. This correspondence is in W.E.B. DuBois Papers, University of Massachusetts Amherst. On Eaton and Du Bois see Mary Jo Deegan, “W. E. B. DuBois and the Women of Hull-house, 1895–1899,” *American Sociologist* 13, 4 (Winter 1988): 301–11.

11. Isabel Eaton to DuBois, undated, is on this letterhead and notes that the statement was “written by Miss Woolley for the Douglass Center in Chicago.” DuBois Papers. At that time none of the Shaw house’s councilors were African American. Baldwin and William H. Lewis were among the eight-person governing committee, and Florida Ruffin Ridley was part of the women’s auxiliary. Of the four resident workers, one was certainly African American—painter and illustrator Richard Lonsdale Brown (1892–1917)—and another, Josephine Crawford, probably was.



Fig. 6.6. "Meeting at the Saint-Gaudens Memorial," 1944, watercolor by Allan Rohan Crite. Private collection, Rye, New Hampshire.

house's activities, painted a watercolor of the Shaw Memorial in 1944 (fig. 6.6), and drew it for the cover of the Shaw House's fiftieth anniversary booklet in 1958. One 1911 newspaper account stated that on the anniversary of the Fort Wagner battle, "a little group of South-end colored girls" came to the Shaw Memorial and held exercises including singing and recitations. They were probably part of a club from the Shaw House, where teachers taught children how Shaw "sacrificed his life at the age of 25 to prove that colored men could fight as well as anyone else."¹²

In art and literature, African American commemoration of Shaw and the 54th continued, but the monument itself does not appear to have inspired African American poets. From the time of the unveiling to 1914, six African Americans wrote verse about Shaw, Carney, or the regiment, most of them positive takes on heroic accomplishment. In 1901 Bob Cole and the composer brothers James Weldon Johnson and John Rosamond Johnson wrote the song "The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground," of which several versions exist (fig. 6.7). The song includes the statement, "And he said to all around / 'I've only done my

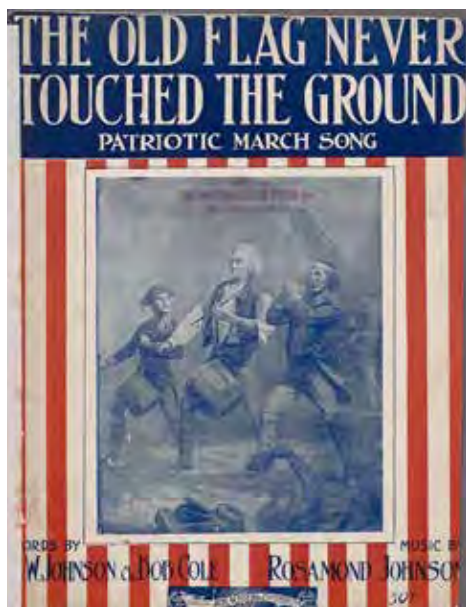


Fig. 6.7. Sheet music cover, “The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground,” by James Weldon Johnson, Bob Cole, and Rosamond Johnson, 1901. Why the cover featured an iconic Revolutionary War scene and not one of many depictions of Carney at Wagner is unclear. Courtesy Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, John Hopkins Sheridan Libraries and University Museums.

duty boys / the old Flag never touch’d the ground.” Perhaps because Carney’s statement was by then so famous, and perhaps because of the convenient rhyme of “ground” and “around,” this part of the song is markedly similar to part of Olivia W. Bush’s “Carney, the Brave Standard-Bearer.” Bush’s verse states, “Boys! I have but done my duty, / Carney said to those around, / ‘I have brought the old flag safely, / And it never touched the ground.” Bush-Banks’s poem is not dated, though it was probably written by 1914, and the Cole-Johnson song may well have commemorated not only the man but the fact that, in May 1900, Carney had become the first African American to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery at Fort Wagner (figs. 6.8 & 6.9).¹³

12. See Daniels, *In Freedom’s Birthplace*, ix, 193 (Daniels worked at the Shaw house); “The Social Settlement,” *Hartford Courant*, 4 June 1896, 8; “Robert Gould Shaw House,” *Boston Globe*, 5 March 1908, 5; John E. Hansan, “Origins of the South End, House, Boston Massachusetts,” Social Welfare History Project Website; Isabel Eaton, “Robert Gould Shaw House and Its Work,” *Crisis*, July 1913, 141–43; W. E. Harrison, “The Robert Gould Shaw House,” *ibid.*, March 1937, 79–80; *Robert Gould Shaw House: Fortieth Anniversary* (1948) and *Robert Gould Shaw House, Inc., Fifty Years of Service 1908–1958*, Robert Gould Shaw House Collection, Archives and Special Collections, Northeastern University; “At the Shaw Monument,” *Springfield Republican*, 19 July 1911, 1. The first head worker at the Shaw House was Augusta P. Eaton, from 1908 to 1910; she had worked at the South End House since 1902 and was in charge of the settlement’s “work among Negroes” by 1905. Her relation if any to Isabel Eaton is unknown. The Robert Gould Shaw house first operated from rooms at Church of St. John the Evangelist at 478 Shawmut Avenue (1905–7) and 218 Northampton Street before moving to 6 Hammond Street in 1908.



Fig. 6.8. William H. Carney, about 1904, photograph by James E. Reed, New Bedford. Carney is wearing the Congressional Medal of Honor, secured to him in 1900 through the intervention of Norwood Hallowell and Christian Fleetwood of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry. Courtesy Carl J. Cruz Collection.

Neither of these tributes spoke critically of any aspect of Carney's action, nor did two post-1900 African American poems about Shaw. Benjamin Griffith Brawley, a South Carolinian, a 1908 Harvard graduate, and at that time serving as the first dean of Morehouse College, compared Shaw to Jesus and to Galahad in his 1914 poem, "My Hero." In 1910 Cordelia Ray, one of the daughters of African American editor Charles

13. Of the Boston newspapers currently available in digital form, only the *Daily Advertiser* (in "Odd Bits about the State," 9 June 1900) reported on the award to Carney, though it was noted in the *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 18 May 1900, 5, and 6 June 1900, 5, and in "A Pleasant Incident," *Colored American* (Washington, DC), 7 June 1900, 7. The effort to secure the medal for Carney was initiated by Christian A. Fleetwood, a veteran of the 4th USCT, who was working on an exhibit of African American medal of honor winners for the Negro Educational Exhibit at the 1900 Paris Exposition when he discovered that Carney had not received a medal. Fleetwood, who himself had a Medal of Honor, filed an application with the War Department on 15 January 1900 which included numerous affidavits to Carney's conduct at Fort Wagner, and Carney received the medal in May 1900. See Congressional Medal of Honor File of William H. Carney, War Department, Record and Pension Office, Digital Public Library of America, <https://dp.la/item/bb92cb792685c70fba43117f0d93f58d?q=%22william%20h%20carney%22>. On Olivia Ward Bush-Banks and James Weldon Johnson see Appendix E.

CHAPTER 6



Fig. 6.9. Carney was a regular presence in parades in his home town of New Bedford. In this undated view he is shown at left on the white horse. Carrie Lee Blanchet, born in New Bedford in 1895, stated in a reminiscence about Carney, "I had not the childish delight in parades. But I gladly endured one yearly in order to see Sergeant William H. Carney ride, so gallantly we thought, with the G. A. R. in the annual Memorial Day parade. Sergeant Carney was a hero to us children in many ways." Courtesy Carl J. Cruz Collection.

Bennett Ray, wrote her short poem "Robert G. Shaw," which celebrated the colonel for being prepared to die:

If only Right could win. He heard the cry
Of struggling bondmen and he quickly came,
Leaving the haunts where Learning tenders fame
Unto her honored sons; for it was ay
A loftier cause that lured him on to death.
Brave men who saw their brothers held in chains,
Beneath his standard battled ardently.
O friend! O hero! thou who yielded breath
That others might share Freedom's priceless gains,
In rev'rent love we guard thy memory.¹⁴

Yet the earlier critical note resounded in African American verse about Shaw and the regiment. Given his association with the 54th, one might have expected the poems Paul Laurence Dunbar (fig. 6.10) wrote about the war to be nostalgic. His father Joshua was born enslaved in Kentucky but had escaped into Ohio by 1863 and joined the 54th Regiment at Readville in early June of that year.¹⁵ Beginning in 1888, when he was sixteen

14. For the complete text of these poems see Appendix A. Brawley wrote *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States* (1918) and *A Social History of the American Negro* (1921); he taught at Morehouse (originally Atlanta Baptist College, from which he graduated in 1901), Howard University, and Shaw University.

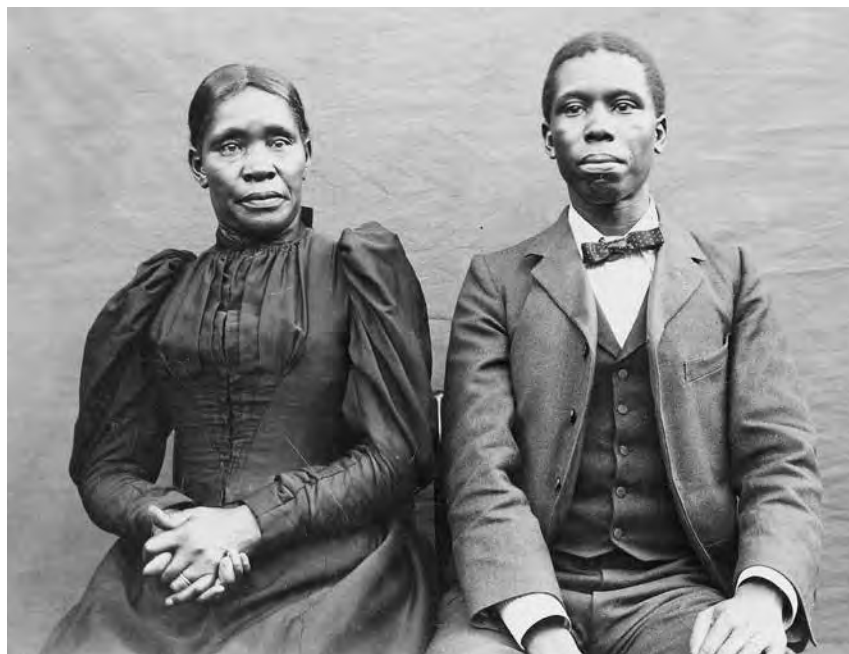


Fig. 6.10. Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906) and his mother Matilda (1845–1934), Dayton, Ohio, 1890–1900, photograph attributed to Josephine Watkins Lehman. Courtesy Ohio History Connection.

years old, Dunbar began publishing poems in his local *Dayton Herald*. “Our Martyred Soldiers,” written about that time, was one of at least six of his verses about the African American Civil War soldier. Yet Dunbar’s short poem “Robert Gould Shaw,” published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in October 1900, questioned whether Shaw’s sacrifice of “learning” was justified by the current state of racial affairs in the country:

Why was it that the thunder voice of Fate
Should call thee, studious, from the classic groves,
Where calm-eyed Pallas with still footstep roves,
And charge thee seek the turmoil of the state?
What bade thee hear the voice and rise elate,
Leave home and kindred and thy spicy loaves,
To lead th’ unlettered and despised droves
To manhood’s home and thunder at the gate?

15. Joshua Dunbar was discharged from the 54th in late October 1863 after having hurt himself “by lifting, while on fatigue duty” but enlisted again in the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry in May 1864. He was discharged with the rest of that regiment at Clarksville, TX, in October 1865, and by 1872 he was married and working as a whitewasher in Dayton. By 1880 he and his wife were living apart, and Paul lived with his mother Matilda, who took in laundry. Matilda Dunbar identified herself as a widow of Joshua in the 1888 Dayton directory, but Joshua Dunbar noted in the 1880 census that he was divorced.

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Far better the slow blaze of Learning's light,
The cool and quiet of her dearer fane,
Than this hot terror of a hopeless fight,
This cold endurance of the final pain,—
Since thou and those who with thee died for right
Have died, the Present teaches, but in vain!¹⁶

Charles Fred. White's embittered "Plea of the Negro Soldier," first published in 1907 in the *Springfield Republican*, mentions Fort Wagner amid a string of benchmarks of African American military service:

From Boston massacre, my blood
Through all the channels of thy war
Has mingled with thy crimson flood;
Through Yorktown, Erie, Wagner,—far
To El Caney and San Juan Hill,
Where, midst the charges awful din,
With song our voice the air did fill
And make that song a battle hymn.—
The Philippines, so dearly bought,
Are strewn with bodies of my kind;
My comrades have thy glory wrought
In war, in peace, with skill and vim.

White could speak with some authority of the Spanish-American War because he had served in the African American 8th Illinois regiment in Cuba. Born to once-enslaved parents in Humboldt, Tennessee, in 1876, he came with his family as a boy to Springfield, Massachusetts, and enlisted in the regiment in the 1890s. Upon his return to the United States White was disgusted by the discrimination he faced everywhere he went. In 1903 he entered Phillips Exeter Academy but was forced to leave two years later when white southern-born students objected to his presence, and he then enrolled at

16. James Smethurst, "Remembering 'Those Noble Sons of Ham': Poetry, Soldiers, and Citizens at the End of Reconstruction," chap. 2 in *The African American Roots of Modernism: From Reconstruction to the Harlem Renaissance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 82, states that "Our Martyred Soldiers" was published in the *Dayton Herald* on 8 June 1888, but I have not located the poem in any edition of the *Herald* (online at newspapers.com). His verse "On the River" was published in the *Herald* on 13 July 1888. See also Smethurst, "'Those Noble Sons of Ham,'" in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 178, and Allen Flint, "Black Response to Colonel Shaw," *Phylon* 45, 3 (1984): 212; and Benjamin G. Brawley, *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States* (New York: Duffield and Co., 1918), 33–37, 40.

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Williston Seminary in Easthampton, Massachusetts, from which he graduated in 1909. While at the seminary he worked for Enterprise Printing Company in Easthampton, which in 1908 published (at his expense) his first book of poetry. The title poem, “Plea of the Negro Soldier,” begins with a damning critique of the country he and other African American men had served:

America, ungrateful land!
Whose treacherous soil my blood has dyed,
Whose wealth my father’s shackled hand
Has hoarded up, who has denied
Me right to live, to vote, to learn,
Whose laws protect me not from wrong,
Who will permit me not to earn
An honest living, who in song
Doth boast a land of freedom, but
Whose flag waves o’er a land of crime

In this verse White cited among these crimes lynchings as well as the “riot” at Brownsville, Texas, in August 1906, in which authorities accused African American soldiers in the 25th Infantry of rape and a murder; the soldiers denied having been involved and would not implicate anyone else, and their white commanders attested that they had been in their barracks when the shooting took place. Nonetheless in November President Theodore Roosevelt discharged 167 of them “without honor” because of their “conspiracy of silence.”¹⁷ No verse that white American poets wrote about Shaw or the memorial came near White’s sense of outrage until John Berryman’s “On Boston Common,” written in the early years of World War II when on one February night Berryman came across a homeless man sleeping at the base of the Shaw Memorial. Berryman speculated that the “casual man” could well have been a veteran, may have “after young Shaw within that crucible stood,” and questioned whether wars accomplish anything beyond monuments.

17. In 1909, a military court recommended that the soldiers be reinstated, and fourteen of the men ultimately re-enlisted. In 1972, the federal government altered their soldiers’ discharge status to honorable and pardoned them; at that time only two of the men were still living. See Garna L. Christian, “Brownsville Raid of 1906,” Texas State Historical Association website, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkb06>.



Fig. 6.11. The Shaw Memorial was not only a bus stop but a convenient place to sit and to watch parades. In 1942 it was festooned with American flags and a wreath and its front bench claimed early for the “War Heroes Day” parade in Boston. *Boston Traveler*, 10 June 1942.

The siting of the Shaw Memorial across a narrow, busy street from the Massachusetts State House sometimes makes it difficult to determine how often the monument was intentionally used as a stage for events related to its varied meanings or simply as a backdrop for agitation aimed specifically at the state government and absent any reference to the Shaw. The protest against the showing in Boston of D. W. Griffith’s racist screed *Birth of a Nation* in April 1915, for example, included a mass meeting of a reported fifteen hundred to two thousand African Americans and 250 whites at Faneuil Hall and a march of one thousand to the State House; the crowd filled the State House steps and stretched to Beacon Street and the Common, according to the Boston newspapers. Yet there is no indication that the Shaw Memorial was in any way invoked, as it might reasonably have been, to bolster the protesters’ argument.¹⁸ African American state representative Byron Rushing pointed out in 1990 that the Shaw Memorial was also a bus stop (fig. 6.11). “If 10 percent of the people who wait for buses figure out what that monument is,” he said, “probably there is a larger percentage of white people who know about black history than any place else in the country.”¹⁹ Parsing the meaning of events is also complicated by the fact that many

18. See “Colored People To Storm State House,” *Boston Globe*, 19 April 1915, 1, 3; “Big Negro Mass Meeting Denounces Photo-Play,” *Boston Journal*, 1; “Negroes Will March on State House Today,” *Boston Herald*, 19 April 1915, 1, 5; “Court to Pass on Film Play that Angers Negroes,” *Boston Herald*, 20 April 1915, 1, 4; Fox, *Guardian of Boston*, 192–97. These accounts do not make clear whether the crowd massed on the Common were in front of the State House or in front of Tremont Theater, where the film was being shown; it also abutted Boston Common.

functioned on several levels at once: veterans who gathered at the monument on Memorial Day or for Fort Wagner anniversaries not only reunited with comrades but also offered or listened to pointed political protest. African American celebrations had performed this dual purpose for many decades, as Mitch Kachun has noted. Still, some events that took place at the Shaw Memorial speak primarily to its use as a symbolic site in the long struggle for racial equity in Boston and the United States.

Reunion and Remembrance

Virtually as soon as the Shaw was dedicated, African American groups began to incorporate the monument into their holiday and other special activities. On the anniversary of Shaw's death and the Fort Wagner battle on 18 July 1897, less than two months after the unveiling, Wesley Furlong led the Shaw Veterans Association in a parade to the Shaw Memorial, where members placed a "floral tribute" of evergreens and violets and listened to an oration by attorney Edward Everett Brown; then they visited Readville and ended the day with an evening meeting at Twelfth Baptist Church. In September a national convention of African American Baptist Church members met for four days in Boston and made the Shaw the destination of one of three pilgrimages during their visit; in the afternoon they took an excursion in Boston Harbor, and in the evening the association held "mass meetings" at the Shaw Memorial and the Attucks monument. At the Shaw Memorial a reported five thousand people listened to District of Columbia minister W. B. Johnson's address. As many orations presented before the Shaw have done, Johnson's focused on Shaw as "a man of noble birth and princely spirit, whose devotion to the principles of liberty was so steadfast that it saw in the ebonied sons of Ham, a man and brother; a man whose loyalty to his country's welfare forced him to lay his best energies upon the altar of sacrifice and service and give his life, as the gallant commander of a hated and despised negro regiment." Massachusetts had done much to commend itself "to a liberty loving people," Johnson averred, but "when she gave to the negro soldier lately shackled by human bondage, the intrepid soldier and patriot, Robert G. Shaw, she reached the climax of her glory." If Johnson said anything as appreciative of the men of the 54th, the Boston newspapers did not record it.²⁰ And in mid-October 1897, on the sixtieth anniversary of Shaw's birth, thirty veterans of the 54th, 55th, and

19. Marjorie Howard, "'Glory' Found in History & Art," *Boston Herald*, 11 January 1990, 65.

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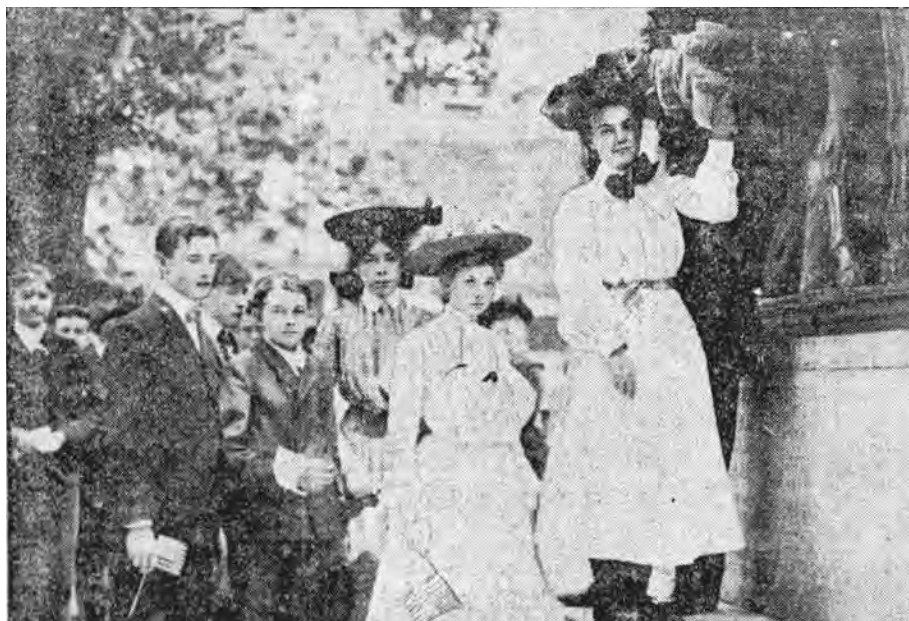
5th Cavalry met in the West End to form, once more, a “permanent organization. . . . composed of members of the three Massachusetts colored war regiments, to be known as the Massachusetts veteran association” with the goal of keeping “alive the memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw by remembering the anniversaries of the day on which the regiment was first organized, the birth of Col Robert Gould Shaw, the presentation of the state colors by Gov Andrew at Readville, the departure from Boston, the battle of fort Wagner and the death of Col Shaw.” The new, and apparently short-lived, group may not have visited the Shaw Memorial before its evening meeting, but its aim to do so often in its future was plain.²¹

Almost immediately the memorial honoring Shaw, initially lionized by white as well as black Americans, became the city’s African American war memorial. On Memorial Day 1898 the Shaw Veterans Association, the Robert A. Bell GAR Post, the Peter Salem Garrison (Post 70 of the Regular Army and Navy Union), and their ladies’ auxiliaries decorated the Shaw memorial with a floral American flag, while the children from the Robert Gould Shaw grammar school in West Roxbury hung a wreath of lilies and laurel from the stirrup of Shaw’s horse (fig. 6.12). The primary white GAR posts in Boston—Dahlgren Post 2, Charles Russell Lowell Post 7, Abraham Lincoln Post 10, and John A. Andrew Post 15—met at Tremont Temple and marched to the Martin Milmore’s Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument on the Common. Both groups of veterans at different times of the day visited the cemeteries in and around Boston to decorate graves. This pattern changed little over the years, and no evidence suggests that white Civil War veterans ever contested African Americans veterans’ virtually exclusive use of the Shaw Memorial or that they ever held an official Memorial Day observance there. Though the newspapers did occasionally report the presence of whites at Shaw Memorial events, the general bifurcation of the holiday in Boston exemplifies what Mitch Kachun has described as a “more racially segregated public sphere” in African American public events after the Fifteenth Amendment made the traditional 1 August Emancipation Day celebrations less relevant. As Kachun has observed, 1 August celebrations had in many places drawn

20. “Colored Troops to Observe July 18,” *Boston Globe*, 7 July 1897, 5; “Placed Wreath Thereon,” *Boston Globe*, 20 July 1897, 3; “Colored Baptist Convention,” *Boston Herald*, 8 August 1897, 11; “For the Colored Baptist Convention,” *Boston Globe*, 9 September 1897, 2; “Wreaths for Loved Leaders,” *Boston Herald*, 19 September 1897.

21. “In Memory of Col Shaw: Survivors of Colored War Regiments Form an Organization,” *Boston Globe*, 12 October 1897, 2. Burrill Smith Jr., in this article identified as Shaw’s orderly during the war, was named president; nothing else has yet been learned about the group.

Fig. 6.12. Students from the Robert Gould Shaw school in Roxbury visited the Shaw Memorial each year near Memorial Day; in 1904 they left a shield the school's mechanical arts students made and placed small American flags in the bas relief. "Leave Shield as Tribute," *Boston Globe*, 25 May 1904.



white participants and in some places were organized by them, but by the mid-1870s fewer whites took part in and supported African American public celebrations, just as the civil and political rights of African Americans came to matter less to the post-Reconstruction North.²²

African American veterans in and around Boston congregated at the Shaw Memorial for decades afterward, and Shaw and the 54th were sometimes commemorated in other cities. The memorial was celebrated in other forms. In April 1899, soldiers from Company L of

22. Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 146, 148; "Plans for Memorial Day," *Boston Globe*, 11 May 1898, 6; "Wreath for the Shaw Memorial," *ibid.*, 29 May 1898, 16; "Wreath on Shaw Memorial," *ibid.*, 30 May 1898, 1; "Loving Honors," *ibid.*, 31 May 1898, 5. In 1898 the Robert A. Bell GAR Post with its Woman's Relief Corps and the William H. Carney Camp 82, Sons of Veterans, decorated 105 graves at Rainsford Island and upon returning to the city marched to the Shaw Memorial for exercises and then to their headquarters at the Abiel Smith School on Smith Court for a dinner. The Shaw Veterans Association sent "detachments" to Woodlawn, Cedar Grove, Forest Hills, Mt. Hope, and Framingham cemeteries and to lay a wreath on Wendell Phillips's grave in Milton. Members also laid wreaths on the Sumner statue in the Boston Public Garden, the Garrison statue on Commonwealth Avenue, Thomas Ball's Emancipation Group in Park Square, and Crispus Attucks's grave at Granary Hill Burial Ground. They also decorated the graves of the Shaw family, Anson Burlingame, George L. Ruffin, Edward Hallowell, Charles Sumner, Zachary Taylor, Charles Turner Torrey, and Benjamin Roberts at Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge. John Andrew Post decorated 500 graves at Mt. Auburn, and Lowell Post decorated 453 at Mt. Hope and others at Calvary and Mt. Auburn cemeteries.



Fig. 6.13. African American Charlestown Navy Yard pattern maker Charles Herbert Bruce (1884-1975) photographed this 54th Regiment float about 1910, from an unidentified Boston parade. Courtesy University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Northeastern University.

the 6th Massachusetts staged a “Reproduction of the Shaw Memorial” tableau, one of six “Scenes from Our New England” orchestrated as a benefit for the Invalid Aid Society. In 1908 the Fourth of July parade in Springfield included a “negro float” depicting Fort Wagner with eight “colored veterans of the civil war” reenacting the battle and a battalion of thirty-two African American men marching behind it; about 1910 African American Bostonian Charles H. Bruce photographed a similar float prepared for an unidentified Boston parade (fig. 6.13). And in 1930, Boston’s tercentenary celebration included an address by Governor James M. Curley to the twelve African American veterans assembled at the Shaw Memorial on the Wagner anniversary and a “Negro program” on the evening of 5 September on Boston Common. It included a tableau of the death of Crispus Attucks, spirituals, and a second tableau “depicting the Shaw monument.” The tercentary planners even permitted Shaw to be represented in the tableau, on a “black charger,” by Edward Francis Darius Janifer, who had been a member of Company L of the 6th Regiment MVM and served in France during World War I with the segregated 372nd Regiment. The program also featured tableaux of Harriet Tubman and of Thomas Ball’s Emancipation Group, with machinist Cecil Ross Beane of Hyde Park as an African American Lincoln and waiter Granville Stewart and musician Donald Hosa as enslaved men Lincoln freed by a simple gesture of his hand. The final tableau placed a spotlight on “the living colored veterans of ’61.” The whole program, part of a series of ethnic “nights” featured during that tercentennial season, was meant to depict “the part played by the Negroes

in preserving the Union and winning their own freedom during the Civil War, as well as their deeds of valor in Colonial days and their latter-day contributions to civilization.”²³

For the next four decades African American veterans of the Civil War visited the Shaw on both Memorial Day and, not as regularly, on the anniversary of the Fort Wager battle and Shaw’s death. Memorial Day usually began at the headquarters of the Bell Post, the Salem Garrison, and the Shaw Veterans Association; in 1900 veterans of both the Civil and Spanish-American Wars were asked to wear “campaign hats” and white gloves. The ritual at the Shaw almost always included an address, the laying of a wreath, and a reading of the Gettysburg Address, and for many years the graduates of the Robert Gould Shaw grammar school paid a visit to the memorial and sometimes to the State House as well. Just before Memorial Day in 1904, the forty-two graduates, most if not all of them white, left a memento fashioned by the boys in the school’s manual training class—a shield with forty-two small American flags surrounded with laurel—and William

23. “New England Scenes. Tableaux for Benefit of Invalid Aid Society,” *Boston Globe*, 11 April 1899, 4; “Glorious, if Damp,” *Springfield Republican*, 5 July 1908, 1, 4; see also Stanton and Belyea, “Their Time Will Yet Come,” in Blatt et al, eds, *Hope and Glory*, 258, 319 n. 6; “Will Commemorate Fort Wagner Battle Today,” *Boston Globe*, 18 July 1930, 23 “Tableaux Reflect Negro War Roles,” *ibid.*, 6 September 1930, 2; *Tercentenary of the Founding of Boston* (City of Boston Committee on Compilation: City of Boston Printing Department, 1930), 71, 220–40. Probably none of the men on the Springfield float—Edward Lewis, Loyal Friman, John P. Hawkins, Henry C. Griffin, Washington Lewis, John Barker, William Paten, and Iverson Horace—were veterans of the 54th except possibly Barker. Friman, Lewis, and Horace were veterans of the USCT. Edward F. D. Janifer was born in 1891 in Cambridge and was the son of Edward F. Janifer, a hostler born in the District of Columbia who had moved to Cambridge by 1888. By 1910 he was working as a lumber mill sawyer. Janifer had been a member of Company L since April 1915 when he was called into federal service and assigned to Company M of the 372nd. After his discharge he returned to Cambridge and his old job and by 1930 had become a cabinetmaker; during World War II he worked in the state quartermaster department in Boston. Janifer died at the veterans’ hospital in the Jamaica Plain section of Boston in September 1974. The Boston tercentenary parade featured 40,000 marchers and 200 floats and took six hours to pass. The third battalion of the African American 372nd Infantry paraded, as did African American Knights of Pythias, the Knights of Pythias band, the juvenile section of “colored boys” of the same organization, and the Elks. An estimated 10,000 veterans from all wars from the Civil War forward were included, among them buses of disabled veterans from the Soldiers’ Home and US Naval Hospital in Chelsea. The spotlight on the veterans included at least Edward A. Ditmus and Jeremiah Kellogg, both then in their late eighties. The program was orchestrated by Dorothy Juanita Fowler Richardson, an African American vocal teacher and actress who lived in Cambridge and Boston. No newspaper photographs appear to exist of the Boston event, but the *Herald* showed a photograph of Richardson in “mammy” dress with twenty-one African Americans who sang spirituals as part of Arlington’s tercentenary in June that year; another photograph showed almost in silhouette a tableau of Judge J. G. Brackett as Lincoln and “John Manning as slave” in the pose of Thomas Ball’s Emancipation Group sculpture. “A Pageant of Music in America: Arlington’s Contribution to the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary as Recently Presented in Arlington, Mass.,” *Boston Herald*, 22 June 1930, 67.

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H. Carney, then a state house messenger, crossed the street to tell them his story of Fort Wagner. The students in turn told Carney stories they had learned, one about “how brave Sergt Wall of Co G carried the flag in the 1st battalion, and fell in a deep ditch.” In some years, particularly the earliest years of commemorations at the memorial, African American veterans’ groups each conducted separate exercises there: in 1899 the Peter Salem Garrison, waiting for the Robert Bell GAR Post to finish its ceremony at the Shaw, decided to go to Forest Hills Cemetery first.²⁴

Some Memorial Day observances included special features. In 1902 Pauline Crawford, one of twenty-nine girls whom the Women’s Relief Corps had assembled for the day, read the poem, “The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground” in front of the monument. And in 1905 Harriet Tubman, then ninety-two years old, came from her home in Auburn, New York, to visit the South End home named for her and to attend the Memorial Day exercises at the Shaw Memorial (fig. 6.14). Tubman gazed at Shaw’s likeness and told the assembled crowd, “That looks like him the last morning I saw him. He was killed that night. That morning I gave him his last breakfast. This is the first time I have seen the monument close to. I was here when they unveiled it, but the crowd was then so big. I went back to Auburn, but made up my mind to see it again some time.” The event at the Shaw brought together Tubman and Susie King Taylor, a Civil War nurse whom she may well have known in the Sea Islands (fig. 6.15). Taylor, who had lived in Boston since the 1870s and helped organized the Bell Post’s Woman’s Relief Corps, organized thirty-two children into a chorus for the event.²⁵ And in 1925 the 65-member cast of the African American “musical burlesque” *Seven-Eleven*, then playing at Boston’s Gayety Theater, placed a wreath on the Shaw Memorial.²⁶

24. “Col. Shaw Honored: Colored Veterans Bedeck Monument on the Hill,” *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1899. The Shaw Veteran Association heard an oration at the Shaw by Godfrey Henry Powell of the Sons of Veterans of Canton, who spoke often at Memorial Day events in Boston through at least 1917; his father, John D. Powell, was from Norfolk, VA, and a sergeant in the 39th USCT. See “Colored Man to Sit as Delegate in National Body, Sons of Veterans,” *Boston Herald*, 3 August 1904, 2, which incorrectly states Powell’s regiment as the 30th Maryland. The Bell Post’s memorial address was offered by Edward A. Armistead, a native of Warwick County, VA, who had come to Boston by 1889. Armistead was a messenger for the office of Boston mayor Thomas N. Hart, an elevator operator in the Post Office and Subtreasury building, and a messenger for the state office of penal institutions. He was elected to the Boston Common Council in 1898. On Armistead see *Boston Globe*, 31 April 1901, 17, and 24 January 1902, 4.



Fig. 6.14. Harriet Tubman's visit to the Shaw Memorial in 1905 attracted wide attention; the *Boston Herald* on 31 May included this photograph of her with its coverage.



Fig. 6.15. Susie King Taylor, at far left in the first row, was the only African American member of the Women's Relief Corps group in Boston that met visiting veterans in advance of their Boston reunion in 1904. *Boston Herald*, 31 July 1904.

Memorial Day events at the Shaw drew large crowds, from the “hundreds of colored people” who gathered there in 1900 to the two thousand who assembled to hear Carney speak in 1904 (fig. 6.16) and the “several thousand” who were there on the fiftieth anniversary of the 54th Regiment in 1913. In 1906 the *Globe* noted that on Memorial Day the Shaw Memorial “will be the mecca for the colored people of Greater Boston all day long.” But as time passed newspaper coverage of Memorial Day and Wagner anniversary events at the Shaw focused less on its rituals and orations and more on the increasingly few Civil War veterans who were alive and able to attend. In 1913, the *Globe* identified all twenty-four of the veterans photographed at the Shaw as “survivors of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers,” but in fact only fourteen of them actually were; the others had served in other African American regiments or in the Navy or Cavalry (fig. 6.17). In 1916 eight African American men, both veterans and sons of veterans, posed for their photograph in front of the memorial with Major Horace Bumstead, a native Bostonian who had served as major in the 43rd U.S. Colored Infantry and had been a persistent advocate of African American education; from 1888 to 1907 he was president of Atlanta University. Two of the men flanking Bumstead were veterans of the 54th—Alexander H. Johnson, who seems rarely to have missed a Boston reunion, and Wesley Furlong (fig. 6.18). That evening at the Columbus Avenue African Methodist Episcopal church,

25. “Leave Shield as Tribute,” *Boston Globe*, 25 May 1904, 9; “Grand Army Grateful,” *Guardian*, 14 June 1902. “Colored Veterans,” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1902, 4, states that one of the little girls “of the Patriotic camp” read a short poem but did not identify her or the poem. “Long Journey. Harriet Tubman, Aged 92, Took It,” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1905, 7. Oddly, Charles Alexander, “Decoration Day in Boston,” *New York Age*, 1 June 1905, 4, did not mention Tubman’s presence at the 1905 event. See also “Shaw’s Nurse at Memorial,” *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1905, which included a photograph of Tubman. The Harriet Tubman House, initially sponsored by the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, was founded by six African American women in Boston about 1901 and later affiliated with United South End Settlements; Tubman was named its honorary president in 1909. On Susie King Taylor see Appendix E.

26. Actress Placing Wreath at Show Monument,” *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1925, 19, included a photograph of the show’s leading actress, Mae Brown, placing the wreath. The cast of the show also visited the U.S. Naval Hospital in Chelsea during this stay in Boston; see “‘Seven-Eleven’ Show at Gayety,” *Boston Globe*, 26 May 1925, 10; “7–11 Company Entertains at U.S. Naval Hospital,” *ibid.*, 2 June 1925, 11. The Gayety Theater, built in 1908 on Washington Street in the city’s theater district, and Waldron’s Casino in Scollay Square, built in 1909, were part of the so-called “Eastern Wheel” of Columbia Amusement Company and often carried the same shows in different weeks; Seven-Eleven played at Waldron’s in April 1925. A study report on the Gayety Theater by the Boston Landmarks Commission notes that between 1923 and 1928 the Gayety and Waldron’s staged far more African American and integrated productions than other Boston burlesque houses as part of a way to boost dwindling audiences and revenues; the company failed in 1927. “Gaiety Theater Study Report” (Boston Landmarks Commission, n.d.), https://www.cityofboston.gov/images_documents/Gaiety%20Theater%20Study%20Report_tcm3-17376.pdf.



Fig. 6.16. 54th Sergeant William H. Carney spoke before a large crowd at the 1904 Memorial Day observance in front of the Shaw Memorial. *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1904.

Johnson, Furlong, and Henry James of Cambridge were identified as the only 54th veterans present, and Johnson “thrilled his hearers by reproducing on two snare drums the reveille of July 18, 1863.” On the Wagner anniversary in 1917 Furlong, Johnson, and Eli George Biddle represented the 54th and were introduced to the audience at an evening



Fig. 6.17. The *Boston Globe* identified the men in these two photographs as “Survivors of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers,” though ten of them had actually served in the 5th Cavalry, the Navy, or the United States Colored Troops. All but two of the men (Edward C. Smith and T. D. Harris) in the lower photograph had been part of the 54th. African American Civil War veterans generally, not just those from the 54th, viewed the memorial as a meaningful site. *Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913.

meeting in Faneuil Hall. Johnson played a drum solo, and another photograph was taken in front of the Shaw. In 1920 Civil War Navy veteran Emanuel Walker assembled veterans of the Civil and Spanish-American wars and World War I for a march to the monuments Boston had erected to William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lincoln (the so-called Emancipation Group), Attucks, and finally to the Shaw, where Alexander Johnson spoke and Godfrey Henry Powell recited the Gettysburg Address. By then the Shaw Veterans Association included in its Mount Auburn cemetery trip visits to the graves of Powell’s father and of Wesley Furlong, who died in February 1918.²⁷



Fig. 6.18. On the anniversary of Shaw's death and the Fort Wagner battle, eight African American veterans posed near the memorial. Alexander Johnson, third from right, posed with his drum and is identified as the "leading figure in Shaw statue"; next to him on the right is Wesley Furlong. Jacob Wesley Powell, fourth from left, was the son of John D. Powell of the 39th USCT and brother of Godfrey Henry Powell. Emanuel Walker, a Navy veteran instrumental in gathering veterans at the memorial in 1920, is fifth from left. *Boston Globe*, 19 July 1916.

By 1928 three Civil War veterans—Edward A. Ditmus, Edmund Young, and Isaac Mullen, the last having been one of Hallowell's aides at the 1897 unveiling—paraded to the Shaw Memorial with an escort of Spanish and World War I veterans. Mullen, as he had done at earlier Memorial Day events, recited the Gettysburg Address. In 1929 Ditmus, Mullen, and 5th Cavalry veteran William H. Jackson might have been the only Civil War veterans present at the regular services; the Robert A. Bell Post, which once had 280 members, had only seven by 1929. In 1930 Jackson and Ditmus again attended exercises at the memorial and had their photograph taken with 54th veteran Charles Arnum and Navy veteran Jeremiah Kellogg, another of Hallowell's aides in 1897 (fig. 6.19). In 1931 there were fewer than fifty veterans taking part in all greater Boston Memorial Day events, and only two of

27. "Civil War Veterans' Day," *Boston Globe*, 29 May 1906, 14; "Praise Valor of Negro Soldiers," *ibid.*, 19 July 1913, 9; "Honor Memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw," *ibid.*, 19 July 1916, 10. "Survivors of the Fort Wagner Charge," *ibid.*, 18 July 1917, 14; "Negroes Observe Fort Wagner Day," *Boston Journal*, 19 July 1917; "Survivors of Fort Wagner Meet Today," *Boston Herald*, 18 July 1917; Frank C. Brownell, "Military Men and Matters," *Boston Herald*, 30 May 1920, 39. On Henry James and the Powells see Appendix C.



Fig. 6.19. In 1930 five African American veterans attended the Wagner anniversary in Boston. Seated in front from left are Charles H. Arnum of the 54th, Edward A. Ditmus of the 29th Connecticut Infantry, and Jeremiah Kellogg of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, who had been one of Hallowell's aides in the 1897 "battalion of survivors." In the rear at far left is George Williams, also of the 26th Connecticut, and William H. Jackson of the 5th Cavalry at far right. *Boston Globe*, 18 July 1930.

the five members of the Bell Post, Ditmus and William H. Jackson, took part in the Shaw Memorial exercises. Ditmus declared that the "time will come shortly" when Boston, like other towns nearby, would have no Civil War veterans, and he urged the younger people attending to continue the services commemorating the Civil War. In 1933 the *Globe* offered a nostalgic account of the waning presence of 54th veterans at Mt. Auburn Cemetery:

The only one left of that regiment today is Rev George Biddle, pastor of a little colored church down in Connecticut. Mrs Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of one of the recruiting sergeants of that regiment, helped decorate the Shaw monument in front of the State House with the veterans of Robert A Bell Post yesterday.



Fig. 6.20. On Memorial Day 1936 the 54th's Eli George Biddle (at left) and his grandson Robert Biddle Butler posed with William H. Jackson of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry at the Shaw Memorial. *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1936.

But it had been her custom in other years to help decorate this untenanted grave of Col Shaw at Mt Auburn, along with the members of the Robert Gould Shaw Veterans Association. That used to be one of the dramatic incidents of Memorial Day in Mt Auburn, when these colored veterans, their women and their chaplain, held exercises at this grave and covered it with flowers and little flags. But that association died out several years ago.²⁸

In 1934 the *Globe* stated that three members remained in the Robert A. Bell Post, one of them William H. Jackson; its ranks so diminished, the group had given up its annual trip to Rainsford Island the year before. In 1937 Eli George Biddle of the 54th was identified as the “sole survivor” of the Bell Post and attended the Memorial Day events at the Shaw (fig. 6.20). When he returned for the 1939 events, the *Globe* called him “the only living Negro veteran of the G.A.R.,” though he was not: Biddle died in Boston in early April 1940, and Ira Waterman, then living in Springfield, followed in August 1941.²⁹ Waterman appears never to have taken part in the Boston commemorations at the Shaw Memorial

28. “Impressive Tribute at Untenanted Grove,” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1933, 12. Biddle was often incorrectly cited as the last survivor of the 54th.

and may not have belonged to a GAR post: when Susie King Taylor conducted a census of African American veterans in Boston's West End for the Women's Relief Corps in 1896, she found "a great many comrades who were not attached to any post in the city or State." Biddle had died less than two months before the *Herald* listed by name, age, and residence the twenty-seven surviving GAR members in Massachusetts, all between ninety-one and one hundred and one years old. After 1939 the Shaw appears no longer to have been visited on Memorial Day, while the Kearsarge Association of Naval Veterans met annually in the 1940s at Milmore's Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. The regular observance of Shaw's death and the Wagner battle also died: possibly the last such ceremony to take place at the Shaw Memorial was in 1931, though Connecticut GAR members met with Biddle at Middletown on the anniversary in 1934, and both Biddle and William H. Jackson attended St. Cyprian's Church for the seventy-third anniversary of the battle and a sermon by rector David LeRoy Ferguson in 1936. When Biddle died, the African American *Boston Guardian* marked his death by publishing a photograph of Charles Eliot's inscription on the back of the Shaw monument.³⁰

At times of year other than these two anniversaries African American groups assembled at the Shaw for occasional, often essentially honorific, events. In August 1904 54th, 55th, and 5th Cavalry veterans visited the memorial as part of a day-long reunion held at Boston's English High School and the AME Zion church; Carney was present and sang

29. "Negro G.A.R. Veterans at Annual Exercises," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1929; "Robert Gould Shaw and His Men Honored," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1929, 11; "Reunion of Colored Civil War Veterans," *ibid.*, 18 July 1930, 12; "Tableaux Reflect Negro War Roles"; "Thousands Join in City Tribute to War Heroes," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1931, 1, 14; "Only One of Bell Post is Able to Join Shaw Memorial Rites," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1934, 2; "Negro Union Vet of 92 Guest at Exercises Held Before Col Robert Gould Shaw Plaque," *ibid.*, 1 June 1937, 13. On Ditmus and Arnum see Appendix C. I have not been able to identify Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson.

30. "To Mark Anniversary of Fort Wagner Battle," *Boston Globe*, 13 July 1931, 3; "'Brave Black Regt.' Survivors Gather," *Boston Globe*, 18 July 1934, 7; Taylor, *Reminiscences*, 59; "Roxbury District," *Boston Globe*, 11 July 1936, 4. David LeRoy Ferguson (1878–1956) was from Zanesville, OH, and had served with the YMCA in France during World War I. He graduated St. Augustine Episcopal College in North Carolina and the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, the latter in 1910 when he was rector at the Church of Our Merciful Saviour in Louisville, KY, in 1910. In 1920 he became rector of St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church, founded in 1910 partly to meet the needs of British West Indians of African descent then moving to Boston in notable numbers and finding themselves unwelcome in Boston's Episcopal churches. Ferguson initiated the fundraising campaign for the congregation's own sanctuary, built on Tremont Avenue in the South End between 1922 and 1924, and was rector there until 1951. See St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church website and "Rev. David L. Ferguson, 78, Dies after Roxbury Sermon," *Boston Herald*, 19 November 1956, 12; *Boston Guardian*, 20 April 1940.

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as part of the “old Shaw quartet of the 54th” with Frederick Johnson, Wesley Furlong, and Rev. William A. Birch. Alexander H. Johnson gave a call on the drum, and 55th veteran William H. Dupree addressed the group. On 5 August 1907 the death of Saint-Gaudens was marked at the memorial, and the *Herald* reported that “crowds” visited all day; the newspaper also reminded readers that the move to create the memorial “was made by a negro, Joseph [*sic*] B. Smith, a fugitive from slavery, who was in the service of Col. Shaw’s family.” In August 1917, when the GAR national encampment took place in Boston, the *Globe* recounted among the “little personal incidents” of the day the reaction of a veteran private of the 54th’s Company H upon seeing the Shaw Memorial during the large parade (fig. 6.21):

There was, for one, the veteran who didn’t see the Governor or any of the dignitaries on the gala reviewing stand in front of the State House. He saw only something opposite the State House which meant more to him than the whole encampment.

Comrades tried to keep him in line as they smartened their step at the crest of the hill and turned their faces toward the Governor. But they couldn’t. He stopped short in his tracks.

“Thar’s my regiment!” he cried, and his right hand came up to his hat brim. He saluted Col Robert Gould Shaw, and friendly volunteers from the sidelines led him out of the ranks. They thought he was overcome by the pull up the hill, or bewildered by the cheering.

But he wasn’t. He simply wanted to salute his comrades in bronze. And they led him to the base of the Shaw monument, where he came to attention again, gazing at the tablet until they brought him a chair. There he sat. The parade was over so far as he was concerned. He wanted to go no farther.

He was a colored veteran, “M. Jameson of Syracuse, N Y, of Co H of the 54th Massachusetts, Capt Russell in command, sir!”

And no one will be able to explain satisfactorily to Jameson of the 54th Massachusetts just why there was a wooden staging obstructing the view of the Shaw monument, on yesterday of all days. The workmen said they had been sent “to clean the bronze.”³¹

In early April 1919 Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge reviewed between two and five hundred African American troops from Massachusetts returning from World War I

31. “Colored Vets of Bay State,” *Boston Herald*, 18 August 1904, 3; “St. Gaudens Lives in Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Herald*, 11 August 1907, 15; “Along the Route with the Marching Veterans,” *Boston Globe*, 22 August 1917, 5. “M. Jameson” was actually James Jameson; see Appendix C.



Fig. 6.21. The 54th's James Jameson of Syracuse, New York, whom the *Globe* misidentified as "H. Jameson," was so taken with the memorial as he marched in the GAR national encampment parade that onlookers found him a chair so that he might sit and contemplate it. Jameson had also been photographed in front of the monument in 1913. *Boston Globe*, 22 August 1917.

in front of the Shaw Memorial, adorned with a wreath for the occasion, but the event was overshadowed by the imminent arrival of the 26th Infantry, the so-called Yankee Division. All of the men had served in segregated units, including the 372nd Infantry of the 93rd Division (formed from Company L of the 6th Infantry MVM); the 367th and 368th Infantry of the 92nd Division, known as the "Buffaloes" and the "Blue Hats," and the Navy; only the *Boston Post* carried a photograph of some of these troops as they passed the State House (fig. 6.22). The original Buffalo Soldiers, formed after the Civil War, had fought in the American West, but during World War I American military and political leaders chose not to make them part of the American Expeditionary Force in Europe; instead

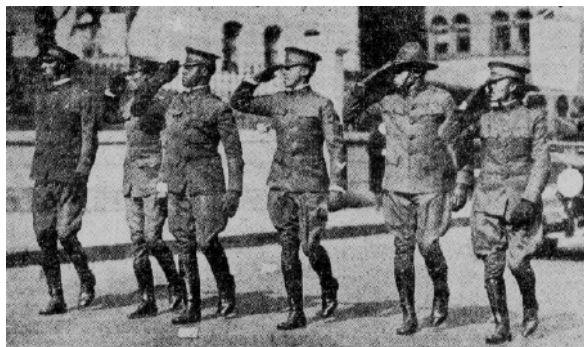


Fig. 6.22. Officers of the 93rd Division's 372nd Infantry saluted near the State House on their return from overseas service in April 1919. *Boston Post*, 3 April 1919.

the four African American cavalry and infantry regiments that made up the Buffaloes were stationed in the Philippines, Hawaii, and along the Mexican border. Again, as in the Civil War, the need of recruits grew so overwhelming that the Army ultimately drafted African American men and formed the segregated 92nd and 93rd divisions. Troops in these regiments wore American uniforms, but they were assigned the blue helmet of the French army and French equipment. By the time they returned to Boston, the “majority” of the 372nd Infantry, according to the *Globe*, wore a dark cord around one shoulder, awarded them for bravery by French General Mariano Goybet. After the parade the soldiers went to the armory on Irvington Street where they had a luncheon and their photograph taken. As they stood on a grandstand for a second photograph, the stand collapsed with a crash, and three men were hospitalized.³²

Other African American fraternal groups made pilgrimages to the Shaw: in October 1930 American Legion posts meeting in Boston went to the memorial, where Mayor James M. Curley gave them the keys to the city, and in August 1931 a delegation of Knights of Pythias placed wreaths on both the Shaw and Attucks monuments (fig. 6.23).³³ The memorial was the stage for more light-hearted events: in 1933, 1934, and 1937 both white and African American girls from Boston's playgrounds assembled on the Shaw Memorial steps for the citywide finals of their jackstones tournament.³⁴ And on 29 February 1960

32. *Boston Herald*, 3 April 1919; “Colored Heroes of War Parade Here,” *Boston Globe*, 3 April 1919, 1; “Colored Heroes, Surviving War, Meet with Disaster While Being Photographed,” *Boston Herald*, 4 April 1919; “Boston Honors Colored Veterans of the ‘Buffaloes’ Back from Front,” *Boston Post*, 3 April 1919, 11.

33. “Colored American Legion Posts Were Prominent Factors in Annual Convocation Held in Boston, Mass.,” *New York Age*, 25 October 1930, 1; “Mardi Gras Parade Ushers in Costume Ball of Colored Knights of Pythias,” *Boston Globe*, 19 August 1931, 16.

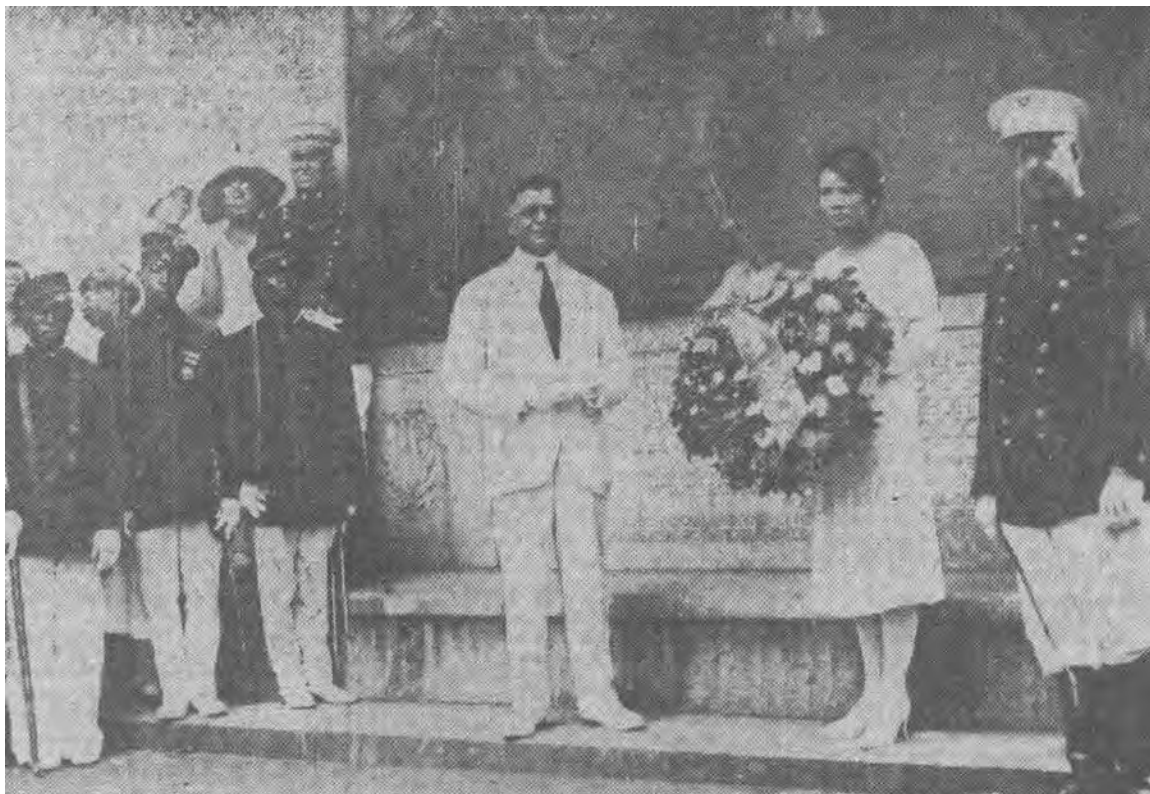


Fig. 6.23. On the Fort Wagner anniversary in 1931, the African American Knights of Pythias laid a wreath on the Shaw Memorial during their convention in Boston. At far right is William J. Thompkins who, while Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia in the 1930s, commissioned the murals of African American military achievement, including the Wagner attack, for the new registry building. *Boston Globe*, 19 August 1931.

Claude E. Simmonds, a Lincoln impersonator from Newton, reenacted a walk he claimed the soon-to-be president had taken through Boston exactly a century earlier that included the Shaw and numerous other post-1860 monuments.³⁵

34. "Girls Playing Jackstones Finals," *Boston Herald*, 23 July 1933; "25 Girls to Contest Jackstone Finals," *ibid.*, 4 August 1934; "16 Girls in Finals of Jackstones Tournament," *Boston Globe*, 24 June 1937, 3. According to the 1937 account 2000 girls throughout the city competed in this event, sponsored that year by the Boston Parks Department and the Works Progress Administration; in 1933 the New Deal Emergency Relief Administration had cooperated with the city on the tournament.

35. "Abe (Claude Simmonds) Lincoln in Hub Stroll," *Boston American*, 29 February 1960, 9. I find no record of Lincoln visiting Boston on 29 February 1860, as Simmonds claimed, though he had been in New York on 27 February and in Providence on 28 February. Sponsored by the Massachusetts Civil War Centennial Commission, Richard F. Lufkin of Medford narrated Simmonds's walk over a police department loudspeaker.



Fig. 6.24. Lionel Licorish, hero of the *SS Vestris* disaster, was photographed at the Shaw Memorial on his visit to Boston. *Boston Herald*, 23 December 1928.

On occasion visiting major and minor celebrities had their photographs taken in front of the Shaw Memorial. In July 1927 Major General Fenelon Passaga of the French Army, on a visit to Boston at the invitation of the Yankee Division Club, stood for a photograph there and on the State House steps. In July 1951 General Douglas MacArthur placed a wreath on the Shaw Memorial during his twenty-seven-hour visit to Boston. And in December 1928 Barbadian Lionel Licorish, quartermaster of the doomed steamship *Vestris*, was photographed as he visited the Shaw (fig 6.24). More than one hundred passengers and crew were killed when the *Vestris* sunk off the coast of Virginia the month before. Licorish released one of the lifeboats just as the ship turned over, rowed back into the area, and saved twenty drowning passengers, some by diving into the ocean to retrieve them. He was instantly renowned. After a hero's welcome in New York from Major Jimmy Walker and NAACP secretary James Weldon Johnson, where he was variously lauded as a sterling representative of his race and of humankind generally, Licorish went on a national tour. His first stop was Boston, where Governor Alvan T. Fuller welcomed him, Boston African Americans held a ball and reception in his honor, and newsboys assembled for the dedication of the Harry E. Burroughs Newboys' Foundation heard him tell his story. He told it again from the stage of the Keith-Albee Theatre every night for a week. Licorish told the *Globe* he was "through with the sea," but he died in April 1942 when the British vessel on which he served was torpedoed in the Atlantic.³⁶

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The various anniversaries of the Civil War revived official interest in the Shaw Memorial. In April 1961 the state's Civil War Centennial Commission placed a wreath on the monument, and in December "for the first time" the city cast a spotlight on the Shaw as part of the annual Boston Common Christmas display. The commission planned a major event for 25 May 1963. It invited Civil War historian Bruce Catton to speak that day, no doubt because he had declared, at the April 1961 opening of the war's centennial on 12 April 1861, that "the opening salvo of the Civil War centennial should be fired at the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in Boston" because Shaw "exemplified the underlying meaning of the war." Massachusetts centennial commission chair Charles Hedges agreed, stating that Shaw "exemplified the proud principles upon which this nation was founded and for which it fought a bloody civil war." Hedges added that Governor Endicott Peabody and Catton would speak about Shaw and the 54th from the State House steps. Two descendants were invited to the event—Francis G. Shaw, identified as the colonel's fourth cousin, and Katherine Watson Frederick, said to be a great-great-granddaughter of a member of the 54th. This Francis G. Shaw was the great-grandson of Samuel Parkman Shaw (1813–69), Robert Gould Shaw's uncle, and the same man who served on the board of the Robert Gould Shaw House. The connection of Katherine Watson Frederick, for more than two decades secretary at the Shaw House and an early member of the Boston NAACP chapter, is less clear: she was the great-granddaughter of Maryland-born Philip Shields, who served in Company C of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry and died of disease in a Maryland hospital in September 1864. Her connection to the 54th is not yet documented.³⁷ At the Shaw ceremony that year, a representative of South Carolina's Confederate Centennial Commission suggested that his state erect a monument over the place where Shaw and his men were buried on Morris Island, apparently unaware that the idea had been proposed one hundred years earlier and that the site was by then almost entirely underwater.

36. "Gen. Passaga is YD Club Guest," *Boston Herald*, 8 July 1927; photograph, *ibid.*, 23 December 1928; "Vestris Hero to Appear in Boston Next Week," *Boston Globe*, 6 December 1928, 24; "Hero of Vestris through with Sea," *ibid.*, 8 December 1928, 9; "Honor Lawyer Once 'Newsie,'" *ibid.*, 10 December 1928, 10; "Hero of Vestris Sinking Missing in Atlantic," *Daily Times* (Chicago), 1 April 1942, 34, and *Evening Star* (DC), 1 April 1942, 19. These two newspapers and others reported Licorish missing but did not report his death or name the vessel. On MacArthur's visit see "Hero's Welcome Awaits MacArthur Today," *Boston Globe*, 25 July 1951, 1.

37. "Rain Cancels Hub Civil War Procession," *Boston Daily Record*, 17 April 1961, 25; "Annual Christmas Festival to Open," *Boston Herald*, 1 December 1961, 5; "Exercise Today to Commemorate Robert G. Shaw," *ibid.*, 25 May 1963, 4; Charles Hedges, chair MA Civil War Centennial Commission, "State and Nation to Honor Shaw," letter to editor, *Boston Globe*, 15 March 1963, 14. Hedges alluded

Persuasion and Protest

Catton's visit to the Shaw Memorial in 1963 was one of many instances in which commemoration of the colonel and the regiment slid quickly into political commentary and critique. Even though the *Globe's* advance coverage of Catton's visit seemed to suggest his focus was on Shaw as an exemplar, his talk at a seminar at Boston College on the same visit took a more critical tone. Catton spoke scarcely six weeks after Martin Luther King Jr. and others had been arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, for demonstrating against segregation and scarcely three weeks after Birmingham police under "Bull" Connor turned fire hoses and police dogs on the Children's March there. Catton believed no one could read about the events in Birmingham without "a great revulsion of feeling," but such feelings were useless unless acted upon. Freedom was endangered by "never-ending attempts to set up and perpetuate a second-class citizenship," Catton argued, and he called on the northern teachers and students in his audience to assure their "own house is put in order":

You do not need to travel very far from this hall, I am sure, to find places where you can see second-class citizenship in operation, to find men who feel that because another man's skin is darker than ours, or because his name is little more unpronounceable, he really ought not to be allowed to live next door or send his children to the school our children go to, or to class himself as an American on the same level we occupy. When you see this—and you can see it, you must see it every day of your lives—bear in mind that you are looking at something that threatens all of us.³⁸

to Frank Leary's two-part series just published in the *Globe*—"Col Shaw: A Saga of Freedmen: Hero in Unmarked Grave," 2 March 1963, 6, and "Col Shaw: A Saga of Freedman—II: The Charge of the 600," 3 March 1963, 19; "Catton, Peabody Honor Colonel Who Led Negroes," *Boston Globe*, 26 May 1963, 20. Frederick was born in Boston in 1911 to porter Charles R. Watson and his wife Elizabeth Brown. Her maternal grandfather Cecil Vaughn Brown married Emma J. Shields (1859–94) of Attleboro, MA, in 1888, and the marriage record lists her as the daughter of Philip Shields and his wife Katie. Shields, a native of Baltimore, enlisted in the 5th Cavalry at Attleboro on 8 January 1864 and was a cook in Company C; he died in hospital at Point Lookout, MD, 27 September 1864. It is possible that Cecil V. Brown's father, John N. Brown, born in Virginia in 1823 and living in Gardiner, ME, when Cecil was born in 1851, served in the 54th, but I have been unable to document it.

38. Catton's talk was quoted most fully in "Catton Calls for Elimination of Second Class Citizenship," *Boston Herald*, 26 May 1963, 104; see also "Race Bias End Urged by Catton," *Boston Record American*, 26 May 1963, 6, and "Catton, Peabody Honor Colonel Who Led Negroes," *Boston Globe*, 26 May 1963, 20.

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Just three days before Catton made his argument, the Boston NAACP publicly stated that African Americans in thirteen predominantly non-white schools in Boston received less funding per pupil and tested more poorly than other Boston students. And three days after Catton spoke the Committee on Racial Equality stated that Boston schools were not only segregated but unequal. In mid-June half of the five thousand African American junior high and high school students in Boston boycotted the schools and attended “Freedom Workshops” instead; the walkout was one of many actions, including sit-ins at Boston School Committee headquarters and other demonstrations, that roiled the city that summer and for years afterward.³⁹ Just as African American soldiers in World War I were compelled to demonstrate a fitness for battle already proclaimed proven in earlier conflicts, this desegregation battle was not the first in Boston: from the late 1840s to the mid-1850s African Americans had fought and won a campaign to desegregate city schools, so bitter a controversy that many families left the city altogether for integrated schools in other Massachusetts places.

Almost from the start African American veterans and others meeting at the Shaw Memorial used the occasion of a special commemorative gathering to protest race-related issues. In 1899 the Rev. William W. Lucas of Revere Street AME church, a Mississippian who had just graduated from the theological school at Boston University, told a group Boston’s African American ministers, “There are two monuments upon Boston Common which register the purpose of the New England spirit to be fair and to give honor where honor is due—the Crispus Attucks monument and the Robert Gould Shaw monument. These stand as an everlasting protest of this commonwealth against the miserable race prejudice which dominates certain sections of this country.” In 1900, on the anniversary of John Brown’s birth, Thomas Wentworth Higginson stated that the Shaw Memorial showed “that the colored men could fight” and declared that at all times Massachusetts abolitionists understood African Americans better than southern whites did. “I remember colored men whom I saw brought to Boston nailed in boxes or bound up in barrels,” Higginson said, referring to his experience assisting fugitives from slavery before the war. “I saw, later, colored men as soldiers, and I never could understand how a race could be so misunderstood by those who had most to do with them.” On Memorial Day in 1900 Godfrey Henry Powell quoted Booker T. Washington’s proclamation at the

39. See Jeremy Wolff, “A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation, 1961–1985” (Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project, Northeastern University School of Law, n.d.), <https://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/Boston%20Desegregation%20Timeline.pdf>.



Fig. 6.25. Archibald H. Grimké, undated photograph.

unveiling that until African Americans “by patience and natural effort, grow to that height in industry, property, intelligence and moral responsibility where no man in all our land will be tempted to degrade himself by withholding from his black fellow citizens what he himself would possess,” the Shaw “will stand for effort, not victory complete.” Powell continued:

Some people ask why we observe Memorial day, why recall the horrors of the civil war, why wound the pride of the south. When the south ceases its indiscriminate lynching of black men regardless of their guilt or innocence of the crimes with which they may be charged, when southern legislatures cease to enact laws which compel black men and women to ride in “jim crow” cars notwithstanding the fact that they have paid for a first-class passage, then may fort Wagner, Antietam, fort Fisher, fort Pillow and rebel prisons be forgotten.⁴⁰

The next year African American veterans groups asked Archibald Henry Grimké to deliver the principal oration after the Memorial Day ceremonies at the Shaw (fig. 6.25). Grimké, born enslaved near Charleston in 1849, had escaped and hid during the last year of the Civil War and then made his way to Pennsylvania, where he graduated Lincoln University with a bachelor’s and master’s degree by 1872. His aunts, the radical abolitionists Sarah Grimké and Angelina Grimké Weld, arranged for him to move to Boston. Grimké graduated Harvard Law School in 1874, was admitted to the Suffolk County bar in 1875, and founded Boston’s first postwar African American newspaper, the

40. “Crispus Attucks Praised: Colored Ministers Remember the Boston Massacre,” *Boston Herald*, 6 March 1899; “His Soul Still Marching On,” *Boston Herald*, 10 May 1900; “At the Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1900, 8.

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Hub, in 1883. He wrote biographies of both Sumner and Garrison for Funk and Wagnalls' American Reformer Series. In his 1901 address Grimké began with this declaration:

The supreme gift which the negro laid on the altar of freedom and country in the war for the Union, has seldom been equaled, and has never been surpassed in the annals of the world. It is an old story, but a grand one, how, deserving the best which the country had to bestow for generous service freely given, the negro received instead the worst; how through two wars he had fought the battles of that country, baring his brave breast and shedding his heart's blood to win for that country a recognized place among the nations of the earth, and how at their close he was rewarded with heavier burdens, loaded with crueler chains by the very people for whom and to whom he had given his all of valor and devotion.

Grimké tied the Shaw to the situation African Americans confronted both North and South:

On Boston Common stands a master-piece in bronze, erected to commemorate the heroism and patriotism of Col. Robert Gould Shaw and his immortal black regiment. There day and night, through summer and winter, in storm and shine, are to march forever those brave men by the side of their valiant young leader. Into the unknown they are hurrying to front and to fight their enemies and the enemies of their country. They are not afraid. A high courage looks from their stern faces, lives in the martial motion of their supple bodies, flashes from the barrels of their guns. Whilst gazing at the heroic group, one is almost able to catch the firm and regular beat of their iron heels on the stones of the street, almost able to see the cloud of fine dust rising and whirling backward in their swift tracks. On and yet ever on they are speeding, grim bolts of war, across the Common, through State street, past the Old State House, over ground consecrated by the martyr's blood of Crispus Attucks, and the martyr's feet of William Lloyd Garrison. Farther and farther they are advancing into the unknown, into the South, toward the grim heights of Wagner and immortal deeds, to death and an immortal crown.

Friends, we too are marching through a living and lowering present into the unknown, through an enemy's land, at the summons of duty. We are to face great labors, great dangers, to fight like men our passions, and American race prejudice and oppression, and, God helping us, to conquer them.⁴¹

41. "Col. Shaw Their Hero: Colored Veterans Gather about His Monument," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1901; Archibald H. Grimké, "Memorial Day and the Negro" (Address, Boston, MA, 30 May 1901), 1-2, 13-14, ser. 1, box 39-20, folder 393, Archibald H. Grimké Collection, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington DC.

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Two years later, Grimké again addressed “what the Shaw monument declares night and day on Boston Common”—that more than 180,000 African Americans “fought in the Civil War for freedom.” Grimké excoriated the comments of D. H. Chamberlain, former governor of South Carolina, for asserting in an open letter that during the war “the negro race of the United States . . . lifted no single hand, struck no single blow, for its own freedom.”⁴²

Even veterans not known for taking a critical stance took the opportunity that anniversary gatherings offered to air grievances. In 1902 Wesley Furlong and William H. Carney both regretted the national loss of memory with respect to their Civil War efforts when they spoke at the Shaw on the anniversary of the Fort Wagner battle. Furlong stated, “We went forth to fight for the glory of Massachusetts. It seems though that at the present time our beloved state cares so little for the black soldier of the civil war that a suitable place cannot be found for him in his declining days.” Furlong apparently meant that retirement homes for African American veterans were either inadequate or nonexistent, though members of the 54th, 55th, and 5th Cavalry were living at the albeit overcrowded Soldiers’ Home in Chelsea at that time. Carney seconded Furlong’s view. “I fear . . . that we have not so many friends as we had in times past. New conditions reached after 35 years seem to have hidden the love of our friends. Still,” he added, “I do not believe that the sons of the men in Massachusetts, who in the early 60s were our friends, have wholly forgotten us.”⁴³

When Carney died six years later, in an elevator accident at the State House as he moved to make room for someone he thought wanted to exit, newspapers all over the country took note of it. The *Boston Globe* published a front-page story including a large image of him the day after. The *Springfield Republican* reported that Carney “had a right to take particular satisfaction in the Col. Shaw memorial by Saint Gaudens, which he daily passed in going to his humble work at the statehouse” in the office of Secretary of State James M. Olin, for whom he had worked since 1901. Carney, the *Republican* reported, was “the man to

42. “Grimke Scores Chamberlain,” *Boston Herald*, 19 September 1904. Grimké derided as well Chamberlain’s stated belief that lynchings were all attributable to black men raping white women and his complaints that Roosevelt had invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him at the White House, had appointed an African American as collector of the port of Charleston, and had closed the post office in Indianola, Mississippi, after a white mob threatened Minnie Cox, its African American postmaster and the first African American woman to hold that position in the nation.

43. “Fort Wagner Anniversary,” *Boston Globe*, 19 July 1902, 4.

whom the state paid honor as to a president, an ex-president, a governor, an ex-governor or a United States senator”; Governor Curtis Guild Jr. ordered flags to stand at half-mast on all state buildings, and Carney’s body, wrapped in an American flag, lay in state at the Boston parlor of African American undertaker Walden Banks before it was sent by train to New Bedford with an African American military escort. Olin, himself a Civil War veteran, attended the New Bedford funeral, and William Logan Rodman Post 1 of the GAR, of which Carney was the only African American member, conducted its ritual funeral service. In a long obituary he wrote for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Norwood P. Hallowell stated of Carney, “It is fit that the last act, the act which cost his life, should be one of courtesy. In stepping aside to make room for another his leg was caught and crushed. Sergeant William H. Carney was a gentleman. Peace to him!” Hallowell added that his statement about “the old flag” had been “immortalized in the pages of history, and the verses of poetry.” In 1909 January Samuel Ross, an English immigrant mule spinner in New Bedford just elected to the state senate, introduced a petition asking the state to appropriate five thousand dollars for Carney’s widow; at the same time Boston African Americans attending a memorial meeting for Carney resolved to seek double Ross’s proposed amount from the state and to “erect a lasting memorial” to Carney on the grounds of the State House. The call for a statue went unheeded, and as it had with Joshua Bowen Smith’s request for funds thirty years earlier the legislature dithered over the Ross bill for a time. In May 1909 the state appropriated \$180 a year to Susanna Carney while she lived; she died in 1916.⁴⁴

In 1902, when he and Carney both addressed the veterans, Wesley Furlong expressed another source of his disappointment. In January that year the Boston city council had

44. On 23 November 1908, Carney had boarded an elevator on the second floor of the State House. When the elevator operator uttered, “Second,” Carney thought he meant that someone in the car wanted to get out, so he backed up just as the operator began to close the doors. Carney’s right leg was crushed between the sill and the elevator car. Despite some expectation that he would recover, Carney died on 8 December 1908. See “Sergt W. H. Carney’s Leg Crushed in Elevator,” *Boston Globe*, 23 November 1908, 3. Scores of newspapers covered Carney’s death and funeral, but see in particular “State Honors Negro Soldier,” *New York Age*, 17 December 1908, 1; “One of the Heroes of Fort Wagner,” *Boston Globe*, 9 December 1908, 1, 6; “Pay Last Tributes,” *ibid.*, 12 December 1908, 7. On the proposed statue and state appropriation see “For Statue to Sergt Carney,” *ibid.*, 12 January 1909, 3; “On Beacon Hill,” *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 22 April 1909, 6; Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Journal of the Senate for the Year 1909* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., 1909), 815, 823, 894, and *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1909* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., 1909), 1062; *Private and Special Statues of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the Years 1909, 1910 and 1911* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., 1912), 302–3. Thanks to Carl Cruz for his help with the question of Carney’s annuity. Hallowell quoted in Egerton, *Thunder at the Gates*, 317.

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refused to increase the Shaw Veterans Association's appropriation for Memorial Day from \$140 to \$375 on the grounds that the association had only thirty-four members. At that time, Boston financially supported the Memorial Day observances of twenty-three veterans' groups, with seventeen of them—including the earliest and still-principal white GAR posts and the Robert A. Bell Post—each receiving \$400. Furlong declared in front of the Shaw, "Although the city government tried to keep us down by keeping back the appropriation which is as much due us as any other organization, Shaw's name shall never die while Furlong lives." Furlong of all veterans seemed most committed to Shaw's memory specifically: he had named a son for him, and in 1883 he had as "a committee of one" visited Shaw's mother at her Staten Island home to present her with resolutions the veterans had made honoring Shaw's valor as they gathered in New York for the twentieth anniversary of the colonel's death. African American attorney Edward Everett Brown also decried the city's action at the same event. "Because of enemies, both white and black, you were refused the appropriation this year for the first time since the war," he noted in this address to veterans at the Shaw. "But our friends stood by and in the future there will be pride enough in both black and white to entitle you to respect." Brown also sounded an anti-imperialist note common among white and black supporters of civil rights at this time. It was a shame, he said, that the United States should bring its power to bear to conquer the Philippines but "would not protect life and liberty in this country." Brown declared, "It is a disgrace to the greatest nation in the world that the amendments to constitution made soon after the war should be violated with impunity. . . . If the law in South Carolina and other southern states is not as sacred as the law in Massachusetts in the protection of its citizens then the constitution of the United States is not worth the paper it is written on."⁴⁵

In 1902, 1911, and 1914, Pen Hallowell cited the Shaw Memorial amid a bitter controversy over the effort to secure state funding for a monument to Benjamin F. Butler. Despite Butler's command of United States Colored Troops during the war and his several actions in the military and government in support of African American rights, Hallowell

45. "Report of Committee on Memorial Day," 16 May 1901, in *Reports of Proceedings of the City Council of Boston for the Year Commencing January 7, 1901, and Ending January 4, 1902* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1902), 346–47; "All Honor for Shaw: Colored Veterans Praise their White Leader," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1902; "Shaw Veterans in New York," *ibid.*, 22 July 1883, 9; "Boston's Colored Veterans," *New York Herald*, 19 July 1883, 9; "Colored Veteran Visitors," *New York Tribune*, 19 July 1883, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 19 July 1883, 2.

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and many other liberal activists detested Butler principally because he had offered his Massachusetts regiment to suppress an “insurrection of slaves” that Maryland governor Thomas H. Hicks feared would occur in that state in April 1862. Hallowell also cited Butler’s remark in one 1868 speech in which he asserted he would urge the Democratic party to incorporate the Dred Scott decision in its platform; “I propose to fight it out until I can buy and sell a nigger on the streets of Lowell as I can a pound of tea,” Butler stated. “Well, sir,” Hallowell declared to great applause before an audience in 1911, “when a memorial to Butler goes up I trust the memorial to Shaw will be taken down.” In his scrapbooks Hallowell included a broadside apparently intended to raise opposition to the Butler statue among African Americans. It bears the title, “A Page of Modern History. Gen. Butler’s Offer to suppress Slave Insurrection in Maryland and Governor Andrew’s Disapproval Respectfully submitted to the thoughtful consideration of the veterans and friends of the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry and 54th and 55th Regiments Massachusetts Infantry.” Another broadside reprinted Butler’s “streets of Lowell” quote.⁴⁶ In 1908 African American bishop Alexander Walters cited Charles Eliot’s inscription on the Shaw memorial in his defense of the soldiers whom Theodore Roosevelt had dishonorably discharged at Brownsville, Texas. “Is there not enough justice in Congress to make amends for this indiscriminating act of injustice to ‘Americans of African descent [who] possess the pride, courage and devotion of the patriotic soldier,’” Walters, quoting the inscription, asked.⁴⁷

In 1913 the fiftieth anniversary of Fort Wagner battle offered another occasion for critique, given impetus by the reunion at Gettysburg two weeks earlier. Though some African American veterans did attend that reunion, for the most part their formal participation was not permitted, and there the war was interpreted as an effort to save the Union and the last half-century as progress toward sectional reconciliation. Boston

46. “Many Heard. Opponents of Butler Statue Out in Force,” *Boston Globe*, 1 March 1902; “Butler’s Erratic Career,” unidentified newspaper, 7 March 1902; “Oppose Butler Statue,” unidentified newspaper, 13 March 1911, vol. 1, box 1, folder 22, page 79; and “Public Letter Box,” *Boston Herald*; “Opposes Butler Statue,” unidentified newspaper, 18 Feb 1914, and “Sixth Time Statue Asked,” vol. 3, page 478, Hallowell Scrapbooks. The scrapbooks also contain appeals from Maria Weston Chapman and William Lloyd Garrison Jr. to John Murray Forbes asking him to urge African Americans not to vote for Butler, probably in either his 1878 or 1882 Democratic campaigns for governor of Massachusetts. Garrison called Butler “a brutal opponent of the abolitionists before the war,” stated that he was the first Union general to send fugitives from his Union camp in Annapolis back to their masters, and called him “reckless, untruthful, mercenary, audacious. . . . Let him not be helped by the colored voters of Massachusetts.”

47. “Bishop Walters’ Letter,” *New York Age*, 26 March 1908, 8.

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newspapers appear not to have addressed the virtual absence of African Americans at the event, but the African American *Washington Bee* scoffed at the concept of reunion between those who sought to fight the extension of slavery and those who sought to perpetuate it and to convince the nation that “emancipation, reconstruction and enfranchisement are a dismal failure.” The *New York Age* stated,

The celebration of the battle of Gettysburg, which occurred fifty years ago, on July 4, was made the occasion of a 50,000 hugging embrace by the veterans of the Blue and the Gray, of the North and the South. “We are one people and one country,” they proclaimed with one voice. “Let the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Confederate Union unite as one organization!” was heard amidst the hum of the 50,000 voices. But the Negro veterans there looked on in silence and listened to the Rebel Yell without responding to it.⁴⁸

In advance of the Wagner semicentennial, Wesley Furlong advertised in *New York Age* for the addresses of all 54th, 55th, 5th Cavalry, and Navy Civil War veterans so that he might send them formal invitations for the Boston event, which included a meeting at Faneuil Hall and two visits to the Shaw Memorial. The New England Suffrage League and the National Independent Political League sponsored the celebration, and the *Globe* declared that “no celebration but that of the Emancipation Proclamation itself could have created greater enthusiasm among the colored people of Boston than did the exercises held today in memory of the battle of Fort Wagner.” The veterans visited the State House, where a great-great-grandson of 54th private Nathan E. Hayes, a Vermont native who had died in Worcester six years earlier, laid a wreath on the Andrew statue in Doric Hall. For more than two hours afterward that rainy afternoon they stood for a ceremony at the memorial. The 55th's William H. Dupree read the Gettysburg Address, the old abolitionist Franklin B. Sanborn addressed a crowd of “several hundred,” and the Rev. John L. Davis declared of the 54th, “Those men went out to prove their rights to citizenship and to do or die. Again today it is our duty to dare, do and die and prove our rights to absolute equality with all other races. We can no longer permit our position to be called a servile one. We are men and American citizens and others must recognize it.” Virginia-born Lucy A. Ophey, who had served in the Back Bay home of Mrs. George A. Plummer for more than

48. Ater, “Commemorating Black Soldiers,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 124–25; *Bee* quoted in David W. Blight, “‘What Will Peace among the Whites Bring?’: Reunion and Race in the Struggle over the Memory of the Civil War in American Culture,” *Massachusetts Review* 34, 3 (Autumn 1993): 405; “Celebration Opens,” *New York Age*, 18 September 1913, 5.

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twenty years, bought the wreath for the Shaw Memorial, and twelve-year-old Christopher S. Winter Jr., son of an Antigua native who had moved to Boston in the 1890s, laid it on the monument.

In the evening a “long line of survivors of the ‘old 54th’ filed in stately bearing” into Faneuil Hall. As she had done sixteen years earlier at the same venue, the then-widowed Nellie Brown Mitchell sang the “Star Spangled Banner,” and the Twelfth Baptist Church choir and the African American Lew Family Quartet also performed. The *Globe* here identified Alexander H. Johnson as the one who “had the honor of sending Col Shaw’s last letter to his wife” and noted, “He can still beat the drum some, and proved it by rattling off the reveille and breakfast calls in fast time.” The veterans hosted as their guests of honor Francis George Curtis, the son of Shaw’s sister Anna and then in his fifties, and Robert Shaw Barlow and Charles Lowell Barlow, the sons of his sister Ellen and then in their thirties. Charles Barlow had been one of the two boys who pulled the flags to uncover the Shaw at the 1897 dedication.

Albert E. Pillsbury gave the main oration. “Why has not the whole community turned out to honor the colored heroes of Fort Wagner?” Pillsbury asked, sounding much the same note as Carney, Furlong, and Susie King Taylor had a decade earlier. Lincoln, Pillsbury said, had asserted that the promise of freedom must be kept, “yet today the negro finds in the South the jim crow car, disfranchisement, the segregation law, death by mob law and the memory of Brownsville. Congress has the power to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, in the interest of colored persons, yet does not do it.” Pillsbury concluded that only if African Americans united and took their rights would they ever secure them. William Dexter Brigham of Boston, a member of the tag making firm Denison Manufacturing Company, might have had the Gettysburg reunion in mind when he told the Faneuil Hall audience, “The practical lesson of the 50th anniversary should be to enlist us in the fight against the separation and segregation of our colored and white citizens. We object to separate schools, separate Young Men’s Christian Associations, separate gymnasiums and separate street cars. The Boston colored and white citizens occupy the same halls, churches and schools and the heavens do not fall.” Eli Biddle declared that, as the *Globe* put it, “the negro race in this country has never furnished a traitor, a dynamiter or an anarchist; that they have always rallied about the flag in every trying hour.” But the African American cannot be expected “to always kiss the hand that smites him,” Biddle warned. The reunion meeting resolved to call for “the

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creation of public sentiment that shall demand equal justice for all men in this country, regardless of race.”⁴⁹ After African American World War I veterans paraded in Boston in 1919, the speakers they heard at Mechanics’ Hall addressed the same persistent themes. Boston African American physician and activist Alice W. McKane, at whose home a citizen’s auxiliary to the National Equal Rights League had been formed in 1916, said to the men, “You went to fight for a democracy which was denied you here in your own home, not only denied you in your own home, but also by your brethren in arms.” And Malden African American Baptist minister Charles H. Duvall declared that the war “would never be won as long as colored people didn’t get justice in this country.”⁵⁰

The Shaw Memorial became a symbolic stage and touchstone for many sorts of protests—of the seeming inability of African Americans to band together to press for rights, of opposition to the politics of Booker T. Washington, of the nation’s imperial ambitions, of unequal pay, and of the Kent State shootings and the Vietnam War. In 1969 Bostonians and Cantabridgians marched to the State House to protest the proposed “inner belt” highway that would have sliced through both cities and, in Boston, through the largely African American section of the South End where the federally funded demonstration project Model Cities was then being put in place. The demonstrators walked across the street and placed a black wooden coffin bearing the sign, “Here Lies Model Cities if the Inner Belt Comes” at the Shaw Memorial.⁵¹ Though no participant is on record as saying so, the coffin’s placement there might have been a comment on the failures of integration in Boston. Indeed, the monument was most often summoned and used as a setting for complaints about discrimination, civil and military, North and South. In the same year that Roosevelt dishonorably discharged African American soldiers at Brownsville, Texas, African Americans in Boston protested a state legislative appropriation for the

49. “Boston, Mass.,” *New York Age*, 10 July 1913, 5, and 24 July 1913, 7; “Fort Wagner Not Forgotten,” *Boston Globe*, 18 July 1913, 5, “Praise Valor of Negro Soldiers,” *ibid.*, 19 July 1913, 9. The meeting also produced a petition for the pardon of Jefferson Ellis, a corporal in the 54th who allegedly killed his business partner in an argument in 1879 and was then in his 34th year at Connecticut State Prison in Wethersfield. See Appendix C. I have seen the claim that Johnson sent Shaw’s last letter to his wife in no other source.

50. “Colored Heroes, Surviving War, Meet with Disaster While Being Photographed,” *Boston Herald*, 4 April 1919.

51. Tom Sewell, “2000 in State House Protest,” *Boston Herald*, 26 January 1969, 38. The proposed inner belt was to be Interstate 695 and was so called because it was to be sited inside Route 128, the “circumferential highway” of metropolitan Boston. In 1970 Governor Francis Sargent placed a moratorium on all highway construction inside 128 and formally cancelled 1–695 in 1971.

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commonwealth's participation in the Jamestown Exposition, to be held in Norfolk from 26 April to 1 December 1907 to mark the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown. The issue for some Bostonians was the planned agglomeration of African American exhibits in a separate "Negro Building"; for others it was the lack of assurances that northern African Americans visiting the fair would be treated as well as white visitors. Attorney Butler Wilson stated at a mass meeting in April 1906, "I don't contend that Massachusetts ought not to take part in the celebration, but I do say that she should make it possible for her negro citizens to go there and receive decent treatment. Let the rights of all the citizens be insured before a single dollar is voted." Baptist cleric W. W. Scott, president of the Boston Suffrage League whose St. Paul's Baptist Church was the site of the meeting, invoked the Shaw Memorial in a more stinging protest:

If the resolve to appropriate \$75,000 to the Jamestown exhibition is passed by our Legislature, we might as well strike down the Shaw monument on Beacon street and put a statue to Jeff Davis in its place, and we might as well tear down the Garrison statue on Commonwealth avenue and put Bob Lee on its site. . . . Discrimination . . . is sure to be practiced against colored citizens who go to Jamestown. This is a fight for the whites as well as for the negroes.⁵²

In 1909 African American Baptist minister Benjamin Willis Farris also decried segregation in the South in a Memorial Day address in front of the Shaw Memorial. "The South will never consider this problem solved until they get the negro back in slavery, and before they do that the heavens will fall. No, they won't do that," Farris, a native Mississippian, declared bitterly. As he touched the tip of Shaw's sword he recited a series of racist incidents both North and South and apparently suggested that if the South continued to treat African Americans as it did, open conflict would ultimately ensue. This prediction, according to the *Herald*, "elicited applause from the white spectators and silence from the score of colored veterans of the war." According to the Boston correspondent for the *New York Age*, those assembled before the Shaw were there "not to pay their respects to the brave heroes of the Civil War, as they should have done, but to

52. "Negro Citizens Plead to State: Hold Mass Meeting of Protest against Possible Appropriation by Commonwealth for Jamestown Fair," *Boston Herald*, 6 April 1906. See also Lucy Brown Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907," *Negro History Bulletin* 38, 5 (June/July 1975): 408-14. The arguments of African Americans who attended the state hearings on the appropriation succeeded only in having the appropriation reduced to \$50,000; see "Rep. Turtle Favors Appropriation of \$75,000," *Berkshire County Eagle*, 11 April 1906, 4; "Cut to \$50,000," *North Adams Transcript*, 17 April 1906, 3.

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condemn Booker T. Washington for everything he did and did not do,” a critique absent from the coverage of the event in Boston newspapers.⁵³ In the same year newspapers outside New England gleefully passed along partly erroneous reports that the residents of Burlington, Vermont, opposed stationing the African American 10th Cavalry, after three years’ service in Cuba and the Philippines, at nearby Fort Ethan Allen. “New England has never had colored troops before, except at a great distance, and that is where it wants them,” the *Philadelphia Record* declared, albeit incorrectly. “Boston is proud of the Shaw monument, but it wants Shaw’s soldiers confined to the monument. Carved in stone they are interesting, put in the flesh they should be kept in Brownsville, or very far west, or in the Philippines.”⁵⁴

That African Americans in the military seemed to have to fight the same battles again and again on the home front was a particular source of anguish. In March 1919 Robert Moton, then the principal of Tuskegee and just returned from a mission to France, began his address to Bostonians at Symphony Hall “by declaring that in the shadow of the monuments to Crispus Attucks and Robert Gould Shaw there was no need of proving the valor and courage of the Negro soldier.” Moton declared, “In the name of God after what I have observed over there, what these colored men have done over there fighting for democracy and after what they have suffered to make the world safe for democracy, I don’t see how any group of nations or any group of men can ever withhold from them right and justice and an equal chance with other human beings.” Yet within the military as well as without discrimination persisted, and the continuing complicity of the War

53. “At Shaw Monument. Rev. B. W. Farris Denounces Attitude of South toward Negro,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1909, 4; “By Colored Veterans,” *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1909, 5; “Cambridge Congress Closes: Ranting Gould-Shaw Orator Talks Wild,” *New York Age*, 3 June 1909, 7. The Rev. Samuel J. Comford and Lieutenant W. S. Carpenter of Company L, 6th Massachusetts Infantry, also spoke. Born in Woodville, MS, about 1869, Farris graduated from Newton Theological Institution in the 1880s and was a minister in Kentucky when he married Adeline Pollard in Boston in 1893. By 1896 he was pastor of St. Paul’s Baptist Church in Boston and remained so until his death in 1910.

54. *Philadelphia Record*, quoted in *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, 28 July 1909, 4. Rumors that Burlingtonians sought to have “Jim Crow” street cars after the 10th arrived were denied by Burlington “traction system” president Elias Lyman, though many newspapers in Burlington, in other Vermont towns, and generally noted that Burlington and neighboring Winooski were “up in arms” about the prospect of stationing the 10th at Fort Ethan Allen. Evidence suggests residents were all too used to bad behavior on the part of white troops previously stationed there, and they had also heard false reports that African American troops stationed in Watertown and Sacketts Harbor in New York State were sometimes “terrorizing white women and children” despite the Watertown newspaper’s disavowal of the report. See “Colored Troops in Burlington,” *Barre Daily Times*, 24 March 1909, 4; “Oppose Negro Soldiers,” *Bennington Banner*, 22 July 1909, 6; “The Tenth Cavalry,” *Burlington Daily News*, 31 July 1909, 4.

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Department in perpetuating caste was demonstrated more than once. Two years before Moton spoke James G. Wolff, son of Civil War Navy veteran James H. Wolff, stated at the Shaw on Memorial Day that the government was not permitting African American soldiers to enter officer training camps and again consigned them only to labor battalions. After Fort Wagner anniversary exercises at the Shaw Memorial in the same year, attorney William H. Lewis voiced the same critique of the proposed use of African American troops and of the government's silence on race-based aggression:

We tell the citizens of this country right here and now that, we the colored residents of this country, will fight to death on the field of war, but will never consent to do one day of conscripted farm labor. . . . We say to the American people that we will no longer accept an inferior caste among Americans or tolerate any more injustice. . . . What right has this country to try and make the world safe for democracy? . . . When the I.W.W. crowd was railroaded from Bisbee, Arizona, the President rolled his eyes in great horror, and issued a statement of condemnation for the Western citizens who took law and order into their own hands. But why don't you go further, Mr. President? Why don't you, Mr. President, condemn the East St. Louis massacre, the most bloody wholesale murder ever committed by a body of so-called civilized men?⁵⁵

African American novelist Richard Wright later noted similarly in *Twelve Million Black Voices*:

While we are leaving [the South for the North], our black boys come back from Flanders, telling us of how their white officers of the United States Army treated them, how they had kept them in labor battalions, how they had jim-crowed them in the trenches even when they were fighting and dying, how the white officers had instructed the French people to segregate them. Our boys come back to Dixie in uniform and walk the street with quick steps and proud shoulders. They cannot help it; they have been in battle, have seen men of all nations and races die. They have seen

55. "Dr. Moton Speaks in Boston," *Richmond Planet*, 15 March 1919, 5; "Shaw Monument on Common is Decorated," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1917, 10; "Arraign U.S. for Its Stand Against Negro," *Boston Journal*, 31 May 1917, 1; "Arm but not Farm," *Richmond Planet*, 11 August 1917, 1. I have found no coverage of Lewis's remarks in Boston newspapers. The *Planet* noted that Lewis, whom William Howard Taft named Assistant U.S. Attorney General in 1910, had been fired "almost as soon as Wilson was first inaugurated President." See Appendix E. The East St. Louis riots came upon the heels of a labor shortage induced by the war and the consequent migration of African Americans from the South to industrial jobs in the region. They were often hired as replacements for striking workers. The use of African American men as strikebreakers by Aluminum Ore Company in East St. Louis was the immediate provocation of the riot, which killed from 40 to 250 African Americans and left thousand homeless.

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what men are made of, and now they act differently. But the Lords of the Land cannot understand them. They take them and lynch them while they are still wearing the uniform of the United States Army.

Our black boys do not die for liberty in Flanders. They die in Texas and Georgia. Atlanta is our Marne. Brownsville, Texas, is our Château-Thierry.⁵⁶

In 1930 the War Department again marked out its line in the sand. After years of lobbying on the part of the segregated Gold Star Mothers Association, Congress appropriated more than five million dollars for a series of “pilgrimages” of mothers and widows of World War I soldiers to visit graves in Europe. The War Department determined that 17,389 American women were eligible to make the trip, of whom 624 were African American; in the end 6,693 women, 168 of them African American, made the overseas trip. In February 1930 the department noted that the Gold Star women “will be separated along color lines,” the *Globe* reported; “It was felt in War Department circles that to place the white and black mothers and widows of the A.E.F. together, especially where the Southern women were concerned, would jeopardize the pilgrimages.” Numerous African American and other organizations protested the action and asked the War Department to rescind it “in view of the price for democracy” African American soldiers had paid. In Boston Mayor James Curley opposed the move in a letter to President Herbert Hoover. So did fifty-five African American Gold Star mothers and widows after the NAACP sent a letter to all who had booked passage to explain what they would confront and to urge them not to go. The women learned that while white women were housed in first-class New York hotels while awaiting passage to Europe, African American women were to be housed in private homes and at the Harlem YWCA. White women traveled on “luxury liners,” while black women were to make the passage in the commercial steamer *American Merchant*. The women declared in their letter that they had been “jim-crowed, segregated, and insulted,” and they cancelled their trips. During the Shaw Memorial exercises on the Wagner anniversary that year, chiropodist Minnie Cravat Simpson of the Bell Post

56. Richard Wright, *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941; reprint, New York: Basic Books, 2008), 88–89; On the treatment of African American troops after World War I see Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown*, 236, 247–48, 254–58.

57. “Color Line Drawn on Gold Star Trip,” *Boston Globe*, 14 February 1930, 8; “Protest Segregating Colored War Mothers,” *ibid.*, 26 February 1930, 18; “Hits Discrimination in Gold Star Pilgrimage,” *ibid.*, 5 March 1930, 16; “Many Gold Star Mothers Cancel Their Passage,” *ibid.*, 10 July 1930, 5 “Score Treatment of Negro Mothers,” *Boston Herald*, 19 July 1930. See also see also Constance Potter, “World War I Gold Star Mothers Pilgrimages, Parts 1 and 2,” *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Record Administration*, Summer 1999, Fall 1999, archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/.

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denounced the fact that African American women would be sent to Europe on “freight boats,” and Albert G. Wolff, president of the Boston chapter of the National Equal Rights League declared, “it will be a long time before the United States lives this down.”⁵⁷

The color line must have come to seem ineradicable to many African Americans. In 1948, an editorial in the *Boston Traveler* protested the fact that African American school safety patrol members from New York were not permitted to stay in the same hotels or eat in the same restaurants as their white colleagues during a trip to Washington intended to reward their service. “It seems they are Negroes,” the *Traveler* noted, “so they all went to see the Yankees instead.”

How much longer must we endure a national capital where racial bias rules, a capital that is not for all Americans? But such it is today and we’d like to make a counter proposition.

Why not bring them to Boston instead? Let them see where Crispus Attucks fell, the Shaw memorial, the city of Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner. Let them know there are cities with a different spirit. Let them come to a city where they would be just fifty-one kids from New York, all the same and all welcome.⁵⁸

But three years earlier the Shaw Memorial was interpreted as a negative symbol in an address to a legislative committee by Ralph Julian Banks, a native Bostonian and then the vice president of the Boston chapter of the National Equal Rights League. Addressing the need for a state fair employment practices law, Banks declared, “You can’t have a job in this state if you are a black man, in the ordinary course of events. But we are human beings and we are going to eat. . . . You have given us monuments. You have given us the Shaw monument opposite the State House, but we can’t eat monuments.”⁵⁹ The monument was also a negatively charged space in 1970, when students demonstrating against the Vietnam War climbed upon it. Yet in 1969 antiwar protesters had massed in front of the Shaw at the end of a march on the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the memorial was the site of a recitation of Thomas Merton’s long poem “The Original Child Bomb.” Later that year the Beacon Hill Support Group for Vietnam Peace Action had ended a silent candlelight vigil at the Shaw Memorial. In 1970

58. “Not for All Americans,” *Boston Traveler*, 17 May 1948.

59. “Black American’ Asks Passage of Anti-Bias Bill,” *Boston Globe*, 20 March 1945, 1, 19. On Banks see Appendix E.



Fig. 6.26. Demonstrators protesting against the Ohio National Guard shooting of Kent State University antiwar protesters used the Shaw Memorial as a stage and perch to compel the State House to lower its flag to half-mast. Photograph by Peter Simon, 5 May 1970. Courtesy Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

some of the estimated twenty thousand students and others protesting the shootings of Kent State University students stood in front of and climbed on the Memorial to gain the attention of the State House (fig. 6.26), and in May 1972 Harvard biochemist George Wald spoke against the war in front of the memorial (fig. 6.27).⁶⁰

Clearly the Shaw Memorial was multivalent in the modern era, as the protracted struggle over busing and the integration of Boston schools also demonstrated. By the early 1960s the NAACP stated that Boston's housing and employment profiles ranked

60. Pam Bishop, "War Protesters Walk Freedom Trail," *Boston Herald*, 10 August 1969, 22; "20,000 Irate N.E. Students Hold Rally at State House," *Boston Globe*, 5 May 1970, 1, 2; "Candlelight Protest March, Rally Tomorrow," *Boston Globe*, 6 August 1972, 34; *Boston Globe*, 16 May 1972, 12 (photograph and caption).



Fig. 6.27. George Wald (1906-97), a Harvard University biochemist and 1967 Nobel Prize winner, spoke against the Vietnam War in front of the Shaw Memorial; Harvard professor John Kenneth Galbraith and his wife Catherine, seated below, were among the protesters. *Boston Globe*, 16 May 1972.

it “the most segregated of Northern cities,” and residential segregation had created profound segregation in the city’s schools. In 1961, seven years after the Supreme Court found “separate but equal” educational facilities unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the NAACP urged the Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination to investigate segregation in Boston schools and rejected the commission’s finding that race was not a factor in either assignment to or quality of schools. In late May 1963, after New Rochelle, New York, became the first northern city ordered by a federal court to desegregate its schools, the NAACP announced its own report showing substantial race-based inequities in Boston’s school system. The Committee on Racial Equality seconded the report’s findings, and on 11 June that year an integrated group made the first of many visits to city hall and the school department to protest school segregation.

Situated as it was across from the State House and only two short blocks from the headquarters of the city’s school department at 15 Beacon Street, the Shaw Memorial

was a particularly critical spot in some of the skirmishes in the long school desegregation conflict. By early August 1963 protestors began picketing in front of 15 Beacon Street every day and vowed to continue to do so until the city's school committee would admit the existence of de facto segregation in the schools. And protests before the Shaw Memorial were numerous that month, especially during the annual convention of the African American fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha between 16 and 22 August. As it happened, Edward W. Brooke, who had just been elected the first African American state attorney general in the nation in Massachusetts the year before, was a member of Alpha Phi Alpha, and in a public address before the group at Faneuil Hall he urged people standing on both sides of the issue to end the "semantic battle" and send "men and women not filled with emotion to the conference table." Still, only days later between 350 and 500 members of the fraternity paused at the Shaw on their way to a protest on Boston Common, both to honor the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation and to support the NAACP's efforts in Boston school desegregation (fig. 6.28). Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity director Charles Wesley stated in front of the Shaw, "God help the rest of the nation if segregation can be carried on in Boston, the cradle of liberty. We are exhausted with promises. We are not going to be satisfied with promises nor are we going to be patient. We want freedom today."⁶¹

Despite Brooks's ruling that the "Stay-out-for-Freedom" boycott in June 1963 was illegal, a second school boycott took place on 26 February 1964. An estimated twenty thousand students, more than 20 percent of the Boston school population, stayed out, and 1800 white and African Americans assembled at the Shaw Memorial for a silent march on City Hall by way of school committee headquarters. Segregation protesters gathered again at the memorial in mid-June 1965, and the *Globe* reported that Jonathan Kozol, just fired from his teaching job at Roxbury's Christopher Gibson School for distributing copies of a Langston Hughes poem to his fourth-grade class, would join the picketers. After the march the group held a mass meeting to mark the hospital discharge of Vernon Ernest Carter, a civil rights activist and minister who had collapsed in the midst of the daily vigil he had begun in front of school department headquarters in late April 1965.

61. "Alpha Phi Alpha Opens 57th Convention Friday," *Boston Globe*, 14 August 1963, 16; "School Board Picketed Again," *ibid.*, 19 August 1963, 6; "Peabody Unit Urges School 'Rights' Study," *Boston Record American*, 21 August 1963, 6; "500 in Fraternity March on Hub School Hqs.," *Boston Traveler*, 20 August 1963, 18; "We'll 'Catch Hell' Integrating Schools," *Boston Herald*, 31 August 1963, 16. See also Wolff, "Timeline of Boston School Desegregation."



Fig. 6.28. Members of the historically African American fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha gathered at the Shaw Memorial in late August 1963 seeking an end to segregation in the Boston school system. *Boston Herald*, 1 September 1963.

Carter had vowed to maintain his vigil until the passage of the Racial Imbalance Act, which mandated that all Massachusetts public school systems submit plans to desegregate schools or forfeit state aid. His 114-day protest ended when Governor John Volpe signed the bill in August of that year.⁶² Early in this heated time the poet Robert Lowell wrote “For the Union Dead,” which described the Shaw Memorial as a relic whose meaning the modern era had worn away. In 1960, when Lowell first read the verse at the Boston Arts Festival, the monument was bolstered by planks to prevent its destabilization during the

62. Irene Michalek, Bob Aldrich and Bill Duncliffe, “March on City Hall Caps Boycott,” *Boston Record American*, 27 February 1964, 2; Gerard F. Weidman, “School Board Protest Set Tonight,” *Boston Globe*, 14 June 1965, 3; Wolff, “Timeline of Boston School Desegregation.” Carter (1919–2007), a native of New Bedford, was the son of Delaware native James Martin Carter and his wife Ernestine Maddox, whose family was from Boston and Cambridge. He attended Wilberforce University, Boston University, and Lutheran Theological Seminary and became minister to AME churches in New England and at All Saints’ Lutheran Church in Boston’s South End in 1956.



Fig. 6.29. Students climbed on the Shaw Memorial during a protest against busing as a means to desegregate city schools. *Boston Herald*, 4 April 1973.

excavation of the Boston Common underground parking garage, and the racial harmony the monument seemed to celebrate was nullified by the nationwide school desegregation struggle—“the drained faces of Negro school-children” that Lowell saw on television. The Shaw Memorial “sticks like a fishbone in the city’s throat,” Lowell wrote, as Boston modernized and forgot, if not disparaged, its past.⁶³

Just as war protestors had scaled the Shaw Memorial, however, so too did opponents of busing as a means to achieve racial balance in the city’s schools. In April 1973 some climbed and perched on the monument with signs decrying the remedy, which had been in use since 1966 in the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO) plan and had expanded several times since (fig. 6.29). Only days earlier the state department of education had begun holding hearings on its just-issued integration plan, and the protest at the Shaw quickly shaded into a demonstration of white supremacist ideology. The protesters vowed to keep African American students out of South

63. After decades of acrimonious debate and contest, ground for the Boston Common garage was broken on 3 March 1960, and the garage opened on 18 November 1961. See Gary L. Greeson, “A Location Decision: The Boston Common Parking Garage” (M.A. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1965), <https://studylib.net/doc/10565676/b.a.---oklahoma-university-at-the-1965-department-of-city...>

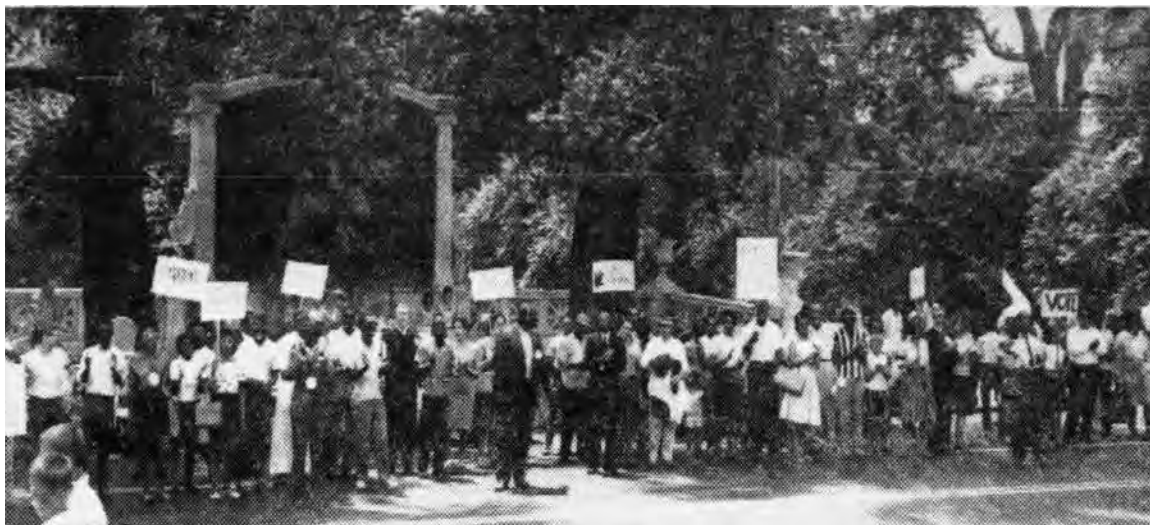


Fig. 6.30. On 26 June 1963, marchers stopped in front of the Shaw Memorial during their tribute to Medgar Evers, who had been shot and killed in Mississippi two weeks earlier. The day was designated as STOP day, when African Americans organized to stay away from work, refused to patronize places that discriminated, and protested the Evers murder. Photograph by Robert Backoff, *Boston Globe*.

Boston, and violence broke out nearby between white protesters and African American passers-by. Another group of protesters urging “white people’s rights” climbed on the statue in October 1979, inspiring two *Herald* reporters to note their apparent lack of awareness that the Shaw, at least as they saw it, “is a tribute to one of the nation’s early instances of racial integration.”⁶⁴

After integrationist and civil rights activist Medgar Evers was assassinated in 1963, thousands of mourners marched from the South End to the Shaw Memorial (fig. 6.30) and then to the Attucks monument, where Evers’s brother Charles, like his brother a veteran of World War II, addressed them. Evers stated that he viewed his chances against Japanese soldiers to be better than against “the white segregationists of Mississippi,” and, he further asserted, “the Negro in the North is fooled that he is free.” Similarly, Reuben Lurie of the *Boston Herald* stated that issues of racial inequality “are very much with us,” meaning the North. He suggested a “pilgrimage” where one would begin at the statue on the grounds of the State House of Anne Hutchinson, a persecuted advocate of “civil

64. Jim Droney, “March Orderly, But Feelings Run High,” *Boston Herald*, 4 April 1973, 3; Harold Banks and Richard Levitan, “History of Abuse Repeated,” *ibid.*, 20 October 1979, A4.

liberty and religious toleration,” then walk across Beacon Street to the Shaw Memorial, which depicted “colored troops who fought and died so that men could be made free.” The pilgrim would then take in the statue of another martyr to religious liberty, the Quaker Mary Dyer. Lurie asked readers to think of modern civil rights heroes—the civil rights activist lawyer William Kuntzler; Mary Elizabeth Parkman Peabody, the mother of Governor Endicott Peabody, who was arrested and jailed in 1964 for eating lunch with African American women at a restaurant in St. Augustine, Florida; and James Reeb, the Boston Unitarian minister who was murdered during the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery voting rights march. Thinking “of all the martyrs, negro and white, of the children killed in church by the dynamite blast,” the pilgrimage should continue down Beacon Street toward City Hall. “Not too far,” Lurie wrote, “you will see a building which houses the Boston School Committee. It ought not to be difficult for readers of this newspaper to determine that the problem is right here in Boston.”⁶⁵ With the busing issue still inflaming Boston in 1975, the Rev. Dana McLean Greeley of Concord asserted in a published letter to Boston NAACP head Thomas Atkins that Boston, once “the leader of the enlightened world in the 19th century,” had “turned backward.”

Where William Lloyd Garrison published his *Liberator*, where Charles Follen founded the Abolition Society, where Robert Gould Shaw organized the first Black Regiment to go off to the Civil War, we now have tensions that result in violence and the closing of the schools.

The anti-busing people, the anti-blacks say we would destroy the city if we enforce the law. That is what the anti-blacks say in South Africa and Rhodesia, that their society would collapse if they gave the blacks equal power. That is the way they preserve apartheid. Such a society had better fail.

What can we do to root out or vanquish the terrible prejudice which has been overcome in Selma and Little Rock, but not in Boston?⁶⁶

Ultimately, the fight over discrimination widened to embrace others who faced it. In 1971, before Boston’s first Gay Pride parade, a member of the Gay Pride Week planning committee stated in front of the Shaw Memorial that “the Commonwealth’s laws regulating the lives and actions of homosexuals have made them second-class citizens”;

65. “2000 Mourn Evers in Rites on Common,” *Boston Globe*, 26 June 1963, 1, 8; Reuben L. Lurie, “. . . What the Problem Is. . .” *Boston Herald*, 1 May 1966, 24.

66. “Hub Racism ‘Disgrace’—Rev. Greeley,” *Boston Herald*, 23 January 1975, 3.

in 1992 the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights protested the exclusion of gay and lesbian people from the military at that site.⁶⁷

The Memorial in the Modern Day

In addition to the photographs and friezes Saint-Gaudens commissioned, the Shaw Memorial itself was also commemorated in verse. At least ten white poets and composers wrote about the memorial between its unveiling and Robert Lowell's "For the Union Dead" in 1964. Nearly all of this verse looks at the memorial much as William James did in his 1897 dedication address, focusing on the implied action of the still forms—"the fatal rhythm of their tread," as William Vaughn Moody put it in 1900. In his 1905 prologue to a "masque" to be performed at Aspet, Saint-Gaudens's home in Cornish, New Hampshire, Percy MacKaye described Shaw's "lifted brow, clouded with battle dreams, / The eager Ethiop faces onward surged; / No sound arose from all their trampling feet, / But the imagined drum-beats rolled in bronze." In 1909, when the sculptor was posthumously awarded a medal from the National Institute of Arts and Letters, Robert Underwood Johnson wrote of the Shaw Memorial as "sculptured music . . . It sings—the anthem of a rescued race; / It moves—the epic of a patriot time, / And each heroic figure makes a martial rhyme." The composer Charles Ives's symphony "Three Places in New England" began with his meditation on the Shaw Memorial, its "moving—marching—faces of souls! . . . swaying us on with you / towards other Freedom."⁶⁸ And many of these poems, at least those written before John Berryman's "Boston Common" of 1942, regard the monument as a symbol of interracial unity. John Jerome Rooney saw the bronze Shaw bearing a "beam ecstatic . . . for doth he not yon happy freeman see?" Richard Watson Gilder saw the men, Shaw, and Shaw's horse as "one soul, one aim, one force." To Abigail Fletcher Taylor, Shaw and his men were "one mighty will."

No African American poet in the twentieth century is known to have written about the Shaw Memorial itself; their verse continued to focus on the 54th Regiment and on Shaw, not on their depictions in bronze. Other African American artistic tributes, with the notable exception of the work of photographer Carrie Mae Weems, similarly represented the

67. Paul F. Kneeland, "March, Speeches Mark Gay Pride Week," *Boston Globe*, 27 June 1971, 20; *ibid.*, 6 September 1992, 29.



Fig. 6.31. "The North and South were at war. . . . The 54th and 55th colored regiments were mustered," painting by Jacob Lawrence, panel 26 of the Life of Frederick Douglass Series, 1938-39. Courtesy Hampton University Museum, Hampton, Virginia.

historical event. The painter Jacob Lawrence included a panel on the recruiting of the 54th Regiment in his 32-panel Life of Frederick Douglass series in 1938–39 (fig. 6.31). In 1943 William J. Thompkins, then the Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, specified a scene of the battle at Fort Wagner and Shaw's death for the subject of one of the seven murals the Treasury Department's Section of Fine Arts commissioned for the new Recorder of Deeds building, dedicated in September 1945 (fig. 6.32). Thompkins, who had visited



Fig. 6.32. "Shaw at Fort Wagner," mural by Carlos Lopez in Recorder of Deeds Building, Washington, DC, 1943. Photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, 2010. Courtesy Library of Congress.

the Shaw Memorial with the Knights of Pythias in 1931, had earlier commissioned the African American artist Velma D. Buckner and two others to paint portraits of the African American men who had served as the district's recorder of deeds (out of twelve men who had occupied the position to Thompkins's time), and he chose the subjects for the seven murals to illustrate "a phase of the contribution of the Negro to the American nation." Five of the seven panels depict African American involvement in military confrontations—Crispus Attucks, enslaved men aiding in the Battle of New Orleans, Cyrus Tiffany at the Battle of Lake Erie, Frederick Douglass persuading Lincoln to enlist African American

68. These ten are John Jerome Rooney, "Ode on the Unveiling, May 31, 1897, of the Monument on Boston Common to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw," *Seventh Regiment Gazette* (New York) 11, 6 (May 1897), 121–23, in full on <http://digitalcollections.nyhistory.org/islandora/object/nyhs%3A33672#page/169/mode/2up>; Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "An Ode on the Unveiling of the Shaw Memorial on Boston Common May Thirty-First, 1897," (1897 or 1898), in *The Cruise of the Dolphin, Baby Bell, and Other Prose and Verse* (Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898), 28–30; Richard Watson Gilder, "Robert Gould Shaw" *The Critic*, 12 June 1898, and *In Palestine and Other Poems* (New York: Century Co., 1898), 75–77; William Vaughn Moody, "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1900, and in *The Poems and Plays of William Vaughn Moody* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1912, 15–25); Percy MacKaye, "Prologue to the Saint-Gaudens Masque," 1905, in Percy MacKaye, *Poems and Plays* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 2:38–41; Robert Underwood Johnson, "Saint-Gaudens: An Ode," 1909, in *Saint-Gaudens: An Ode and Other Verse* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1914), 325–40; Charles Ives, "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common (Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and His Colored Regiment)," opening movement in *Three Places in New England* (1910; reprint, Pennsylvania: Mercury Music, 1935); Abigail Fletcher Taylor, "The Shaw Memorial," published in Abigail Fletcher Taylor, *Verse of Today and Yesterday* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1920), 138; John Berryman "Boston Common," 1942, in John Berryman, *Poems* (Norfolk: New Directions Press, 1942), and in *The Dispossessed* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1948), and Robert Lowell, "For the Union Dead," 1960, in Robert Lowell, *For the Union Dead* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1964). For texts see Appendix B.

troops, and the 54th at Wagner. The Wagner mural, on the west wall of the main foyer of the building, is the largest. Painted by Cuban-born artist Carlos Lopez, it depicts the wounded and fallen Shaw being tended by two African American soldiers, one soldier shooting into the fort above Shaw, Carney holding up the American flag, and in the background a white soldier holding up an African American man wounded in the back.⁶⁹

By the late 1960s the civil rights movement and the turn of American historical scholarship to understudied segments of the population combined to affect the Shaw Memorial. In 1967 a letter to the editor in the *Boston Record American* suggested that Boston's Freedom Trail should expand beyond its focus on colonial and revolutionary sites to include, among other sites, the Shaw and the Thomas Ball Emancipation Group in Park Square. That they were not included illustrated "the distance . . . between our pretensions and our practices—between our professed ideals and our actual actions." About the same time the new American Museum of Negro History in Boston, incorporated in 1967 and now the Museum of African American History, created its own "Freedom Trail of Negro History" with twenty-two sites, including the Shaw Memorial.⁷⁰ Some sites on this trail, the Shaw among them, were incorporated in the Black Heritage Trail, a project of the Boston African American National Historic Site, founded by the National Park Service in 1980.

Yet by the 1970s the Shaw Memorial was visibly the worse for wear. Even before the unveiling Edward Atkinson had foreseen the need for regular maintenance and had proposed a subscription campaign to buy a lot of land and rent it for income; the income would build an endowment to keep "the work clean and in good condition without injury." He proposed the idea to Henry Lee, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and William James, but no evidence exists that such a fund was created.⁷¹ At first the issues with the memorial

69. See Harris, "Before the Eyes of Thousands," in Greenough et al., *Tell it With Pride*, 104–6, and D. P. Sefton, National Register nomination form for Recorder of Deeds building, 1 July 2010, <https://dcpreservation-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/ROD-final-with-images.pdf>.

70. Ernest G. Wells, "Blaze New Trail," letter to editor, *Boston Record American*, 12 February 1967, 35; Caron LeBrun, "A Museum of Negro . . .," *Boston Herald*, 8 December 1968, 218–20.

71. Atkinson to Lee, 30 June 1894, Atkinson to Lowell, 26 January 1897, and Atkinson to James, 5 February 1897, Atkinson Letterbooks 52:33, 59:983, and 60:105. As Boston grew up around this rental property, Atkinson believed the property would accrue so much income that it might support the creation of a chair at Harvard "for instruction in the development of Personal Liberty" or a scholarship devoted to "the principles for which Shaw died."

were relatively benign. The editors of the *Herald* in 1902, for example, complained of its decoration at Memorial Day. “Trophies of hideous color and infantile design, made of some horrible sort of dried-up vegetation, cheap toy flags, etc., are dangled and thrust promiscuously over all parts of the superb relief at every point where they can be attached,” the newspaper declared. “It is impossible to get a decent idea of the beautiful work of St. Gaudens while this rubbish remains to disfigure it—and it may remain indefinitely.” With the tourist season then approaching, the *Herald* recommend limiting decoration to “some simple garlands of laurel or other evergreen, or wreaths of natural flowers” and even then removing them in a day’s time.⁷² Veteran Burrill Smith thought it needed the protection of a fence, a proposal seconded by Henry Lee Higginson in 1912 with an eye toward preventing “a number of children who climbed over the marching soldiers” and the “drunken loafers” occupying the stone benches.⁷³ At least as early as 1930 vandals had begun to twist Shaw’s sword and sometimes to break it off entirely, and in 1948 Major James Michael Curley identified at least some of these offenders as people “who are offended by a memorial of a white man leading a Negro regiment.” By 1973 the city’s commissioner of parks and recreation stated that the bronze Shaw “has been relieved of his sword more than 40 times.”⁷⁴

The need for simple cleaning and occasional repair of the memorial was routinely deferred (fig. 6.33). Issues emerged with its deteriorating foundation in 1958, and tree roots and water intrusion exacerbated the decay. Probably in 1959 or 1960 the city erected a wooden scaffolding around the memorial while the city sought affordable bids to clean and repair it; the scaffolding was not removed until early December 1961. By the end of the decade the memorial was not visibly improved. Louise Hall Tharp, Augustus Saint-Gaudens’s biographer, called it a disgrace that would “incense” the sculptor were he alive.⁷⁵ In 1973 poet and New York City Ballet founder Lincoln Kirstein collaborated with Rhode Island photographer Richard Benson on *Lay This Laurel*, an album of duotone photographs of the Shaw in its current condition that also included excerpts from writings about the memorial and an essay by Kirstein. Benson had known

72. “Shaw Monument Disfigured,” *Boston Herald*, 8 June 1902.

73. “Wants Fence around Statue,” *Boston Globe*, 16 October 1912, 11.

74. “Surprise for Vandals,” *Boston Traveler*, 4 May 1948; “Mayor Suggests Steel Sword for Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Globe*, 3 May 1948, 5; “Vandal Disarms Col. Shaw Statue,” *Boston Traveler*, 23 March 1950, “Col Shaw’s Sword Again Gone from Common Scene,” *Boston Globe*, 20 January 1954, 4; Paul F. Kneeland, “In This Corner: Hub Colonel Disarmed 40 Times,” *ibid.*, 15 June 1973, 1, 17.



Fig. 6.33. Cleaning the Shaw Memorial, photograph by Leslie Jones, 12 February 1934. Courtesy Boston Public Library, Leslie Jones Collection.

a Shaw descendant when he was a student at Harvard, and during the Second World War Kirstein had worked for the Army's Monument, Fine Arts, and Archives section on locating and preserving European works of art. Kirstein asserted that the Shaw Memorial "deserves to be a focus for pilgrimage, a civic shrine, a national reminder." Benson's photographs show Shaw holding a broken sword and he, his horse, and the men

75. "Shaw Memorial Gets Needed Scrub," *Boston Globe*, 12 August 1922, 5; Arthur A. Riley, "Commonwealth Av. Mall Due for Improvements," *Boston Globe*, 23 March 1958, 27; "Shaw Monument Damaged," *Boston Herald*, 25 February 1959, 20; "Shored-up Shaw," *Boston Traveler*, 27 February 1961, 12; "Our Worst Foot Forward," *Boston Globe*, 27 April 1961, 14; Charles W. Hodges, chairman, MA Civil War Centennial Commission, "What People Talk About," letter to editor, *Boston Globe*, 9 May 1961, 10; "Annual Christmas Festival to Open," *Boston Herald*, 1 December 1961, 5; Herbert A. Kenny, "Neglected Hub Civil War Statue Angers St. Gaudens' Biographer," *Boston Globe*, 7 November 1969, 23.



Fig. 6.34. The Shaw Memorial, photograph by Richard Benson, about 1973, from *Lay This Laurel*. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery. Image used with permission. Copyright © Eakins Press Foundation/Estate of Richard Benson, 2021.

CHAPTER 6

streaked with what Kirstein called “green corrosion” (actually green sulfate) (fig. 6.34). Noting that the Shaw Memorial itself did not feature them, Kirstein included the names of the men who were killed in action at the 18 July 1863 battle at Wagner, as well as those who died of wounds or in captivity and those simply missing after the battle.

Richard Benson’s photographs of the Shaw Memorial formed part of the inspiration for Carrie Mae Weems’s enhanced photographic projects *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* (1995–96) and her Hampton Project (2000). The regiment itself was behind William Earle Williams’s *Unsung Heroes*, which featured his photographs of the places “where the 54th Massachusetts earned its place in history.” Williams photographed the Carney monument in Norfolk and the landscapes of the Sea Islands (fig. 6.35).⁷⁶ Carney was also depicted on Charles Parks’s 1998 African American Medal of Honor monument in Wilmington, Delaware. Carney’s sculptural likeness, based on his frontispiece photograph in Emilio’s *Brave Black Regiment*, appears at the top of the memorial with that of Army private Milton L. Olive, the first African American to win the medal for a sacrificial action that saved eighteen members of his regiment during the Vietnam War.

Encountering the memorial itself inspired two other productions of the modern era—the film *Glory* and the sculptor Ed Hamilton’s *Spirit of Freedom* monument in the District of Columbia. In 1985 film producer Freddie Fields and screenwriter Kevin Jarre walked past the Shaw on a trip to Boston and immediately felt its story could be a motion picture; it has also been said that Lincoln Kirstein suggested the film idea to Jarre. *Glory* premiered in Boston on 11 January 1990, and in advance of the showing a ceremony resembling the veterans’ assemblies of old took place. Governor Michael Dukakis and Mayor Raymond Flynn both placed wreaths on the Shaw Memorial, and both Union and Confederate “Taps” were played. Eli Biddle’s great-grandson George Coblyn and two descendants of Shaw—Jane Shaw Bizzi and Robert Minturn Jr.—attended. *Glory*’s premiere in Boston took place in the midst of the sensational case of the pregnant Carol Stuart, whose husband Charles murdered her and claimed the crime had been committed by an African American man. Dukakis for that reason felt the timing of the release of *Glory* “could not have been better,” and Monica Fairbairn, the director of Boston’s Museum of African American History, stated, “If we truly want to honor the 54th Regiment, we must carry

76. Harris, “Before the Eyes of Thousands,” in Greenough et al., *Tell It with Pride*, 110–11, 146–51 (plates 76–80).



Fig. 6.35. James Island looking toward Morris Island, 1999, photograph by William Earle Williams. Williams photographed virtually all that remains of Morris Island and Fort Wagner—the lighthouse—from the approach the 54th took after its skirmish at James Island. Courtesy William Earle Williams.

their flag in our hearts and into battle for fair housing, affordable education and against drugs and all hatred.”⁷⁷

In 1991, a year after the *Glory* premiere, sculptor Edward Norton Hamilton Jr. visited the Shaw Memorial and reported himself “blown away” by the tableau even as he felt the

soldiers “subordinated” to Shaw. The next year Eleanor Holmes Norton, the District of Columbia’s newly elected member of the House of Representatives, introduced legislation to create an African American Civil War memorial on federal land in Washington; the bill passed Congress and President George H. W. Bush signed it into law in 1992. After a competition, the District of Columbia Commission on the Art and Humanities chose Hamilton, an African American sculptor living in Louisville, Kentucky, to design the memorial. Surrounded by curving walls containing the names of 209,145 men in the United States Colored Troops and their white officers, the *Spirit of Freedom* shows five soldiers, all armed and on guard, and a sailor at the wheel of ship against a convex background; above them floats the enshrouded head and crossed arms of an African American woman, which has been interpreted as a conscious reference to the figure guiding the regiment on the Shaw Memorial. On the opposite, concave side is a family group including a soldier, his parents, his wife, and his children as he prepares to leave for the war. Hamilton completed the sculpture in 1997, and it was dedicated in mid-July 1998 (fig. 6.36). Whether consciously or not, Hamilton’s *Spirit of Freedom* tracks quite closely the ideas George Washington Williams had put forth in 1888 for a monument to African American Civil War soldiers and sailors. He wanted an African American soldier at the apex of the monument and at each of four corners “a Negro artilleryman in full-dress uniform, with folded arms, standing by a field-piece,” a cavalryman with spur and gloves and “sabre unhooked at his left side,” an infantry man in full dress with musket “at in-place rest” and a Negro sailor in uniform “by an anchor or mortar.” In Williams’s time, though, the very idea of African American soldiers shown with guns aimed and at the ready, as Hamilton sculpted them, would have been radical. More than a century later it was not.⁷⁸

77. “‘Glory’ Be! Boston Will Get Movie’s Premiere,” *Boston Herald*, 28 October 1989; Martin H. Blatt, “Glory: Hollywood History, Popular Culture, and the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment,” in Blatt et al., eds, *Hope and Glory*, 217; Dana Bisbee, “Around the Town: Salute Set for Black Soldiers,” *Boston Herald*, 28 December 1989, 57; Fairbairn quoted in Paul Sullivan, “‘Glory’ a Salute to the 54th Regiment,” *Boston Herald*, 3 January 1990, 13; Peter Lucas, “Film ‘Glory’ Could Bring Us Together at Troubled Time,” *Boston Herald*, 24 January 1990, 29. Charles Stuart shot his wife Carol DiMaiti Stuart on 23 October 1989. She died the next day, and her baby died seventeen days later. On 28 December Charles Stuart identified Willie Bennett as his wife’s assailant, but on 3 January 1990 Stuart’s brother Matthew revealed to Boston police that Stuart had himself killed his wife. The next morning Charles Stuart committed suicide by jumping off the Tobin Bridge.

78. Smethurst, “Remembering ‘Those Noble Sons of Ham,’” 445–48; Micki McElya, “Unknowns: Commemorating Black Women’s Civil War Heroism,” in Savage, ed., *Civil War in Art and Memory*, 219–23; Williams, *Negro Troops*, 328–29; Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed*, 172.



Fig. 6.36. *Spirit of Freedom*, sculpture by Ed Hamilton, about 1998. Courtesy Library of Congress.



Fig. 7. 1. The names of the sixty-two African American members of the 54th killed in action were added to the Shaw/54th Regiment Memorial in 1982.

Epilog

Lincoln Kirstein and Richard Benson's *Lay This Laurel* set the stage for the first modification of the Shaw Memorial itself—the addition of the names of the men of the 54th killed in battle.

Though Josephine Shaw Lowell had lobbied for their inclusion almost a century earlier, the modern effort to include the soldiers' names emerged in 1981, when the citizens' group Friends of the Public Garden created a subcommittee with the name "Save the Shaw/54th Regiment Memorial." The committee aimed for a broader revitalization of the memorial at a time when the city was still dealing with the racial animosities triggered in large part by busing. "The monument is being renovated because of the symbolism it represents," African American and native Bostonian John D. O'Bryant, then president of the Boston School Committee, said at the time. "We are going through a period in which it seems many of the gains we have made over the years are endangered. The monument portrays something we should all be striving for—access, equality and an improved way of life." Boston attorney James B. Ames stated that the monument symbolized "blacks and whites working together in the community"; Henry Lee, president of the Friends of the Public Garden and great-grandson and namesake of the Shaw Memorial's planning committee member, stated, "The monument honors black and white men who served their common cause. Our hope was that in drawing attention to this, we could do a little bit toward healing some of our present conflicts." In a letter to the editor of the *Boston Herald*, the Rev. Leonard Mahoney of Boston College stated that "at a time of racial tension in Boston" the effort to restore the Shaw Memorial was a chance for "blacks and whites to work together." To John T. Galvin, a member of the new committee, the Shaw symbolized "what the country should stand for."¹

The Save the Shaw/54th committee—which included Kirstein, Byron Rushing, Henry Lee, and three Shaw descendants—announced at its formation that the names of

1. Tom Donovan, "Shaw Monument Restoration Asked," *Boston Herald*, 28 January 1981, 3; Lee quoted in Lauerhass, "Commemoration," in *Shaw Memorial*, 86–87; Thomas P. Winn, "Fund Drive under Way for Shaw Memorial," *Boston Globe*, 30 January 1981, 25; Rev Leonard Mahoney, SJ, Boston College, letter to editor, *Boston Herald*, 2 March 1981, 14; John T. Galvin, "The Shaw Memorial: Stirring Symbol of Fighting Together," *ibid.*, 22 February 1981, 11.

EPILOG

sixty-two African American members of the 54th killed at Fort Wagner and in other of the regiment's Civil War engagements would be added on the back of the memorial. At a meeting about the restoration project, one African American man objected to the inclusion of the new names on the grounds that "their absence reflects the prejudices of the time," an assertion Henry Lee declared untrue by citing Lowell's 1892 statement that the names should appear "in order to leave no excuse for the feeling that it is only men with rich relations and friends who can have monuments."² The committee hoped to raise \$125,000 (later increased to \$200,000), \$22,000 of which would pay for an engraver to add the names and \$50,000 of which would create an endowment for future restoration. The Rhode Island carver R. Brooke Roberts was commissioned to add the names to the memorial and was at work by early July 1982.³ It was in a sense the most recent attempt at integration, this time on the memorial itself.

The newly created Boston African American National Historic Site (BOAF) worked with the Friends of the Public Garden to stage a rededication of the Shaw Memorial on 21 June 1983. In order to include them in the event BOAF site manager Dorothea Powell, a descendent of the 54th's Charles Augustus Potter of Pittsfield, sought to locate descendants of the regiment. Her handwritten lists include more than eighty people from across the country, though more than half were living in Massachusetts. How many descendants attended is not documented: the Boston newspapers did not cover the event.

Powell's notes suggest that at least six descendants, including herself, were present at the rededication. The stories of some of these families suggest how tangible their sense of pride was and how committed they remained, after generations, to service. Among them was George Henry Coblyn Sr. (1919–2002), a grandson of Eli George Biddle. In 1914 Biddle's youngest daughter Edna Isabelle (1892–1955) married Marius Coblyn (1894–1971), whose father had come from Suriname to Virginia in the early 1890s and married there. By 1895 William and Louise P. Woodson Coblyn and their eldest son Marius S. had moved to Norwich, Connecticut, where William Coblyn died in 1903, and by 1910 William's widow was supporting her sons Marius and Charles by making

2. Otto Friedrich, "In Boston: Aid and Comfort for 'the Shaw,'" *Time*, 6 April 1981, 4–5.

3. "Honor Civil War Black Soldiers," *Boston Herald*, 1 July 1982, 6. "Seek Descendants of Union Army's Black Unit," *Crisis*, May 1982, 206, states Powell was seeking the names and addresses of descendants of members of the 54th Regiment in order to invite them to a rededication of the Shaw Memorial "sometime this summer."

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dresses at her home. Marius Coblyn had married by 1917 and worked as a barber and teamster, and by the mid-1920s he had moved his family to Cambridge, Massachusetts. George H. Coblyn, born in 1919 in Norwich, and his older brother Marius Ralph were working on a reforestation project at a Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Warner, New Hampshire, in the early 1940s. When Eli Biddle died in 1940, the Army presented an American flag to George H. Coblyn, then a private in the National Guard. He and his brothers Harold and Marius all served in the Army during World War II. George Coblyn went to Officers' Candidate School and was commissioned in 1942. He received two Purple Hearts, one for his actions in the Italian campaign and the other for his service in Korea. In the early 1970s Coblyn became director of the affirmative action division of the Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination and then New England director of the federal Environmental Protection Agency's Civil Rights and Urban Affairs program; in that role he enforced federal laws that mandated minority participation in sewer, water, and other public construction programs. Well past the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union, Coblyn hung his 48-star flag from his grandfather's funeral at all patriotic holidays. He also was instrumental in the installation of a granite marker commemorating the 54th, 55th, and 5th Cavalry and "those who continue the right for equal rights and equal justice" in what open space remained of Camp Meigs in Readville, Massachusetts, in 1990.

Eleanor Williams Morton, then in her seventies, attended the rededication in honor of great-great uncle Charles H. Harrison (1846–1927), who as a nineteen-year-old laborer enlisted in the 54th at New Bedford on 14 February 1863. Where Harrison was born is unknown—various listings give his birthplace as Delaware, New Jersey, and Massachusetts—but his parents William H. and Mary Ann Rose Harrison were born in the South and had come to New Bedford by 1849. They might have been fugitives. In New Bedford his family often needed poor relief—groceries, medicine, wood and coal for heating—and in 1860 the city's overseers of the poor records indicate that William Harrison had left his family "for good," though he did return. When she applied for wood in January 1865, Mary Ann Harrison told the overseers that she and her husband had not lived together "for one year" and that she had "two boys in the Army," meaning Charles and his older brother John (1842–77). Both served throughout the war, and when Charles returned home he lived with his mother, a laundress, until he married Maria E. Johnson in 1886. They had one child, Ada, in 1891. Maria Johnson's younger sister Mary Alice was Eleanor Morton's grandmother. Charles Harrison was active in the state,

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county, and local GAR posts, and in 1882 he had revived the struggling African American Shaw Post 146 of New Bedford by securing a new charter and drumming up members for it. In 1913 he was among the 54th veterans who attended the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner and had their photographs taken in front of the Shaw Memorial. Born two years later, Eleanor Williams Morton must have known her great-great-uncle, who died in New Bedford when she was twelve. She graduated Wilberforce University in 1939 and the Boston University School of Social Work in 1962, and she taught in Georgia in the 1940s. In 1944 she became the first African American social worker appointed by the city of New Bedford, and from 1969 to 1980 she was head of the West End Day Nursery in New Bedford's oldest historically African American neighborhood. Ruth Edmonds Hill was related to a different Harrison, the chaplain Samuel Harrison of Pittsfield. Hill, who directed Radcliffe College's Black Women Oral History Project from 1977 to 1981, was the granddaughter of Lydia A. Harrison Jacobs, the youngest daughter of Samuel Harrison. Her mother, Florence Louise Jacobs Edmonds, had been refused admission to a Pittsfield nurse's training program in 1917 and went to New York for nursing school. After graduating from Columbia Teachers' College with a degree in hospital social service, she worked at the Henry Street Settlement before marrying and returning to Pittsfield, where she taught Red Cross home nursing classes during the Second World War.

The planners of the rededication ceremony secured as orator Peter J. Gomes, who was part of the Save the Shaw/54th committee. Gomes, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and of African American and Cape Verdean descent, graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1968 and spent two years at Tuskegee Institute before becoming the Pusey Minister at Harvard University's Memorial Church in 1970. In 1974 he was named Plummer Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard Divinity School, and he was widely regarded as one of the nation's best orators. At the rededication Gomes voiced eerily familiar themes. The Shaw could not stand for military victory, he noted, given that Wagner was "an unambiguous defeat," but he asserted that the "the foundation of this monument is moral, its appeal is to nothing less than civic virtue. . . . it was conceived as a living ideal that transcends place and partisan, designed to call forth the heroic in men and women and to bid them join in this endless march to that just and perfect day which surely is to be." As many orators had before him, Gomes regretted that "civic peace still manages to elude our grasp":

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This statue has the capacity to embarrass us even as its subjects embarrassed the proper and powerful Bostonians of their day. We are embarrassed to remember that ours is a nation founded not only upon the Bible and the Mayflower, but upon the most efficient traffic in human slavery known in the civilized world. We are equally embarrassed to remember that it took four years of a bloody war to end that slavery: a war which was not fought for that purpose. And, we are embarrassed to realize that the human work of reconciliation represented by that conflict and symbolized by this regiment remains to be accomplished in our city, our commonwealth, our country, and our world. To behold this statue at the heart of our city day in and day out reminds us not so much of the great work they attempted, but of the great unfinished work that remains for us to take up, if indeed embarrassment is not to turn to mockery and shame.⁴

Peter Gomes was not a 54th descendant, nor were Lincoln Kirstein, Keith Jarre, or Ed Hamilton. Whether they intended to visit the Shaw Memorial or just happened upon it, their visits represent a vast number of encounters, most of them wholly undocumented, whose meanings no one can fully apprehend. Like the “casual” man lying at the base of the monument in Berrryman’s “Boston Common,” no one can know how much it might have meant to him or anyone who has not written about it, and few can plumb the depth of its significance even to those who have written about it. The idea that a personal sentiment is not worth broadly sharing affected even such figures as the historian George Washington Williams who, though he served in the Army before, during, and after the Civil War, chose to rely “very little on personal knowledge, preferring always to follow the official record” as he wrote his African American Civil War history. Had he lived to see it, Williams also certainly would have visited the Shaw Memorial, but even if he had written about it he might not have chosen to express the full range of emotions it triggered in him. Still, viewed casually or studiously by millions of people, the Shaw Memorial rather remarkably carries a set of enduring meanings. In 1916 African American art historian Freeman Murray declared it “providential” that the Shaw Memorial “should have been inspired primarily by the valor and the devotion of Negro-American soldiery.” Certainly the history of the monument indicates that Murray’s assertion is debatable. Yet, whether it aimed to celebrate African American soldiers or not, its uses since the unveiling show that many have interpreted it to do so. Others have seen in it something Saint-Gaudens

4. Powell’s notes and Gomes’s address are in folder 8, box 15, and folder 1, box 16, BOAF Resource Management Records, 1956–2015, Boston National Historical Park, Charlestown Navy Yard, Charlestown, MA.

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probably did not envision—a moment of, and a striving for, interracial unity that, as Washington, Gomes, and others have noted, remains stubbornly, seemingly everlastingly, beyond reach.

So it was not surprising that, after the murder of George Floyd at the hands of Minneapolis police in late May 2020, the Shaw Memorial was tagged by protesters flooding the streets of Boston, as they did in most American cities, through the late spring and early summer (fig. 7.2). At that moment, because the memorial was in the midst of restoration, its front façade was largely concealed behind a plywood barrier. But some protesters painted that wall and the rear of the memorial with anti-police slogans, “No Justice, No Peace,” and “RIP George Floyd.”

The damage to the Shaw Memorial was reparable and far less severe than what happened to other monuments—in Boston, the nation, and the world. More than one hundred monuments to the men and women of the Confederacy have been, at this writing, pulled down by protesters, taken down by government decision, or scheduled for removal. On fabled Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, protesters threw red paint on the bronze statue of Confederate general J. E. B. Stuart, tied two ropes around its neck, and wrested it from its base; they did the same to the statues of rebel generals Jefferson Davis and Stonewall Jackson and Confederate naval officer Matthew Fontaine Maury. Confederate monuments fell in Birmingham, Jacksonville, Norfolk, and Indianapolis; in Raleigh a statue to a Confederate soldier was taken down and hung from a lamp post; in the District of Columbia protesters tagged, toppled, and burned the statue of Confederate General Albert Pike.

The same rejection of white supremacy was plain in the damage done to statues around the globe. In England monuments to men active in the slave trade were taken down. In Belgium sculpted images of Leopold II, who brutalized and killed millions of Africans in a quest for ivory and rubber in his Congo Free State, were toppled or removed. In Slovenia on the Fourth of July protesters set fire to a wooden statue of Melania Trump. In this country statues to men who fought or otherwise harshly treated native peoples were pulled down—Kit Carson in Santa Fe and Denver, Alexander Baranov in Sitka, Alaska, and Junipero Serra all over California. Once celebrated for spreading Catholicism along the California coast, Serra’s harsh treatment of native peoples impelled protesters to topple statues to him in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Sacramento; municipal officials



Fig. 7.2. The Shaw Memorial during the George Floyd protests, May 2020. Courtesy Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park.

took down others in Ventura, San Luis Obispo, Carmel, and San Gabriel. The city of Dearborn, Michigan, removed a statue of segregationist mayor Orville L. Hubbard; Philadelphia took down a statue to notoriously racist police chief and mayor Frank Rizzo; Albany removed a statue of enslaver Philip Schuyler; and protesters took down a statue in Nashville memorializing Edward W. Carmack, who urged retaliation against Ida B. Wells in her campaign against lynching. At least thirty-five statues, busts, and relief sculptures of Christopher Columbus across the country were taken down, at least seven of them by protesters; in Boston they decapitated the Columbus statue in Waterfront Park in the city's North End.

The Christopher Columbus statue was one of sixteen in Boston that were tagged or vandalized during the George Floyd protests, including the Milmore Soldiers and Sailors Monument on Boston Common, the equestrian George Washington in the Public Garden, and the Abigail Adams statue on the Commonwealth Avenue Mall. African American artist and activist Tory Bullock immediately began a petition campaign to remove Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group* from Boston's Park Square, which has been controversial since its installation in 1879. It depicts a standing Lincoln casting his hand as if in blessing over a kneeling, partly clothed African American whose shackles are

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broken, and its inscription completes the association of Lincoln with God: “A race set free and the country at peace. Lincoln rests from his labors.”

Even as a boy growing up in Boston’s Dorchester section, Bullock was troubled by the statue. “All I remember is what I felt, and what I felt was, ‘Wow, that’s a Black dude with a white dude standing over him like he’s a coffee table,’” Bullock told the *Boston Globe*. “And he just made me feel like something’s wrong.” If the African American man was free, Bullock thought, “why is he still on his knees?” Even descendants of Archer Alexander, Ball’s model for the freed man, have disagreed about what the monument means to say. One, Keith Winstead, has held that the man was “breaking chains; he was in the process of standing.” Another, Muhammed Ali’s daughter Maryum Ali, stated, “Why isn’t that man standing up next to Lincoln?” Frederick Douglass felt much the same way. “What I want to see before I die is a monument representing the negro, not couchant on his knees like a four-footed animal, but erect on his feet like a man,” he wrote five days after the Emancipation Group’s 1876 unveiling in the District of Columbia.⁵

Edmund Barry Gaither, director of Boston’s Museum of the National Center of Afro-American Artists, has maintained that *Emancipation Group* represents “the infantilizing idea that Black people really needed white people to take care of them.” Gaither contrasts it to *Emancipation* (1913), created by African American sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller in plaster—and never installed—to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. After Fuller’s death, in Framingham, Massachusetts, in 1968, the sculpture was found in her garage, and in 1999 it was copied in bronze for Harriet Tubman Park in Boston’s South End. Fuller’s work shows an African American man and woman standing as if emerging from the tree of knowledge. Behind the man the figure of a woman leans against the tree, one arm on his shoulder and the other cast over her eyes. Fuller, who wrote the inscriptions, described the gesture as “humanity weeping over her suddenly freed children who, beneath the gnarled fingers of fate, step forth into the world, unafraid”; a second inscription states the *Emancipation* honors African American “freed persons who by their courage and valor gave meaning to emancipation.”

5. Meghan E. Irons, “Lincoln Emancipation Statue Triggers Debate on How the Black Experience Should be Commemorated,” *Boston Globe*, 20 June 2020; Scott Sandage, “What Frederick Douglass Had to Say about Monuments,” *Smithsonian*, 30 June 2020. Douglass’s statement appeared in the *National Republican*.

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Gaither was equivocal about what should happen to Boston's *Emancipation Group*: he would be content to see it removed, but doing so would also remove a "teachable moment" in which viewers might compare it to the Fuller sculpture and think about "the forces that govern public space." Boston African American journalist Arielle Gray has asserted that removing the Columbus and other statues from Boston's public landscape is a "halfhearted attempt at placation"; if Boston were serious about confronting its past, it would leave the beheaded Columbus just as it is to stimulate conversations about why it is headless. "Boston cannot performatively sweep its entanglements with its racism underneath the rug," Gray has written. Similarly, African American sculptor Kehinde Wiley, whose *Rumors of War* sculpture of a modern-day African American man on horseback inverts the equestrian sculptural tradition, has argued that Confederate statues should remain and be answered with "more statues. . . . It makes sense to have something exist on a monumental level, because this is a monumental conversation that this country needs to have."⁶

Relatively slight as it was, Boston Mayor Martin J. Walsh decried the damage protesters had done to the Shaw Memorial. "That memorial is sacred to Black Boston and to our country," he declared, according to the *Boston Globe*. "This was the very last thing that our city, quite honestly, needed."⁷ Some might argue that tagging the Shaw Memorial was rather more something the city of Boston did need. Some who have viewed the Shaw see the white colonel "herding" his African American troops. Kevin Peterson of Boston's New Democracy Coalition has argued that Shaw on horseback with his soldiers on foot reinforces the notion that African Americans are "subservient" to whites; thus the memorial should be moved to a museum. Yet others have pointed out that the monument by itself raises questions as, in theory, a headless Columbus would.

Still others argue that monuments are in any event not enough. "Democracies honor their leaders by perpetuating their ideals, not by erecting statues," Philip Kennicott of the *Washington Post* has asserted. The "real work of democracy," he has written, "is already happening in our streets, work that goes forward without leaders, work that embodies the

6. Arielle Gray, "The Christopher Columbus Statue Should Stay: Here's Why," *The Artery*, 16 June 2020, <https://www.wbur.org/artery/2020/06/16/christopher-columbus-statue-boston-north-end-should-stay>; Gaither and Wiley quoted in Murray Whyte, "Weighing the Fate of Our Most Problematic Public Art," *Boston Globe*, 11 July 2020.

7. Steve Annear, "Shaw Memorial One of 11 Damaged in Protests," *Boston Globe*, 2 June 2020, B4.

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core but latent idealism of the republic better than any monument, even our best ones.” His point is not a new one, in Boston or elsewhere. Peter Gomes made it in 1983 when he described the “great unfinished work,” “this endless march to that just and perfect day.” And Joshua Bowen Smith made it in 1874. Soon after the funeral of Charles Sumner, African American New Yorkers approached him about a monument to the statesman. Smith loved Sumner; “he was a gift from heaven to our race,” he said. But to his mind carrying on Sumner’s crusade mattered more. “For ourselves and our children, the highest, the best, the most appropriate monument that we can build will be to perfect the work which Charles Sumner began,” Smith told the delegation. Still, Smith said, the group should build the monument, for at best it might be a tangible spur to Americans to be the sort of person that Sumner was in Smith’s eyes—“a light so bright that will wake up this sleepy nation to a sense of justice.”⁸

8. “Tributes to Sumner,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 18 Mar 1874, 1; Smith to Sumner, 27 January 1872, Sumner Papers 56:291.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

It is impossible to state, or even to imagine, how much richer, fuller, and more sophisticated this examination of the Shaw/54th Memorial's African American associations would be if I had been able to locate and examine more documents written by African Americans, both those who served in the Civil War and those persons, largely Bostonians, who have been in some way or another involved with the monument. Relatively few African American collections of personal papers exist in public repositories. We have the reportage of James Henry Gooding and George E. Stephens, and a smattering of letters from others who served. Alexander Howard Johnson's papers and memorabilia are at Worcester Historical Museum, and some of the papers of the Rev. William Jackson are at Old Dartmouth Historical Society/New Bedford Whaling Museum. But where are the papers, if they exist, of Charles L. Mitchell, William H. Dupree, Burrill Smith, James Monroe Trotter, Wesley Furlong, and Mark De Mortie, among many others? These men were leaders among Boston's African Americans and devoted to keeping the history of their Civil War effort alive. Others who were not Civil War veterans worked to make the achievement of these men real and meaningful in the post war era. To identify only a few, William Henry Lewis, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Butler Wilson, John J. Smith, Robert T. Teamoh, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Edwin G. Walker, James H. Wolff and his sons James and Albert, Clement G. Morgan, and J. Gordon Street were all alive and living in or near Boston when the Shaw Memorial was unveiled, and they were all active in the incessant work to achieve racial equality afterward. But if their correspondence, memoirs, journals, or other such documents exist in a public library or museum, I have not been able to find them.

There are some fortunate exceptions to what seems to me the general rule. Because the Boston Public Library's Rare Books and Manuscripts Department was closed during the term of this study, I could not examine the papers of George Washington Forbes, the African American assistant librarian at the library's West End branch from its founding in 1896 until his death in 1927. Forbes, relatively obscure before he became involved in Boston's African American political life in the early 1890s, was a prolific journalist and biographer. His review of Freeman H. M. Murray's *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (and Murray's reaction to it) and biographies of Edward M. Bannister, William Cooper Nell, John S. Rock, James Monroe Trotter, and George Washington

Williams would surely enhance, if not correct, this manuscript's discussions of this book and these men, and they should be examined. And though he was not in Boston when the Shaw Memorial was unveiled—he was then serving as United States Consul to Santo Domingo—Archibald Henry Grimké presented several addresses there afterward, and he was in regular contact with the political leaders of African American Boston. I was able to secure copies of one of these addresses, but the extensive collection of his papers at the Moorland-Springarn Research Center at Howard University should also be reviewed, as should the papers, at the same repository, of Murray, George T. Downing, and George Lewis Ruffin. Tulane University's Amistad Research Center has the papers of Olivia Ward Bush-Banks; New York Public Library preserves the Paul Laurence Dunbar collection; Fisk University in Nashville owns the papers of Pauline E. Hopkins. I simply ran out of time—cut even shorter by the pandemic-induced closing of most public repositories—to examine these papers.

Based on my work in African American history over the years, my sense is that the papers of other African Americans connected in one way or another to the Shaw Memorial may more likely reside in the families of descendants. The appendixes in this study may help historians identify and contact these descendants and, one hopes, find relevant material. The same route may also make it possible to fill out the spotty public collections of Boston's African American newspapers, including the *Hub*, the *Courant*, *Woman's Era*, and Trotter's *Guardian*. And it may also lead to whatever records may have survived of the postwar African American veterans' groups—chiefly the Robert Gould Shaw Veterans Association, Robert A. Bell Post 134 of the Grand Army of the Republic and its auxiliary Women's Relief Corps 67, Peter Salem Garrison 16 of the Regular Army and Navy Union, the Sons of Veterans' John A. Andrew Camp 13, William H. Carney Camp 156, and Joel D. Dudley Camp 89.

Determining if Susie King Taylor's 1896 Women's Relief Corps census of African American Civil War veterans living in the West End has survived would be worthwhile; finding it would be a stunning discovery in any future attempt to understand the men of the 54th and other African American Civil War regiments more completely.

Appendix A

African American Tributes in Verse¹

1. Eli T. Harmon, "The Day is Dawning, Awake, Arise!" *Christian Recorder*, 28 March 1863; signed at bottom "March the 9th, 1863, Germantown, Phila., Pa."

Let Africans awake, arise!
For freedom's day is dawning.
It's time for them to ope their eyes,
And see the sluggish yawning.

Yes, let them all awake, and rise,
While slavish chains are breaking;
Still crowd their prayers up through the skies,
For prayer our God is waiting.

Let Africans thus live and learn,
To pray through meditating;
For when the answer God returns,
Christ's soldiers can whip Satan.

Weeping, morning, praying, singing,
These show forth the dawning day;
Blood-shed, freedom's bell is ringing,
I can hear it far away.

Saintly slaves have been a-praying,
All their prayers have been as one;
All things justice has been waiting,
Soon on earth his will be done.

Slaves have been a superseding,
All the mighty, proud, and tall;
By their prayers and sincere pleadings,
Now their skulking foes must fall.

Long the oppressed have been weeping,
But the day [dawn?] of day is come;
Freemen, wake from sluggish sleeping,
Aid with prayer, sword and gun.

1. Included here are 22 (3 & variant 3a) verses, 4 written before Wagner, 10 after Wagner but before 1897, 7 after 1897, 1 undated. Nine mention or are named for Shaw; four mention or are named for Carney.

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They have told when weeping crying,
Bleeding, dying with dismay;
God has heard their groans and sighing;
Lo! he'll come and clear the way.

Then let us be more people-like,
And join in heart and hand;
Then if we have to go and fight,
God will take our command.

Let there be no spirit party,
Let there be no cowardice;
When the tempest roars don't fear,
Only trust in God and Christ.

If Afric's son do have to fight
They must be heirs to glory;
And till they do receive their rights
I don't think they need hurry.

Afric's sable sons and daughters,
God commands both front and rear;
He can calm the troubled waters,
Only trust him, do not fear.

2. Fanny Jackson, "The Black Volunteers," *Anglo-African*, 9 May 1863

We welcome, we welcome, our brave volunteers,
Fling your caps to the breeze, boys, and give them three cheers;
They have proven their valor by many a scar,
But their god-like endurance has been nobler by far.
Think ye not that their brave hearts grew sick with delay
When the battle-cry summoned their neighbors away;
When their offers were spurned and their voices unheeded,
And grim Prejudice vaunted their aid was not needed.

Till some pious soul, full of loyal devotion,
To whom flesh and muscle were more than a notion,
Proposed, that in order to save their own blood,
As "drawers of water and hewers of wood"
They should use their black brothers;—but the blacks "couldn't see"
What great magnanimity prompted the plea;
And they scouted the offer as base and inglorious,
For they knew that, through God, they should yet be victorious.

But alas! for our country, her insolent horde
Has "melted like snow in the glance of the Lord"
Aye, the face of the nation grew ghastly and white,
When the angel of death crossed her sill in the night.
And her first-born were slain—then she bowed her proud head,

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While in sackcloth and ashes she mourned for her dead.
Let her weep for her martial pride, weep for her noblest;
The southern plains reek with the blood of her boldest

Yet her pride is not humbled by what she has borne,
'Tis necessity's goad that is urging her on
To enlist you, my brothers. 'Tis natural, we read,
To hate whom we've injured by word or by deed.
But God's ways are just: His decrees are immutable,
Though often to us they seem dark and inscrutable.
He meant not that slavery always should last
And over his people its dark shadow cast.

Now, Freedom stands holding with uplifted face,
Her hand, dipped in blood, on the brow of our race.
Attest it! my country, and never again
By this holy baptism forget we are men,
Nor dare, when we've mingled our blood in your battles,
To sneer at our bravery and call us your "chattels."
Our ancestors fought on your first battle-plains,
And you paid them right nobly with insult and chains;

You pitied not even the sad and forlorn,
You pensioned their widows and orphans on scorn!
In your hour of bitterest trial and need
You have called us once more—to your voice we give heed
No longer your treacherous faith we'll discuss:
But let God be the witness between you and us!
We have stout hearts among us, as well do you know,
That ne'er quailed before danger or shrank from a foe.

They have come, at your bidding, in dangers to share,
And that which is grander, to do and to dare!
Then away to the battle-field, brave volunteers,
We'll not sadden your parting with womanish tears!
Fling out to the breezes your banner of Right,
And under its broad folds assemble your might.
Go Liberty, Honor, aye, all things most dear,
Are intrusted to you to defend and to clear

From the stain of oppression, whose poisonous breath
Is less welcome to us than the black wing of death!
Tho' millions assail ye, yet fear not their might;
They shall vanish like mist in the sun's ruddy light,
For God will go with you—His word has been spoken,
His gleaming blade never in battle was broken.
With Him as your leader, your cause will fail never,
Sic itur ad astra—your watchword forever!

Fanny M. Jackson, Oberlin College, April 25th, 1863²

APPENDIX A

3. From William Wells Brown, *Negro in the American Rebellion*, 157–8

“The following song was written by a private in Company A, Fifty-Fourth (colored) Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, and has been sent to us for publication by a friend of the regiment.—Boston Transcript.”

A Negro-Volunteer Song

Air—“Hoist up the Flag.”

Oh, Fremont he told them when the war it first begun,
How to save the Union, and the way it should be done;
But Kentucky swore so hard, and old Abe he had his fears,
Till every hope was lost but the colored volunteers.

Chorus.—O, give us a flag, all free without a slave,
We’ll fight to defend it as our Fathers did so brave;
The gallant Comp’ny A will make the rebels dance,
And we’ll stand by the Union if we only have a chance.

McClellan went to Richmond with two hundred thousand brave:
He said “keep back the niggers,” and the Union he would save.
Little Mac he had his way, still the Union is in tears,
Now they call for the help of the colored volunteers.

[Chorus]

Old Jeff says he’ll hang us if we dare to meet him armed,
A very big thing, but we are not at all alarmed,
For he first has got to catch us before the way is clear,
And “that’s what’s the matter” with the colored volunteer.

[Chorus]

So rally, boys, rally, let us never mind the past,
We had a hard road to travel but our day is coming fast,
For God is for the right, and we have no need to fear,
The Union must be saved by the colored volunteer.

[Chorus]

2. The full text is available on Scholarly Editing, <http://scholarlyediting.org/2013/editions/aa.18630509.1.html>. “Drawers of wood” wood is from Joshua 9:23 and refers to the government’s offer to employ black men as military laborers. “Melted like snow” is from Byron’s “The Destruction of Sennacherib” (1815). “Necessity’s goad” refers to Lincoln noting the “military necessity” of the Emancipation Proclamation. “Sic itur ad astra” is from Virgil’s *Aeneid* and translates to “that is the path to the stars.”

APPENDIX A

[THIS LAST STANZA DOES NOT APPEAR IN *Anglo-African*]

Then here is to the 54th, which has been nobly tried,
They were willing, they were ready, with their bayonets by their side,
Colonel Shaw led them on and he had no cause to fear,
About the courage of the colored volunteer.

[Chorus]³

- 3a. Frank Myers, "The Colored Volunteer. For the Anglo-African," *Anglo-African*,
20 February 1864

The Colored Volunteers
by Frank Myers [sic], who was led by the gallant Col. Shaw, at the charge of Fort Wagner

Fremont told us, when this war first begun,
How to save the Union, and the way it should be done;
But Kentucky swore so hard, Old Abe had his fears,
But soon they were dispelled by the Colored Volunteers.

We've passed our brethren in their chains, nor sought to set them free;
But now we fight to save them, and our flag of liberty.
We'll fight them, though the earth be strewn with brothers slain,
We'll fight them, and ne'er falter, 'till liberty we gain.

O, give to us a flag which, through the march of time,
Shall wave in glorious triumph o'er all this southern clime;
It is our Abraham's choice, and gives us all good cheer,
For underneath its folds fights the Colored Volunteer.

The gallant Fifty-fourth, roused by freedom's battle cry,
Said, We'll go, meet every foe, and conquer them or die.
We will stand by the Union, if we only have a chance,
In doing which, we're very sure we'll make the rebels dance.

McClellan went to Richmond with two hundred thousand, brave.
He said, "Keep back the negroes, and the Union we will save."
Little Mack had his way, still the Union is in tears;
They call now for the help of the Colored Volunteers.

Old Jeff says he'll hang us, if we dare to meet him armed.
'Tis a very big thing, but we're not at all alarmed;
For he has first to catch us before the way is clear,

3. The original publication of this verse in the *Boston Transcript* has not been located. The same epigraph appears with the poem as it appeared in the *Anglo-African*, 20 June 1863, 1. The verse was published with Brown's note on the back page of *Souvenir of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (Colored) Regiment* (Boston, 1863), MHS. A later version has been attributed to Frank Myers (see 3a), who was not a member of Company A, stating that the words were to be sung to "Hoist up the Flag" by Septimus Winner and Billy Holmes.

APPENDIX A

And that's what's the matter with the Colored Volunteer.
Forth, with the flaunt of banners, and the drum's inspiring sound,
We swept his treacherous hordes from freedom's holy ground.
There were brave hearts among us, and we sent them to the rear;
So that's why they hate us, the Colored Volunteer.

The gallant Fifty-fourth! they're fearless and they're bold;
May their courage never fail, and their ardor ne'er grow cold.
Then rally round the flag, for to us it is most dear,
Bright star of liberty to each Colored Volunteer.

The train is moving slowly on, never mind the past;
We've had a hard road to travel, but good days are coming fast.
For God is for the right, and we have no need to fear;
The Union must be saved by the Colored Volunteer.⁴

4. Corporal Joseph A. Hall and George Parker, "The Fifty-Fourth Mass."
excerpt⁵

In sixty-one this War began, they 'listed far and near,
But never would consent to take the Colored Volunteer,
But since that time, how things have changed, their feelings have drawn near
So lately there has been a call for Colored Volunteers.

5. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, "The Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth," *Anglo-African*,
10 October 1863

Where storms of death were sweeping,
Wildly through the darkened sky,
Stood the bold but fated column,
Brave to do, to dare, and die.

With cheeks that knew no blanching,
And brows that would not pale;
Where the bloody rain fell thickest,
Mingled with the fiery hail.
Bearers of a high commission
To break each brother's chain;
With hearts aglow for freedom,
They bore the toil and pain.

4. Another version, by Tom Craig, "Colored Volunteer," features slightly different wording and cites the 54th once; it was published by Johnson, song publisher, 7 N 10th St Philadelphia, in 1864 and again in 1865 by A. W. Aunder, Philadelphia.

5. The entire verse is in the Luis F. Emilio Papers, MHS, closed indefinitely.

APPENDIX A

And onward pressed though shot and shell
Swept fiercely round their path;
While batteries hissed with tongues of flame,
And bayonets flashed with wrath.

Oh! not in vain those heroes fell,
Amid those hours of fearful strife;
Each dying heart poured out a balm
To heal the wounded nation's life.

And from the soil drenched with their blood,
The fairest flowers of peace shall bloom;
And history cull rich laurels there,
To deck each martyr hero's tomb.

And ages yet uncrossed with life,
As sacred urns, do hold each mound
Where sleep the loyal, true and brave
In freedom's consecrated ground.⁶

6. A. P. Smith, "A War Song for the Black Volunteers," *Anglo-African*, 10 October 1863, 4

Oh, brothers, long we've waited, praying for this hour,
While oft the noodles boasted they didn't need our power,
But lo! the angel Death has made the haughty cower,
And we're marching on.
In the army of Jehovah, in the army of Jehovah, in the army of Jehovah,
For freedom marching on.

The shop and field we left to shoulder now the gun;
Forgiving injuries past, we hail the day begun;
And where we meet the foe some traitor blood will run
As we're marching on, etc.

The rebel flag accursed sustains the trader's greed,
And there beneath the lash our injured sisters bleed,
Great God! these cruel wrongs for vengeance loudly plead,
And we're marching on, etc.
To ransom, Massachusetts bears the crown and sword;
The Carolina troops their valor high record;
And Louisiana blood into the tide is poured,
As we're marching on, etc.

6. The full text is given on Scholarly Editing, <http://scholarlyediting.org/2013/editions/aa.18630509.1.html>.

APPENDIX A

From every other State the boys are coming too,
For glorious is the work their hands have found to do,
And by the powers above they'll do it through and through,
While they're marching on, etc.

To face the battle storm we move at God's command,
For kin and country too we'll strike with heavy hand,
And never, never rest till Freedom rules the land,
With God we're marching on, etc.
Though horrors of the deep now rise upon the wave,
And fiends from hell unloosed around our doors may rave,
Nought can deter our course—our flag still high we wave,
For we are marching on, etc.⁷

7. Anonymous, "The Black Heroes," *Liberator*, 5 February 1864, 4

"William Lloyd Garrison/Honored Sir—Having heard of your liberality of sentiment in favor of the colored people and their rights, and being one of that despised race, I venture to ask that you will give publicity to these lines, through the columns of your far-famed paper, the *Liberator*. It is nothing classic, but merely the spontaneous gushing of a black girl's soul, who has felt the influence of slavery and the blighting breath of prejudice too long to keep silent:—

When shell and ball were falling fast
Upon the battle plain,
Brave heroes fought of sable caste
Amid that leaden rain;
No flinching eye or faltering step
Was seen along that line,
But firm and bold their muskets kept,
And to the fire kept time.
O, must they calmly die at last,
Those heroes black and brave,
With prejudice still clinging fast—
O, must they die as slaves!
Ah! let the siege at Wagner tell
Of each heroic deed,
When Shaw and others bleeding fell,
How black men took the lead!
Brave Carney, too, of sable blood,
By patriot pride impelled,
Though wading through th' opposing flood,
Our glorious flag upheld.
"Ah! boys, it never touched the ground,"
Were the brave words he said,
When quietly they laid him down

7. "Noodle" means simpleton. Censuses show A. P. Smith as white, black, and mulatto. Scholarly Editing notes that he was a printer from Saddle River, NJ, who wrote a "cluster of poems" in 1863. This verse aimed to offer new lyrics to "John Brown's Body."

APPENDIX A

Among the other dead.
And must such noble deeds
Our fetters stronger bind
Or shall they to fair Freedom lead,
And make us all mankind?

8. Virginia L. Molyneaux Hewlett, "To the fifth Mass. Cavalry. Presented to the non commissioned officers at a ball given by them March 29th 1864 at Dedham Mass"

Soldiers we have met together,
But soon we'll part perhaps forever.
Though there may be sorrow in our hearts,
Though tears may fall from our eyes,
Still we feel, our loyal brothers
You are struggling for your right,
And you soon will win and keep it
By your bravery and might.
Brothers do ye feel afraid?
Would ye now give up the glory?
On, on, ye forever on, for God and victory
He has heard his people's cry,
Has promised succor from on high.
There have many gone before you.
Many more are here to follow,
Forward, then, and let this be your cry,
"Living we will be victorious,
On dying our deaths shall be glorious."
A breath of submission breathe not.
The sword that ye draw sheathe not;
For its scabbard is left where your martyrs are laid,
And the vengeance of ages has whetted its blade.
Think of those who've gone before you.
Remember those who fell at Wagner,
At James Island, and Olustee.
Think of the gallant Colonel Shaw
Among the brave he was the bravest
Among the noble was the noblest.
And then remember Governor Andrews
So noble, generous, true,
Remember Governor Andrews
In all that you may do
You have heard of the commission
Of the brave Lieutenant Swales;
Can their memories ever perish?
No! never! while one loyal heart is found,
Their names shall stand forever.
When history shall unfold her story
Of right and wrong of shame and glory,
Then shall their noble deeds be told,
Then shall all men behold

APPENDIX A

Their right to claim such glory.
Soldiers would ye share their fame
Would ye bear a glorious name?
Forward then and God will speed you:
Our fervent prayers are always with you.
Strike for old Massachusetts!
Strike for our Bay State true!
Strike for our glorious Union!
Strike for liberty or death!
Strike till the last armed foe expires!
Strike for your altars and your fires!
Strike for the green graves of your sires
God and your native land.
Forward though the enemy,
Should number ten to one!
Forward for God is with you
And the battle ye shall win.
Brothers have ye wives or daughters?
If ye have oh strike for them!
Hasten to the battle field
Resolve to live or die like men.
Falter not while one slave breathes,
Break their chains or share their grief.
Soldiers could ye breathe the air
The slave is forced to breathe,
Or could ye lead the life
That they are forced to lead?
Brothers think of them in pity,
Think o think and try to save,
Or if that prove unsuccessful,
Better they were in their graves.
Brothers when this war is ended
If the South should gain the day,
What of those who're left in bondage
What of those you've failed to save?
But stop my brothers do not answer
I knew right well what you would say;
You are bound to conquer slavery
Or you'll fill the martyr's grave.

Virginia L. M. Hewlett 13 years old⁸

8. Published in Celeste-Marie Bernier and Andrew Taylor, *If I Survive: Frederick Douglass and Family in the Walter O. Evans Collection* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 638–44.

APPENDIX A

9. James Madison Bell, "The Triumph of Liberty" (1870), in *Poetical Works of James Madison Bell* (Lansing, MI: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1901), 125–53
excerpt

. . . .
And some there came of Afric's hue,
 Though born and reared upon our shore,
Who eager were to don the blue,
 As they had done in days before.
As they had done at Lexington,
 At Bunker Hill and Brandywine,
At Monmouth and at Bennington,
 'Midst freedom's boasts in freedom's line.

As they had done at New Orleans,
 And on Lake Erie's troubled waves,
And in a word, 'midst all the scenes,
 Made sacred through our struggling braves.

But prejudice and foul disdain
 Rebuked and scorned their proffered aid,
And taunting, urged that slavery's chain
 Bore no relation to the raid.

And thus they grew, the jeer and butt
 Of the derisive and the vile;
And suffered many a cruel cut
 From rostrum and from press the while.
These prated of a White Man's war,
 And claimed that Negroes feared to die;
That face of those who placed the scar
 Upon their backs would make them fly.

Such was the feelings which possessed
 The loyal heart when Sumpter's fort
By rebel soldiers was distressed,
 And we could render no support.
And such the feeling which prevailed
 Up to our sad Bull Run retreat;
For ever yet our arms had failed
 The rebel forces to defeat.

. . . And wherefore were they thus denied
 Until the glory and the pride
Of all our mighty North was taken
 And lifeless strewn o'er many a plain?
Oh! Prejudice! thou art to blame
 For half of all the noble braves
Who fell in freedom's sacred name;
 'Twas thou, foul fiend, that dug their graves!

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. . . Then wild the Union to assist,
As regulars or volunteers,
The blacks rushed forward to enlist
‘Midst thunder shouts and deafening cheers.

Old Massachusetts’ Fifty-fourth
Filed into line, and swelled the ranks,
And charged so nobly on the South
As to extort the Nation’s thanks.

. . . There is no right a freeman has
So purely sacred as his choice.
How e’er bereft he’ll cling to this
And in its potency rejoice;

For in its exercise he stands
The peer of title wealth and state,
How e’er possessed of spreading lands,
Or gifted they in high debate—

He is their peer, however grand,
Or much upon themselves they dote,
For there’s not station in our land
Which ranks a man above his vote.⁹

10. Joshua McCarter Simpson, “Let the Banner Proudly Wave,” *The Emancipation Car* (1874)
To the tune of “Nearer to Our Happy Home”

Our glorious flag is floating
Triumphantly at last;
Our nation is exulting,
The rebel’s die is cast;
Rebellion now is conquered,
No more to lift its head,
And best of all we now can sing,
Old Slavery is dead.

Chorus.—Let it wave, let it wave!
Let the banner proudly wave;
Let it wave, let it wave!
But never o’er a slave.

We are a happy nation,
Because our country’s free
From war and desolation,
And from bold tyranny.

9. Full text at <https://allpoetry.com/The-Triumph-Of-Liberty>.

APPENDIX A

The tyrant's arm in broken,
No more to hold the slave;
This is the year of jubilee,
So let our banner wave.

[Chorus]

We've stood and fought like demons,
Upon the battle field;
Both slaves and Northern freemen
Have faced the glowing steel—
Our blood beneath this banner
Has mingled with the whites,
And 'neath its folds we now demand
Our just and equal rights.

[Chorus]

The world has seen our valor
And nations now confess
That man is not in color—
In fashion nor in dress;
In Charleston and old Richmond,
In spite of Lee and Bragg,
We drove the Rebs in wild dismay,
And planted there our flag.

[Chorus]

Port Hudson and Fort Pillow,
And Wagner's rugged crag,
Where many a colored soldier
Was murdered for this flag;
And Petersburg—Oulusta—
And Nashville, all can tell.
Who were the boys that stood in front,
And for this banner fell.

[Chorus]

We've fed the Union soldiers
When fleeing from the foe;
We've led them through the mountains
Where white men dare not go;
Our "hoecake" and our cabbage
And pork we freely gave,
That this old flag might be sustained—
Now let it proudly wave.

[Chorus]

APPENDIX A

We've fought like men and brethren.
And we defy the world
To say we ever faltered,
Beneath this flag unfurled;
Our guns have broke our fetters,
And justice now demands
That we shall never more be slaves,
With muskets in our hands.

[Chorus]

11. A. A. [Albery Allson] Whitman, *Not a Man and Yet a Man* (Springfield, OH, and Miami, FL: Republic Printing Co, Mnemosyne, 1877)
*excerpt*¹⁰

And now my country let us bury all
Our blunders sad beneath grim battle's pall.
Gathered beneath the storm's heroic folds,
While our dear land an aching bosom holds,
Let us forget the wrongs of blue and grey,
In gazing on the grandeur of the fray.
Now let the vanquished his repentant face,
Lean in the victor's merciful embrace,
And let the victor, with his strong arm heal
The bleeding wounds that gape beneath his steel.
And may no partial hand attempt a lay
Of praise, as due alone to blue or grey.
The warrior's wreath may well by both be worn,
For braver man than either ne'er was born.
They both have marched to death and victory,
They both have shown heroic misery,
And won the soldier's immortality.
But scars of honor that they both yet wear,
The proudest testimonials of their valor are
And where our sons their battle lances drew,
Fought not their sable comrades bravely too?
Let Wagner answer 'mid the reeking storm
That mingles with black dead proud Shaw's fair form.
Ask it of Fisher, and a thousand more
Brave fields that answer with their lips of gore.
And while America's escutcheon bright,
Is bathed in war-won Freedom's glorious light,
Forget it not, the colored man will fight.
More patriotism Sparta never knew,
A lance more knightly Norman never threw,
More courage never armed the Roman coasts,

10. Full text at American Verse Project, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/amverse/BAQ6224.0001.001/1:8?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>.

APPENDIX A

With blinder zeal ne'er rode the Moslem hosts,
And ne'er more stubborn stood the Muscovite,
Than stood the hated negro in the fight.

The war was God-sent, for the battle blade,
Around the seething gangrene, Slavery, laid,
By Heaven's arm, this side and that was prest,
Until the galling shame dropt from the Nation's breast.
War was inevitable, for the crimes
That stained our hands (and in the olden times
Engendered) now were Constitutional,
And spreading thro' the Nation's body all.
Deep rooted where the vital currents meet
Around the heart of government, their seat
Evaded Legislation's keenest skill,
Or bent the stoutest edge of human will.
'Twas then that God the raving Nation threw
Upon her own war lance and from her drew,
By accidental providence, a flood
Of old diseases that lurked in her blood.

Whom Moses witnessed 'mid old Sinai's smoke,
Whose arm from Judah's neck had torn the yoke,
And with it broken Egypt's bones of pride,
And with his chariots strown the Red Sea tide;
Who stripped the golden crimes from Babel's throne,
And made his pow'r to Baal's adorers known;
He stood among us and His right arm bared
To show His ways by seers of old declared.
While millions trembled at Oppression's nod,
Oppression sank beneath the finger touch of God.
Line upon line the centuries had wrought,
And precept upon precept vainly taught,
The prophets had of old been heard to cry,
While signs and wonders figured in the sky,
And then the Incarnation of all good,
By Jordan's wave and in the Mount had stood,
And with His hand of gentleness and love
Transcendent, that a heart of stone could move,
Had touched the ties of every human woe,
And loosing fettered mind, said: "Let him go."
And His great heart to patience ever moved,
And always gentle e'en if He reprov'd,
Bore this sweet sentence from his sinless Home:
"To preach deliv'rance to the bound I'm come."
But even then, our country shook her head,
Her eagle wings of independence spread,
One tipped with fires of the Tropic's glow,
The other lashing in the realms of snow,
And in her pride declared that God's own Son
Had licensed Slavery's dark crimes, every one.

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And tho' we shackled Afric's sable hands,
And scourged her where the smoking altar stands,
And tho' we loaded down her captive feet
With iron chains, right by the mercy seat,
And tho' we laid her virgin bosom bare,
And forced her where the fires of off'ring glare;
We smote our conscience with a palm of ease,
And thanked God that his pure eye ever sees!
Who then can wonder that the Lord would smite
The haughty neck that did Him thus despite?

Now let us in the light of future years,
Forget our loss and sacrificial tears,
And thank kind heav'n that tho' we erred and strayed,
We to the good path our return have made.

Hail dawning Peace! Speed on thy glorious rise!
And with thy beams unseal the nation's eyes.
Let Islam in the blaze of scimitar
Proclaim his rites, and gorge the fangs of war,
But peace be unto thee, land of our sires,
Whose sacred altar flames with holier fires!
Let lawlessness no longer stagger forth
With his destructive torch, nor South nor North;
And let the humblest tenant of the fields,
Secured of what his honest labor yields,
Pursue his calling, ply his daily care,
His home adorn and helpless children rear,
Assured that while our flag above him flies,
No lawless hand can dare molest his joys.

Lo! from yon hights, land of the rising star,
The hands of Freedom beckon from afar,
And mid the glad acclaims of roused mankind
Fling her immortal standard to the wind;
Speed there thy flight, and lead the glorious train
That swell the lofty tributes of her reign.
Thy hands are wrested from the tyrant's hold,
Thy name on Time's illustrious page enrolled,
And thy escutcheon bright, embossed with gold.

From Erie's rock-watched shores to Mexic's sands,
No more the bondman wrings his fettered hands;
No more entreaty's sable face thro' tears,
Looks on for succor thro' the weary years;
For Freedom's holy dawn is now begun,
And earth rejoices 'neath her rising sun.
Requited toil content pursues his care,
Walks with bold strides as free as heaven's air;
The gen'rous fields put on their aspect sweet,
And forests blithe their hymns of God repeat.

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Dear western woods! thou harbors of the free,
With youthful hearts we wander back to thee,
And ere these numbers hush, once more would lie
Beneath thee stretched and gaze upon the sky.
Thou art more proud than Windsor's lofty shade,
By poet sung, or by the sage portrayed.
No lordly despot o'er thy ample grounds,
Sways ancient titles and proclaims his bounds;
But each poor tenant owns his humble plot,
Tills his neat farm and rears his friendly cot.
The weary trav'ler 'long thy roads may lie,
As peaceful as the brook that rambles by,
From boughs that drop with plenty gather food,
And o'er his dear ones rear a shelter rude.
Thou noble seats! fit theme of bard or sage,
Beneath thy bow'rs leans venerable age,
While from the summit of his stalwart years,
His life's calm twilight slowly disappears,
And hope's sweet sunrise in the future nears.
And where smooth paths thy solemn shades divide,
Walks buoyant toil with young love at his side,
And charmed by songs that ev'ry zephyr shakes
From boughs around, his hopeful journey takes.
And flaxen childhood there the live-long day,
In blithe sports whirls and wanders far away.

Oh comrade freemen strike your hands to stand
Like walls of rock and guard our father-land!
Oh guard our homes and institutions free,
The price of blood and valor's legacy.
Awake to watch, ye sovereign sons of toil!
If despot feet e'er touch our country's soil,
Fly to the standard that by freemen born,
The glory of a hundred years has worn,
Blood-stained, yet bright, streaming, but battle-torn,
And rally till the last drop from the veins
Of free America flows on our plains.
Eternal vigilance must light the tower,
Whose granite strength can bide the evil hour,
Whose wave-dashed base defies the tempest's shock,
Buildded upon the everlasting rock.
At last, proud land, let potent wisdom write
Her name above thy brow in glorious light,
And suffer ne'er thy hands to idle rest
Till learning lights thy humblest subject's breast.
In cities tall, and in the hamlet rude,
Suffer no partial hand to e'er exclude
A single poor from fair instruction's halls,
But write EQUALITY on all her walls.
An equal chance in life, and even start,
Give every one and let him play his part.

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But who could, with complacency on his face,
First bind one's feet, then challenge for a race?
I would not own I was a thing so small,
I'd rather own I was no man at all,
Than show that I must some advantage take,
The race of life respectably to make.
Say my facilities must all be best,
Then write excelsior upon my crest?
Nay, rather let me weed the hardest row,
And rise above by toiling from below.

Free schools, free press, free speech and equal laws,
A common country and a common cause,
Are only worthy of a freeman's boasts—
Are Freedom's real and intrinsic costs.
Without these, Freedom is an empty name,
And war-worn glory is a glaring shame.
Soon where yon happy future now appears,
Where learning now her glorious temple rears,
Our country's hosts shall round one interest meet,
And her free heart with one proud impulse beat,
One common blood thro' her life's channels flow,
While one great speech her loyal tongue shall know.
And soon, whoever to our bourne shall come,
Jew, Greek or Goth, he here shall be at home.
Then Ign'rance shall forsake her crooked ways,
And poor old Caste there end her feeble days.

12. James M. Trotter, "Fifty-Fourth at Wagner," *Boston Commonwealth*, 8 December 1883,
and *Christian Recorder*, 24 January 1884
"Read at the anniversary exercises of the forty-sixth birthday of the late Robert G. Shaw,
gallant Colonel of the famous 54th Massachusetts Regiment, held under the auspices of
the Shaw Veteran Association, Boston, October 10, 1883"

With Time's sure march came the day at last when slavery's strength
Defiance spoke, seemed all-potential, through the country's length;
In God's own time came the day at last, long much desired,
When black men, armed, themselves and friends with longing fired
To strike the monster wrong avenging deadliest blow;
To give the proof that, in contest with the country's common foe,
The spirit of liberty fills all men's souls, and in them burns alike
While with it all may win when for it all in heart and hand unite.

"To arms! to arms!" with unpent souls, their valorous leaders cried;
"Now call they for help who erst so long, so bitterly denied;
Strike, strike ye for freedom! rush quickly to the fore!
Thy great wrongs now forgot, but be slaves nevermore!"
And so, with gladdened eagerness, in hosts they bravely came
From North, from East, from West, and many, too, from Southern cane,

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These dusky warriors, with life in hand, with purpose great,
To swell our ranks, to charge the foe, and honor give a race and state.

Night had her mantle thrown o'er Charleston's warlike isle;
Silent, grim was Wagner; Sumter, erst thunder-tongued, rested, while
All seemed peace, yet two armies, prepared for devastating fray,
Still, eager vigil kept far more than if 'twere open day.
"To front of column, Massachusetts fifty-fourth!" Thus the order came.
"Tis what we wish!" their gallant Shaw exultingly did quick exclaim;
"With most at stake, my men undaunted now do claim the hour
To glorious victory gain, at least to show no fear of slavery's power."

Momentous hour! A race on trial, which oft in this and other lands
Had filled the deadly breach, had helped to burst foul slavery's hands!
O shades of Attucks, Salem, Hannibal, O grand Toussaint,
Thy valor's lost, thy fame is nought, if these now prove faint!
And so most valiant men, and so heroic leaders went
To meet the enemy's vantage fire behind strong entrenchment;
On, on they charge, who do not fall, none falter as they reach the walls,
'Midst deadly rain of canister, midst piercing rifle-balls!

Not till many scaled the parapet, or waited soldiers' graves,
Though thinned their ranks, their colonel sleeping with his braves,
Paused these black heroes whose standard-bearer's crown
Came in glory, as he cried, "The old flag never touched the ground!"
Alas! that valor, unmindful of wounds or even death's sad blight,
Brought not victory to our worthy arms that fateful night!
Brought not victory? O dull the sight that cannot see
Triumph on a field of glory long held 'gainst odds for liberty!

Ay, noble men, dead and living, O "famous 54,"
In charge through deadly field, o'er fiery ramparts then you bore
A race's honor, its friends' deep hopes, a state's free banner---
These, in thy keeping, were not lost, but saved in glorious manner!

13. Anonymous (possibly George Washington Williams), *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion* (1888), 200
excerpt

Glares the volcanic breath,
Breaks the red sea of death,
From Wagner's yawning hold,
On the besiegers bold.
 Twice vain the wild attack,
 Inch by inch, sadly slow,
 Fights the torn remnant back,
 Face to the foe.

APPENDIX A

Yet free the colors wave,
Borne by you Afric brave,
In the fierce storm wind higher;
But, ah! one flashing fire:
 He sinks! the banner falls
 From the faint, mangled limb,
 And droop to mocking walls
 Those star-folds dim.

Stay, stay the taunting laugh!
See! now he lifts his staff,
Clinched in his close-set teeth,
Crawls from the dead heaps beneath,
 Crowned with his starry robe,
 Till he the ranks has found:
 “Comrades, the dear old flag
 Ne’er touched the ground.”

O man so pure, so grand,
Sidney might clasp thy hand!
O brother! Black thy skin,
But white the pearl within!
 Man, who to lift thy race
 Worthy, thrice worthy art,
 Clasps thee, in warm embrace
 A Nation’s heart.

14. George Clinton Rowe, “The Old Flag” (1890) in *Our Heroes: Patriotic Poems on Men, Women and Sayings of the Negro Race* (Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans, and Cogswell Co., 1890), 47-48

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
The Sergeant cried, with beaming face;
He heeded not the flowing wound,—
That noble hero of our race.

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
Amid the shower of leaden rain,
He dragged his wounded limb along,
Unmindful of the stinging pain.

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
He cried with pride, exultingly;
Admiring comrades gathered round,
And cheered the hero heartily!

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
Brave Carney’s words shall ever live!
Adown the ages shall resound,
A charm, and aspiration give!

APPENDIX A

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
Ah! patriot, hero, brave and pure!
With pride we tell the tale around;
Thy fame and honor shall endure!

Honor to gallant Fifty Fourth!
Honor to color-sergeant, brave!
O'er all our country—South and North,
May stars and stripes forever wave!

“The old flag never touched the ground!”
With joy the golden motto write!
True courage lingers in the sound,
And inspiration in the sight.

15. Paul Laurence Dunbar, “The Colored Soldiers,” *Majors and Minors* (1895)

If the muse were mine to tempt it
And my feeble voice were strong,
If my tongue were trained to measures,
I would sing a stirring song.
I would sing a song heroic
Of those noble sons of Ham,
Of the gallant colored soldiers
Who fought for Uncle Sam!

In the early days you scorned them,
And with many a flip and flout
Said “These battles are the white man’s,
And the whites will fight them out.”
Up the hills you fought and faltered,
In the vales you strove and bled,
While your ears still heard the thunder
Of the foes’ advancing tread.

Then distress fell on the nation,
And the flag was drooping low;
Should the dust pollute your banner?
No! the nation shouted, No!
So when War, in savage triumph,
Spread abroad his funeral pall—
Then you called the colored soldiers,
And they answered to your call.

And like hounds unleashed and eager
For the life blood of the prey,
Sprung they forth and bore them bravely
In the thickest of the fray.
And where'er the fight was hottest,
Where the bullets fastest fell,

APPENDIX A

There they pressed unblanched and fearless
At the very mouth of hell.

Ah, they rallied to the standard
To uphold it by their might;
None were stronger in the labors,
None were braver in the fight.
From the blazing breach of Wagner
To the plains of Olustee,
They were foremost in the fight
Of the battles of the free.

And at Pillow! God have mercy
On the deeds committed there,
And the souls of those poor victims
Sent to Thee without a prayer.
Let the fulness of Thy pity
O'er the hot wrought spirits sway
Of the gallant colored soldiers
Who fell fighting on that day!

Yes, the Blacks enjoy their freedom,
And they won it dearly, too;
For the life blood of their thousands
Did the southern fields bedew.
In the darkness of their bondage,
In the depths of slavery's night,
Their muskets flashed the dawning,
And they fought their way to light.

They were comrades then and brothers,
Are they more or less to-day?
They were good to stop a bullet
And to front the fearful fray.
They were citizens and soldiers,
When rebellion raised its head;
And the traits that made them worthy,—
Ah! those virtues are not dead.

They have shared your nightly vigils,
They have shared your daily toil;
And their blood with yours commingling
Has enriched the Southern soil.

They have slept and marched and suffered
'Neath the same dark skies as you,
They have met as fierce a foeman,
And have been as brave and true.

And their deeds shall find a record
In the registry of Fame;

APPENDIX A

For their blood has cleansed completely
Every blot of Slavery's shame.
So all honor and all glory
To those noble sons of Ham—
The gallant colored soldiers
Who fought for Uncle Sam!¹¹

16. Paul Laurence Dunbar, "Robert Gould Shaw," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1900

Why was it that the thunder voice of Fate
Should call thee, studious, from the classic groves,
Where calm-eyed Pallas with still footstep roves,
And charge thee seek the turmoil of the state?
What bade thee hear the voice and rise elate,
Leave home and kindred and thy spicy loaves,
To lead th' unlettered and despised droves
To manhood's home and thunder at the gate?

Far better the slow blaze of Learning's light,
The cool and quiet of her dearer fane,
Than this hot terror of a hopeless fight,
This cold endurance of the final pain,—
Since thou and those who with thee died for right
Have died, the Present teaches, but in vain!

17. James Weldon Johnson, John Rosamond Johnson, and Bob Cole, "The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground," 1901

When the cry came "Off to war!"
To the front we proudly bore
Dear Old Glory! and we followed it
Amidst the rattling of the rifles
and the cannon's roar.
In the hail of shot and shell,
Comrades all around us fell,
But not once was lower'd in the dust, my boys,
The dear old flag we love so well.

[chorus]
The old flag ever touch'd the ground, boys,
The old flag never touch'd the ground;
Though shot and shell fell all around, boys,
The dear old rag was never downed.
The old flag never touch'd the ground.
Far to the front 'twas ever found;
She's been in many a fix since seventeen seventy-six,

11. Said to have been published in *Dayton Herald*, 8 June 1888, but not located.

APPENDIX A

But the old flag has never touched the ground

In the fiercest of the fight,
Gleaming proudly in the light,
At the front the Stars and Stripes were beck'ning us to strike
A manly blow for Freedom and for Right.
Dear old flag! we bow to thee,
Emblem of sweet Liberty!
May you ever wave as you do now,
A sign of peace and pow'r o'er land and sea.

[added stanza from another source]

'Twas the Blue against the Gray, Boys,
And he said to all around,
"I've only done my duty boys,
The old Flag never touch'd the ground.
I've only done my duty boys,"
He said to all around,
"I've only done my duty boys,
It never touched the ground."

18. Charles Fred. White, "Plea of the Negro Soldier," *Springfield Republican*, 16 February 1907, *Guardian* (Boston), 23 February 1907, and *Plea of the Negro Soldier and a Hundred Other Poems* (Easthampton, MA: Enterprise Printing Co., 1908), 140-44

America, ungrateful land!
Whose treacherous soil my blood has dyed,
Whose wealth my father's shackled hand
Has hoarded up, who has denied

Me right to live, to vote, to learn,
Whose laws protect me not from wrong,
Who will permit me not to earn
An honest living, who in song

Doth boast a land of freedom, but
Whose flag waves o'er a land of crime,
The makers of whose law unjust
Themselves are stained with blood and slime

Of murders, lynchings, rape and lies
And who, while yet the sacred oath
Of office on their vile lips lies,
Will lead a mob of comrades forth

To take some negro, innocent,
Accused perhaps, but never tried,
From custody of government
And burn him, to a pillar tied.

APPENDIX A

I fear the dawning of thy doom:
I hear the voice of justice cry
From out this wilderness of gloom:
I see the dark clouds in the sky.

From Boston massacre, my blood
Through all the channels of thy war
Has mingled with thy crimson flood;
Through Yorktown, Erie, Wagner,—far

To El Caney and San Juan Hill,
Where, midst the charges awful din,
With song our voice the air did fill
And make that song a battle hymn.—
The Philippines, so dearly bought,
Are strewn with bodies of my kind;
My comrades have thy glory wrought
In war, in peace, with skill and vim.

'Twas I who rescued from the urn
Of death thy fickle soldier chief;
Tis he who gives me in return
Disgrace, dishonor, no relief

From poverty my feeble years
Must bring me soon; he who deprives
Me of support retirement rears
Up for her faithful soldiers' lives.

My thirty years of living death
In bloody war avail me naught
When prejudice and perjured breath
Of Brownsville 'gainst my name is brought.

And dost thou yet, ungrateful land
Expect my blood and kin to stand
In cowered silence, while thy hand
Continues to despoil our band?

May God forbid that of my race
A single child shall e'er disgrace
His native land, the resting place
Of martyred kin, by fear to face

Injustice by whomever thrown.
The ancient Plebeians of Rome
For treatment such renounced their home
And sought the Sacred Mountain's dome.

The colonies of George the Third
To less injustice war preferred

APPENDIX A

And fired,—the while the world concurred,—
The shot which round the earth was heard.

Republic cannot long endure
When autocrat can feel secure
To heap injustice on the poor
Or helpless; ruin follows sure.

Three centuries have near rolled by
Since first our fathers' mournful cry
And clank of chains rose to thy sky.
Nor yet have found just cause to die.

Our voice of protest shall not cease
Until thy unjust bonds release
Our rights, that our lives may increase
In riches, happiness and peace.

But I, alas! have given all
In answer to thy urgent call,
Exposed my life to sword and ball,
And now, as o'er me creeps the fall

Of life, I find no recompense
But base discharge, with no defense
Through which to prove my innocence,
Though I've committed no offense.

For this I've given up my home
O'er hapless battle-fields to roam,
I've crossed the ocean's hungry foam,
I've fought disease in hostile loam.

O God of justice and of right!
If thou are deaf and has no sight,
Lend me Thy weapons and Thy might,
That this last battle I may fight.

19. Olivia Ward Bush-Banks, "Carney, The Brave Standard Bearer," n.d. (1899–1914)

'Twas a time of fiercest conflict,
Enmity and awful woe,
'Twixt the North, the friend of Freedom,
And the South, its bitter foe.

Day by day, the roar of battle
Sounded forth its deathlike knell,
Day by day the best and bravest
Died, amid the shot and shell.

APPENDIX A

Foremost in the ranks of warriors,
Our black heroes took their place,
With the lines of fearless courage,
Stamped upon each dusky face.

We recall with pride, the story
Of the gallant Fifty-fourth,
Fighting on the field at Wagner,
With the brave ones of the North.

There the dauntless William Carney,
In the Union's sacred name,
Held aloft the flying colors,
Won a never-dying fame.

He was first to plant the standard,
On the fort he raised it high,
And he watched the floating banner,
With a patriot's jealous eye.

Mid retreat and dire confusion,
Oh! not once did he forget;
But he snatched the royal emblem
From the lofty parapet.

On his knees he bravely followed,
With one hand pressed to his side,
While the other, held the colors,
Borne with patriotic pride.

What a cheer went up for Carney,
As he held the colors high,
While a soldier's admiration,
Beamed in every comrade's eye.

"Boys! I have but done my duty,"
Carney said to those around,
"I have brought the old flag safely,
And it never touched the ground."

'Twas a deed both brave and noble,
And the loyal patriot's name,
Lives to-day and will forever,
In our memories remain.

We can ne'er forget this hero,
Or the gallant Fifty-Fourth,
Fighting on the field at Wagner,
With the brave ones of the North.

APPENDIX A

20. Henrietta Cordelia Ray, "Robert G. Shaw," 1910

When War's red banners trailed along the sky,
And many a manly heart grew all aflame
With patriotic love and purest aim,
There rose a noble soul who dared to die,
If only Right could win. He heard the cry
Of struggling bondmen and he quickly came,
Leaving the haunts where Learning tenders fame
Unto her honored sons; for it was ay
A loftier cause that lured him on to death.
Brave men who saw their brothers held in chains,
Beneath his standard battled ardently.
O friend! O hero! thou who yielded breath
That others might share Freedom's priceless gains,
In rev'rent love we guard thy memory.

21. Benjamin Griffith Brawley, "My Hero," 1914, in James Weldon Johnson, ed., *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922), 197–98

My Hero
(To Robert Gould Shaw)

Flushed with the hope of high desire,
He buckled on his sword,
To dare the rampart ranged with fire,
Or where the thunder roared;
Into the smoke and flame he went,
For God's great cause to die—
A youth of heaven's element,
The flower of chivalry.
This was the gallant faith, I trow,
Of which the sages tell;
On such devotion long ago
The benediction fell;
And never nobler martyr burned,
Or braver hero died,
Than he who worldly honor spurned
To serve the Crucified.
And Lancelot and Sir Belvidere
May pass beyond the pale,
And wander over moor and mere
To find the Holy Grail;
But ever yet the prize forsooth
My hero holds in fee;
And he is Blameless Knight in truth,
And Galahad to me.

Appendix B

Other Tributes in Verse¹

1. Anonymous, "To the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. From the Commonwealth," *Anglo-African*, 30 May 1863, 1

America has owned you Men at last!
Plough that confession in by noble deed,
And reverence for your race shall from the seed
Grow up to grandeur strong, and rooted fast.
O ye have high incitement! Hear the Past
Implore you by its sorrow, wrong and shame
The Future, that will blossom in your fame,
Attends your act. Behold a concourse vast,
The unborn myriads of your race are there,
Are tented with you; hands unseen reach out
Innumerable, the soldier's gun to share;
While angels of man's destiny about
Your standards throng, and with a secret shout,
When ye are noble, fill to heaven the air.

2. George William Curtis, "The American Flag: To Col. Robert G. Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers," *Harper's Weekly*, 13 June 1863, 371

At last, at last, each glowing star
 In that pure field of heavenly blue,
On every people shining far,
 Burns, to its utmost promise true.

Hopes in our fathers' hearts that stirred,
 Justice, the seal of peace, long scorned,
O perfect peace! too long deferred,
 At last, at last, your day has dawned.

Your day has dawned, but many an hour
 Of storm and cloud, of doubt and tears,
Across the eternal sky must lower,
 Before the glorious noon appears.

And not for us that noontide glow,
 For us the strife and toil shall be;
But welcome toil, for now we know
 Our children shall that glory see.

1. This appendix includes 33 verses, 2 written before Wagner; 10 between Wagner and end of 1863; 11 written from early 1864 to Shaw unveiling, and 10 written after unveiling. Twenty-seven mention or are named for Shaw; 2 mention or are named for Carney; 6 mention or are named for the 54th Regiment.

APPENDIX B

At last, at last, O Stars and Stripes!
Touched in your birth by Freedom's flame,
Your purifying lightning wipes
Out from our history its shame.

Stand to your faith, America!
Sad Europe listen to our call!
Up to your manhood, Africa!
That gracious flag floats over all.

And when the hour seems dark with doom,
Our sacred banner, lifted higher,
Shall flash away the gathering gloom,
With inextinguishable fire.

Pure as its white the future see!
Bright as its red is now the sky!
Fixed as its stars the faith shall be,
That nerves our hands to do or die.

May, 1863²

3. W. M. F., "On Seeing the 54th and 55th Massachusetts (Black) Regiments," *Liberator*, 14 August 1863, 4; *Anglo-African*, 22 August 1863, 4

I saw a gathering cloud—light shone upon it—
Rising portentous, black with threatening power,
A thousand thunderbolts seemed hid within it,
Ready to strike and signalize the hour.

Long had we waited, dallied with the foe,
And seen the thousands of our country falling,
Nor dared to strike the fierce effective blow
For what th' eternal God seemed ever calling.

At last we rallied! Fate-like, just and awful,
Pouring along our streets the solemn host,—
No longer in derision spoke the scornful,
The serried columns came—stern Freedom's boast!

From many a Southern field they trembling came,
Fled from the lash, the fetter, and the chain;
Return they, now, not at base Slavery's claim,
To meet th' oppressor on the battle plain.

They lift the flag—the starry banner waves
From out that throng of Afric's darkened van;

2. Also published in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 5 March 1864 (where "glowing" in first line is "flowing"); *Anglo-African*, 19 March 1864, 4; and *Liberator*, 18 March 1864, 4.

APPENDIX B

Thousands of bayonets foretell the graves
Where they must lie who spurn the rights of man!

Ah! never yet was Justice seen more fitting,
Her whips, scorns, terrors, more divinely sent;
And never yet her graceful form found sitting
In more poetic sense of punishment.

And ne'er before, in all *our* history,
Has truer glory from that banner shone,
Of manlier sons, with high toned minstrelsy,
Exultant in the march to honor gone.

It is the hour, the dread, foretelling hour,
O the great trial of the nation's heart:
From *Afric's self*, perchance, shall spring a power
From which, at last, the guilty foe shall start!

Contagious, dreadful, spreading far and wide,
Ere long this cloud, so threatening in our wake,
O'er the South heavens shall spread, and woe betide
The base-born minions where its thunders break!

Boston, Mass.

W. M. F.³

4. Epes Sargent, "Colonel Shaw: On Hearing That the Rebels Had Buried His Body under a Pile of Twenty-five Negroes," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 4 August 1863

Ignoble hate defeating its own ends!
The act that mean dishonor working glory!
Could any mausoleum built by hands
Lift his sweet memory nearer to the heavens,
Or give it such a precious consecration
In any heart which Love has purified!
O! young and sainted martyr! let them pile
Whole hecatombs of dead upon thy ashes;
They cannot bar God's angels from receiving
Thy radiant spirit with diviner welcomes;
They cannot cover from celestial eyes
The sacrifice that bears thee close to Christ!

Did I not see thee on that day in spring—
Leading thy sable thousands through our streets?
Braving the scorn, and (what was worse) the pity
Of many backward hearts—yet cheered with bravos
From those who scanned the great significance
Of thy devoted daring—saw the crown

3. Race of author has not been determined; five men bear these initials in the 1861 Boston directory.

APPENDIX B

Behind the cross—behind the shame the glory?
Behind the imminent death the life immortal?

Weep not, heroic parents! Be consoled!
Think of thy loved one's gain, lamenting wife,
And let a holy pride o'ermaster grief!
All that could perish of him—let it lie
There where the smoke from Sumter's bellowing guns
Curls o'er the grave which no commingled dust
Can make less sacred. Soon his monument
Shall be the old flag waving and proclaiming
To the whole world that the great cause he died for
Has nobly triumphed—that the hideous Power,
Hell-born, that would disgrace him, has been hurled
Into the pit it hollowed for the Nation—
That the Republic stands redeemed and pure
Justice enthroned—and not one child of God
Robbed of his birthright, freedom!⁴

5. A. H. Hoyt, "Storming of Fort Wagner," *Anglo-African*, 8 August 1863

"The colored regiment under Col. Shaw led the attack with the most determined spirit. A large number of its men fell with its leader."

Who bids for Africa one tear,
 A pearly tribute to her dead?
Who wreaths a flower to deck the bier
 Of those whose daring onward led
The deadly onset of the brave
If Freedom's flag might o'er them wave?

Oh, speak not in this hour of grief
 Of clannish lines the selfish see,
The horse who nobly bears his chief
 Deserves the meed of chivalry;
So, African, land of the sun,
Asks for the honor she has won.

Shall obelisks upon her soil
 Speak of her ancient arts and power?
And while her sons, thro' blood and toil,
 Defied the horrors of that hour,
When stoutest hearts quailed in the storm
That crush'd a thousand bosoms warm.

4. Also appeared in E. S. "Colonel Shaw," *Liberator*, 14 August 1863; "Freedom's Hero Honored," *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897; *New York Tribune*, 7 August 1863, 2 (from the *Boston Transcript*), signed "E. S. Boston Aug. 3." Punctuation varies slightly.

APPENDIX B

Hail to the chiefs! who nobly led
 Amid the arms the lurid flash,
And hail the brave! whose clay cold bed
 Lies in the isle whose billows dash
Where Sumter called forth Freedom's host
To meet the foe, or all was lost.

Shall those who clutch'd the British sword,
 When flash'd it o'er our well loved land,
And turned its point till Europe heard
 The Shout for Freedom from our strand,
As sung each billow on the shore,
"Brittania rules the waves no more."

A deadlier strife was ours to win,
 For Freedom's sun at zenith shone,
And loftier hopes their date begin
 Than when the morning star alone
Comes feebly with the light of day,
Glinting the clouds that round it play.

Hail to the names on that high scroll,
 Imperishable of deathless fame!
Where every man that hath a soul
 Shall boldly dare to write his name
As witness that no craven brand
Shall mark the brave of Afric's land.

A cenotaph of adamant
 Shall rise till time no more shall be,
And history's page at last shall grant
 These men were sons of liberty;
And who among their foes shall dare
To blot the record written there?

No! from each tropic hill and dale,
 Each jungly depth and pathless wild,
O'er waves where once the slave ship sail'd,
 Shall rise the song of Afric's child,
"When Sumter woke the warlike earth
She gave to Africa her birth."⁵

5. Author was possibly Azor Hilton Hoyt, born in New York City in 1842. He enlisted when he was 19 in the 100th New York and was described in regimental history as a "vigorous writer" who published letters during the war in *New York Tribune* and *New York Times*. Hoyt was wounded at Fort Darling on 14 May 1864 and died two days later. See George H. Stowits, *History of the One Hundredth Regiment of New York State Volunteers* (Buffalo: Matthews & Warren, 1870), 381–82.

APPENDIX B

6. Ellen Murray, "Col. Robert G. Shaw," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, reprinted in *Anglo-African*, 29 August 1863

"How did he die?" we asked. His comrades turned away,
With trembling lips that scarce the mournful words could say:
"How did he die?" His men, with sudden energy,
Answered from low cot beds: "We only seem to see,
In waking and in dreams, his bright form on the wall,
And hear in every wind his well-known rallying call."

"How did he die?" the foe made answer brief: "He died;
We laid him 'neath the earth, his soldiers by his side."
And none can ever know if parting word or prayer
Breathed from his dying lips upon that smoke-filled air.

We know but how he lived—that young and gallant form,
Breasting, with dauntless brow, the battle's fiercest storm,
And shouting to his men the "Onward," which shall be
Henceforth to them the voice of beckoning victory.

Over the conquered heap of citadel and town
His troops shall yet rush on, bearing oppression down,
And when their deeds are praised, point to a low grave then,
Saying, "We end *their* work—our Colonel and his men."

On the fair Saxon brow, upon the sunny hair,
The South sand lieth warm, and those his rest who share
Are fitting body-guard, none nobler could we crave,
To glorify the spot and share the hero's grave.

7. Lucy E. Akerman, "Colonel Robert G. Shaw," in *Nothing but Leaves and Other Poems* (Providence, RI: Rhode Island Printing Company for George T. Paine, 1875), 65

"The Rebels buried him under twenty-five of his coloured soldiers."

Egyptian marble! Thus they raised
His monumental pile.
'Twas meant in scorn; they did not see
The glory-rays meanwhile.

They could not see—their eyes were closed;
Nor hear—their ears were sealed—
The song of triumph that went up
From that dread battle-field.

High, high it rose to Heaven's courts,
Telling of duty done,
Self-sacrifice for conscience sake,—
A martyr's crown thus won

APPENDIX B

More costly tomb he could not have,—
 Built with human hearts!
Resplendent light will linger there
 Till Time itself departs.

O, erring men! and did ye think
 That ye could war with God?
The hero-martyr passed to heaven;
 Ye wait beneath the rod.⁶

8. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Voluntaries," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1863

I.
Low and mournful be the strain,
Haughty thought be far from me;
Tones of penitence and pain,
Moanings of the Tropic sea;
Low and tender in the cell
Where a captive sits in chains,
Crooning ditties treasured well
From his Afric's torrid plains.
Sole estate his sire bequeathed —
Hapless sire to hapless son —
Was the wailing song he breathed,
And his chain when life was done.
What his fault, or what his crime?
Or what ill planet crossed his prime?
Heart too soft and will too weak
To front the fate that fetches near, —
Dove beneath the vulture's beak; —
Will song dissuade the thirsty spear?
Dragged from his mother's arms and breast,
Displaced, disfurnished here,
His wistful toil to do his best
Chilled by a ribald jeer.
Great men in the Senate sate,
Sage and hero, side by side,
Building for their sons the State
Which they shall rule with pride.
They forebore to break the chain
Which bound the dusky tribe,
Checked by the owners' fierce disdain,
Lured by "Union" as the bribe.
Destiny sat by, and said,
"Pang for pang your seed shall pay,

6. Published with dateline Providence, RI, 12 September 1863, in *Christian Inquirer* and reprinted anonymously in *Memorial R.G.S.*, 114.

APPENDIX B

Hide in false peace your coward head,
I bring round the harvest-day.”

II.

Freedom all winged expands,
Nor perches in a narrow place,
Her broad van seeks unplanted lands,
She loves a poor and virtuous race.
Clinging to the colder zone
Whose dark sky sheds the snow-flake down,
The snow-flake is her banner's star,
Her stripes the boreal streamers are.
Long she loved the Northman well;
Now the iron age is done,
She will not refuse to dwell
With the offspring of the Sun
Foundling of the desert far,
Where palms plume and siroccos blaze,
He roves unhurt the burning ways
In climates of the summer star.
He has avenues to God
Hid from men of northern brain,
Far beholding, without cloud,
What these with slowest steps attain.
If once the generous chief arrive
To lead him willing to be led,
For freedom he will strike and strive,
And drain his heart till he be dead.

III.

In an age of fops and toys,
Wanting wisdom, void of right,
Who shall nerve heroic boys
To hazard all in Freedom's fight, —
Break sharply off their jolly games,
Forsake their comrades gay,
And quit proud homes and youthful dames,
For famine, toil, and fray?
Yet on the nimble air benign
Speed nimbler messages,
That waft the breath of grace divine
To hearts in sloth and ease.
So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, *Thou must,*
The youth replies, *I can.*

IV.

Oh, well for the fortunate soul
Which Music's wings infold,
Stealing away the memory

APPENDIX B

Of sorrows new and old!
Yet happier he whose inward sight,
Stayed on his subtile thought,
Shuts his sense on toys of time,
To vacant bosoms brought.
But best befriended of the God
He who, in evil times,
Warned by an inward voice,
Heeds not the darkness and the dread,
Biding by his rule and choice,
Feeling only the fiery thread
Leading over heroic ground,
Walled with mortal terror round,
To the aim which him allures,
And the sweet heaven his deed secures.
Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this, — and knows no more, —
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore,
Justice after as before, —
And he who battles on her side,
— God — though he were ten times slain —
Crowns him victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain;
Forever: but his erring foe,
Self-assured that he prevails,
Looks from his victim lying low,
And sees aloft the red right arm
Redress the eternal scales.
He, the poor foe, whom angels foil,
Blind with pride, and fooled by hate,
Writhes within the dragon coil,
Reserved to a speechless fate.

V.
Blooms the laurel which belongs
To the valiant chief who fights;
I see the wreath, I hear the songs
Lauding the Eternal Rights,
Victors over daily wrongs:
Awful victors, they misguide
Whom they will destroy,
And their coming triumph hide
In our downfall, or our joy:
Speak it firmly, — these are gods,
All are ghosts beside.

APPENDIX B

9. J. Warren Newcomb Jr., "A Monument to Colonel Shaw," New York, 8 October 1863, *New York Tribune*, 21 October 1863

What need to raise above the Hero's grave
A monument of marble that shall tell
How well he fought, how gallantly he fell?
In all our hearts there rises to the brave
A love and reverence, that through future years
Shall stand a monument, wet with tears
Of those who prize true valour. And the foe,
Who buried him beneath their trait'rous sod,
Cursing his soul, that fled way to God,
Have, in their madness, honoured him.—For, lo!
There rises o'er the sleeping Hero's head
A glorious monument of noble dead.
The bones of those black soldiers, who with him
Charged into Death, and met it, calm and grim,
Lie silent there above him, and the bones
More honor give than sculptor's graven stones.
Let marble rise there, also; but the dead
Form still a nobler pile above his head.⁷

10. L. H., "To Robert Gould Shaw. Buried by South Carolinians under a pile of twenty-four Negroes," *Liberator*, 30 October 1863, 4, from *New York Evening Post*; and *Anglo-African*, 31 October 1863

On Alaric, buried in Busento's bed,
The slaves, the stream who turned, were butchered thrown
That, so his grave eternally unknown,
No mortal on the scourge of God might tread.

Thou, nobler hero, nobler grave hast won,
In Wagner's trench, beneath brave freemen hid,
By Vandals on thee piled,—a pyramid,
That to all coming time shall make thee known.

In death, as life, round thee their guard they keep;
And, when next time they hear the trumpet's sound,
Will they, with thee, on heaven's parapet leap:
The four-and-twenty elders on the ground
Their crowns before thy lowly comrades lay,
While "Come up higher, Friend!" thou hear'st God say.

Cambridge, Mass. L. H. / N.Y. Evening Post

7. Also appeared in *Memorial R. G. S.*, 113, with author as J.W.N.

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11. Elizabeth B. Sedgwick, "Buried with His Niggers," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 31 October 1863, 4, and *Anglo-African*, 7 November 1863, 4

"Buried with His Niggers!"

When the body of Colonel Robert G. Shaw was asked of those Rebels in the midst of whom he fell, it was replied, 'He is buried with his niggers.'

Buried with a band of brothers
Who for him would fain have died;
Buried with the gallant fellows
Who fell fighting by his side.

Buried with the men God gave him,
Those whom he was sent to save;
Buried with the martyred heroes,
He has found an honoured grave.

Buried where his dust so precious
Makes the soil a hallowed spot;
Buried where, by Christian patriot,
He shall never be forgot.

Buried in the ground accursed,
Which man's fettered feet have trod
Buried where his voice still speaketh,
Appealing for the slave, to God.

Fare thee well, thou noble warrior,
Who in youthful beauty went
On a high and holy mission,
By the God of Battles sent.

Chose of Him, "elect and precious,"
Well didst thou fulfil [sic] thy part;
When thy country Counts her jewels,"
She shall wear thee on her heart.

12. Anna Quincy Waterston, "Together," 1863, in *Verses* (1863)

A tribute to Colonel Robert G. Shaw, who fell, July 18, 1863, at Fort Wagner, at the head of his brave colored men of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment

O fair-haired Northern hero,
With thy guard of dusky hue!
Up from the field of battle
Rise to the last review.

Sweep downward, holy angels,
In legions dazzling bright,

APPENDIX B

And bear these souls together
Before Christ's throne of light.

The Master, who remembers
The cross, the thorns, the spear,
Smiles on the risen Freedman,
As their ransomed souls appear.

And thou, young, generous spirit,
What will thy welcome be?
"Thou has aided the down-trodden,
Thou has done it unto Me."

13. James Russell Lowell, "Memoriae Positum R. G. S." *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1864

I

Beneath the trees,
My life-long friends in this dear spot,
Sad now for eyes that see them not,
I hear the autumnal breeze
Wake the sear leaves to sign for gladness gone,
Whispering hoarse presage of oblivion,—
Hear, restless as the seas,
Time's grim feet rustling through the withered grace
Of many a spreading realm and strong-stemmed race,
Even as my own through these.

Why make we moan
For loss that doth enrich us yet
With upward yearnings of regret?
Bleaker than unmossed stone
Our lives were, but for this immortal gain
Of unstilled longing and inspiring pain!
As thrills of long-hushed tone
Live in the viol, so our souls grow fine
With keen vibrations from the touch divine
Of noble natures gone

'T were indiscreet
To vex the shy and sacred grief
With harsh obtrusions of relief;
Yet, Verse, with noiseless feet,
Go whisper: '*This* death hath far choicer ends
Than slowly to impearl in hearts of friends;
These obsequies 't is meet
Not to seclude in closets of the heart,
But, church-like, with wide door-ways, to impart
Even to the heedless street.'

APPENDIX B

II

Brave, good, and true,
I see him stand before me now,
And read again on that clear brow,
Where victory's signal flew,
How sweet were life! Yet, by the mouth firm-set
And look made up for Duty's utmost debt,
I could divine he knew
That death within the sulphurous hostile lines,
In the mere wreck of nobly pitched designs,
Pluck's heart's-ease, and not true.

Happy their end
Who vanish down life's evening stream,
Placid as swans that drift in dream
Round the next river-bend!
Happy long life, with honor at the close,
Friends' painless tears, the softened thought of foes!
And yet, like him, to spend
All at a gush, keeping our first faith sure
From mid-life's doubt and old's contentment poor,—
What more could Fortune send?

Right in the van,
On the red rampart's slippery swell,
With heart that beat a charge, he fell
Foeward, as fits a man:
But the high soul burns on to light men's feet
Where death for noble needs makes dying sweet;
His life her crescent's span
Orbs full with share in their undarkening days
Who ever climbed that battailous steeps of praise
Since valor's praise began

III

His life's expense
Hath won for him coeval youth
With the immaculate prime of Truth;
While we, who make pretence
At living on, and wake and eat and sleep,
And life's stale trick by repetition keep,
Our fickle permanence
(A poor leaf-shadow on a brook, whose play
Of busy idlesse ceases with our day)
Is the mere cheat of sense.

We bide our chance
Unhappy, and make terms with Fate
A little more to let us wait;
He leads for aye the advance,
Hope's forlorn-hopes that plant the desperate good

APPENDIX B

For nobler Earths and days of manlier mood;
Our wall of circumstance
Cleared at a bound, he flashes o'er the fight,
A saintly shape of fame, to cheer the right
And steel each wavering glance.

I write of one,
While with dim eyes I think of three:
Who weeps not others fair and brave as he?
Ah, when the fight is won,
Dear Land, whom triflers now make bold to scorn,
(Thee! from whose forehead Earth awaits her morn!)
How nobler shall the sun
Flame in thy sky, how braver breathe thy air,
That thou bred'st children who for thee could dare
And die as thine have done!

14. Celia Abbott, "Tribute: To the Massachusetts 54th (Colored), at Wagner," *Anglo-African*, 23
January 1864, 4, from *American Baptist*

Fling weapons now in Ignominy's face,
Dauntless defenders of the "outcast" race!
So much for what is bearing on apace.
Fill up the rank;
Press on, press on, ye braves, to victory;
Bear on to death for smiling Liberty,
To prove your manhood, and to make right free,
Whose way is dank.

Humid to-day with tears of wearied life,
Grievously lain down in the nameless strife
With which the past oppression's years were rife—
Forget the sin!
Nor yet forget it, for the blood ye bear;
Strike to the tyrant's heart this quaint despair,
This whirlwind fruit, upgrown to harvest where
Such seed hath been.

Let those look on who've caviled at the cause,
Say Afric's blood flows not by common laws,
Then veil their faces in the cannon's pause!
Lo! there they stand,
And there they fall, and there rush on amain—
The sable warriors for the sable slain!
What brooding charm is where the death-fires flame
For that doomed band?
O seer! what spell doth yonder rampart bear?
Is Shaw's dear name alone so potent there—
Or fallen Shaw enough to bind them where
That banner waves?

APPENDIX B

Oh, no! but higher, holier than the flame
That glows in friendship round the honored name,
They heed the earnest of his voice who came
 In other days,
Bidding his children harness for the fight;
Who went before them in the fire by night,
And all the day rode on the clouds in sight;
 Who cleft the sea,
Piled its red waves in wall on either hand,
Then poured the swollen tide on Egypt's band!
They feel the mandate sounding through the land
 —Be free! be free!

Their eager visions through the dimness flee;
They see, where yonder deadly billows be,
The likeness of the God of Galilee
 Walking the fire.
Think you their hearts could fail, when freedom's soul
Wrote Toussaint's name upon her martyr scroll?
Read more, doubtless, and let truth's anthem roll
 On, upward, higher.

O bosom of the great deep! for the dead
Strewn by oppression's minions on thy bed;
O South! for graves of those in chains who've bled,
 O weary North!
Prone to the dust for despot rule so long—
Write on your banner, where the red stripes throng,
How Afric's heroes die to conquer wrong!
Carry it forth!

Imprint it on the livid, bannered sky!
New England's granite strikes the triumph high;
The silver bells of Liberty reply:
 "Great is the Lord,
And greatly to be praised;" for he rides
Omniscient where the battle-storm abides,
And omnipresent where the tyrant hides.
 Strong is His sword.

Dear sable heroes! as ye onward sweep
Into the arms of death, or torture's keep,
For this great cause, and fall like slaughtered sheep—
 Brave and true men,
We deem the heaven's great heart grows rent and sore
For the bold host that will return no more,
And that the inveterate days will soon be o'er.
 What would ye then?

APPENDIX B

What meed, strong soldiers on this matchless age?
We'll write your deeds on history's living page—
We, children of the free, the bard, the sage;
 And Freedom's hand
Will twine in chaplet for your brows, dear braves,
And strew upon your monumental graves
The dearest flowers that grow, when blood o'erlaves
 No more the land.

But God, who notes the fall of all the blood
Poured out for Truth, will name the nameless flood,
And crown the names of all the nameless good.
 Faith living braves—

Survivors of that band! the eagle's cry,
The shriek of freedom in her native sky,
Is heard and answered, and shall not die.
 Victory! God saves!

15. Henry Howard Brownell, "Bury Them," *Anglo-African*, 6 February 1864, from *Hartford Evening Press* and not signed

Wagner, July 18th, 1863

—
Bury the Dragon's teeth!
 Bury them deep and dark!
 The incisors swart and stark,
 The molars heavy and dark—
And the one white Fang underneath!

Bury the Hope forlorn!
 Never shudder to fling,
With its fellows dusky and worn,
 The strong and beautiful thing,
(Pallid ivory and pearl!)
 Into the horrible Pit—
Hurry it in, and hurl
 All the rest over it!

Trample them, clod by clod,
 Stamp them in dust amain!
 The cupsids, cruent and red
 That the Monster, Freedom, shed
On the sacred, strong Slave sod—
 They never shall rise again!

APPENDIX B

Never?—what hideous growth
Is sprouting through clod and clay?
What Terror starts to the day?
A drop of steel, on our oath!
How the burnished stamens glance!—
Spike, and ather, and blade,
How they burst from the bloody shade,
And spindle to spear and lance!

There are tassels of blood-red maize—
How the horrible harvest grows!
'Tis sabres that glint and daze—
'Tis bayonets all ablaze
Uprearing in dreadful rows!

For one that we buried there,
A thousand are come to air!
Ever, by door-stone and hearth,
They break from the angry earth—
And out of the crimson sand,
Where the cold white Fang was laid,
Rises a terrible Shade,
The warth of the sleepless Brand!

And our hearts wax strange and chill,
With an ominous shudder and thrill,
Even here, on the strong Slave-Sod,
Lest, haply, we be found
(Ah, dread no brave hath drowned!)
Fighting against Great God.

16. Phoebe Cary, "The Hero of Fort Wagner," possibly 1864

FORT Wagner ! that is a place for us
To remember well, my lad !
For us, who were under the guns, and know
The bloody work we had.

That was the spot where our gallant Shaw
Was left among the dead;
"Buried under his niggers;" so
The foul-mouthed traitors said.

I should not speak to one so young,
Perhaps, as I do to you ;
But you are a soldier's son, my boy,
And you know what soldiers do.

APPENDIX B

And when peace comes to our land again,
 And your father sits in his home,
You will hear such tales of war as this,
 For many a year to come.

We were repulsed from the Fort, you know,
 And saw our heroes fall,
Till the dead were piled in bloody heaps
 Under the frowning wall.

Yet crushed as we were and beaten back,
 Our spirits never bowed;
And gallant deeds that day were done
 To make a soldier proud.

Brave men were there, for their country's sake
 To spend their latest breath;
But the bravest was one who gave his life
 And his body after death.

No greater words than his dying ones
 Have been spoken under the sun;
Not even his who brought the news
 On the field at Ratisbon.

I was pressing up, to try if yet
 Our men might take the place,
And my feet had slipped in his oozing blood
 Before I saw his face.

His face ! it was black as the skies o'erhead
 With the smoke of the angry guns ;
And a gash in his bosom showed the work
 Of our country's traitor sons.

"Your pardon, my poor boy," I said,
 "I did not see you here ;
But I will not hurt you as I pass ;
 I'll have a care ; no fear."

He smiled ; he had only strength to say
 These words, and that was all :
"I'm done gone, Massa ; step on me ;
 And you can scale the wall !"⁸

8. Published as "An Incident of Fort Wagner," *New York Evening Post*, undated clipping on reel 14, 54th Regiment Records, , MHS.

APPENDIX B

17. Mrs. Marian A. Bigelow, "The Martyr of Freedom, Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Anglo-African*, 30 April 1864, 4, from *Northern Christian Advocate*

Fair in his manhood, an offering he made;
 Youthful ambition and talents so high,
All on his country's red altar he laid,
 Battling for freedom, for freedom to die.
Beautiful martyr of freedom he stood,
 Surrounded by those, the oppressed and the brave;
And blest with the wishes and prayers of the good,
 How early alas! he has gone to the grave.

Far south in a city of traitors he fought,
 While storming a stronghold of rebels he died;
Winning fresh laurels he heeded them not,
 With a race of oppressed and down-trodden allied.

The oppressed were his brethren—he thought he beheld
 The star of their freedom arise to his view;
The oppressed were his comrades and there where he fell,
 With a band of true-hearted they buried him too.

His name shall in grateful remembrance be held,
 In the heart of his country his valor shall live;
In the contest for right and for justice he fell,
 And the fame he has earned is the guerdon we give.

There's a circle, alas! where they mourn for him now,
 The friends of his hearth-stone, the friends of his heart;
There's one with the orange wreath fresh on her brow,
 How sad that young and the gifted should part.

Our country will mourn her illustrious dead,
 The banner he loved will be drooping and low;
And when tyranny hides from the land her dark head,
 And we shall have conquered the traitorous foe;

When the stars of our Union shall brightly shine forth,
 And this wicked rebellion be linked with the past;
When the bright rays of freedom streaming over the North,
 Dispel all the shadows that slavery has cast;

Then history shall gather up deeds of the brave,
 And with pen of the diamond engraven them here;
And to those who have cared for and pitied the slave,
 Shall the Martyr of Freedom forever be dear.

APPENDIX B

18. Martha Perry Lowe, "The Picture of Colonel Shaw in Boston," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 10 November 1864, 2, and *Liberator*, 25 November 1864, 4

The Picture of Col. Shaw in Boston

Buried with his negroes in the trench!—
There he lies, a score of them around him;
All the fires of bondage this shall quench;
Could a monument so well have crowned him?

Sight to make a father's bosom throb—
There he stands upon a canvas glowing!
Sight to make a noble mother sob—
Tender eyes, their glances on her throwing!

There he stands, so eloquent and mute,
Modest, and yet looking in our faces,
Undisturbed and calmly, as doth suit
One who did not ask the world's high places!

There he gazes, soldier-like and bold,
Not a whit ashamed to die with him—
Him, a man of color, bought and sold;
Not a bit ashamed to lie with him!

Look upon him, Nation of the free!
Surely this shall cure thee of thy meanness;
Look upon him, Nation yet to be,
Crying out remorseful, "Oh, my leanness!"

Sleep serenely, with thy country's sigh,
Noble martyr to the nation given!
With thy little company on high,
Thou shalt traverse all the plains of Heaven!

19. Anna Quincy Waterston, "Edmonia Lewis," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 24 December 1864; *Liberator*, 16 December 1864, 4

Edmonia Lewis.

[The young colored woman who has successfully modelled the bust of Colonel Shaw]

She hath wrought well with her unpractised hand,
The mirror of her thought reflected clear,
This youthful hero-martyr of our land.
With touch harmonious she has moulded here
A memory and a prophecy—both dear:
The memory of one who was so pure
That God gave him (what only can belong
To an unsullied soul) the right to be

APPENDIX B

A leader for all time in Freedom's chivalry;
The prophecy of that wide, wholesome cure
For foul distrust and, cruel wrong,
Which he did give his life up to secure.
'Tis fitting that a daughter of the race
Whose chains are breaking should receive a gift
So rare as genius. Neither power nor place,
Fashion or wealth, pride, custom, caste, nor hue
Can arrogantly claim what God doth lift
Above these chances, and bestows on few.

20. George Henry Boker, "Col. Robert G. Shaw," *Liberator*, 24 March 1865, 4

"An esteemed friend encloses, for the Liberator, the following expressive poem, written by a young lady in Florence, Italy"

Col. Robert G. Shaw

They "buried him with his niggers"—
Together they fought and died;
There was room for them all where they laid him—
The grave was deep and wide
For *his* beauty, and youth, and valor—
Their patience, and love, and pain;
And at the Last Day together
They shall all be found again.

They "buried him with his niggers";
Earth holds no prouder grave!
There is not a mausoleum
In the world beyond the wave,
That a nobler tale has hallowed,
Or a purer glory crowned,
Than the nameless trench where they buried
The BRAVE SO FAITHFUL FOUND.

They "buried him with his niggers";
A wide grave should it be—
They buried more in that shallow trench
Than human eye could see;
Ay, all the shame and sorrow
Of more than a hundred years
Lie under the weight of that Southern soil,
Despite those cruel sneers.

They buried him with his niggers"—
But the glorious souls set free
Are leading the van of the army
That fights for Liberty!

APPENDIX B

Brothers in death, in glory
The same palm branches bear;
And the crown is bright o'er the sable brow
As over the golden hair.

21. Henry O'Meara, "With Shaw at Wagner," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7

With Shaw at Wagner.
Dedicated to the 54th Mass. Infantry Regiment.

Recall we the days of our comrade who died
When the ramparts of Wagner we gained,
In his young manhood's flow'ring of patriot pride
For the cause and the race he maintained;
Once more through brave memories our hero behold,
With dusky and stern lines he led,
As a Spartacus marshaled the bondmen of old
And in striking for Liberty bled.

Now his ranks of dark warriors in vision arise—
See them rush 'mid the cruel guns' fires—
Hear the roar of the havoc—"Charge—onward!" he cried,
As his spirit heroic inspires;
Look! The struggle is raging—they clash man to man—
Swift are heights of the parapet won,
There glorious he falls in high Chivalry's van—
Ah? The price is a sad people's son!

In the trench by the foe he is wrathfully hurled,
For he led the live race they despise;
But his fame, like the Banner he bore, is unfurled,
And his land holds it dear to her eyes.
Live ever, O brother! in love breathing on,
While our nation needs valiant-souled men—
May she grandly regain you and Glory's deeds gone,
As you scale Treason's ramparts again!⁹

9. "To the Air, 'Fair Harvard.'"

APPENDIX B

22. John Jerome Rooney, "Ode on the Unveiling, May 31, 1897, of the Monument on Boston Common to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw," *Seventh Regiment Gazette* (New York) 11, 6 (May 1897), 121-23

I

Who dies for Freedom dieth not in vain!
 Upon his dust may fall the bitter tears,
 Over his grave a thousand thousand years
May sweep relentless: winter's snow, the rain
Of early spring, the sun-winged summer's spears
May beat attack where once his head has lain:
Out of the semblance of all human kind
His form may pass.
And, as a blade of vanished autumn grass
That stirs no more in any passing wind
May seem to perish, yet in early field,
In every stretch of prairie unconfined
Has sown the seed that greener grasses yield,--
So doth the sower of dear Freedom's grain
Who drops the seed within his little plot
Plant for the dweller on the far-off plain
And, seeking fruit the worldling loveth not,
Garners a harvest of immortal gain!

II

Time's glory-roll is bright in blood and gold;
Out of the Past the clanking captains come;
Clangor of steel on steel is onward rolled
Thro' all the ages, beat of drum on drum
Falls on the 'frighted air, the mighty hum
Of passing hosts rises and dies—and grows and dies again;
Over the corse of a million men
And thro' the billows of the ensanguined sea,
Thro' granite hills and in the slimy fen
Passes the Conqueror—seeking victory!
Earth's palaces in gorgeous splendor blaze
Down Time's bewildered sway
And, for a little space, may hold the fickle eye:
But see! the moment's rapt amaze,
Like summer mists that rise and break and fly,
Passes forever: but the one deed done
To crush the ancient lie,
That men may live in Freedom's blessed light,
That deed can never die
Nor ever pass into Oblivion's night!

III

And who is he that holds us in free thrall?
Who, from the field and street,
From busy marts of trade and senate hall
Bids us in solemn pageant meet?

APPENDIX B

Say, doth a voice imperial bid us greet
Some deed of conquest girdling the earth?
Is it, perchance, some royal scion's birth
Heralding succession to an empire's seat?
Or yet, mayhap, some gift of precious worth,
Which breathless we wait,
By Croesus given to a grateful state?
Nay, nay! not this the magnet of our eyes,
Nor this that feeds our solemn joy elate,
Nor any these the hero that we prize!
Say, who is he—the humble, yet the great—
Whom crowns imperial touched not, whom the wise
Knew not the wisest in the dread debate?

IV

A youth is he imperial of the soul,
Beautiful as are the signs of coming day
And wholesome as the ocean's summer breeze:
Before him lie life's sweetest mysteries,
Over him Fortune's fairest planets roll:
About him gleams of young Love's starlight play!
All things appointed lead him to the goal
Where happy Fate has held the prize aside,—
Earth's treasures there and there the beauteous bride
Who to his heart had found a royal way:
All these are his, in their predestined place.
Unto his feet the gates of Honor wide
Are oped, nor anywhere a trace,
To mar life's perfect grace,
Of pain imposed or fondest wish denied!
Ah, cunning Fortune! thou hast forged a chain—
A chain of gifts to bind him unto thee!
Surely he cannot, should he dream it, flee
When all thy soft allurements breathe "Remain!"
Ah, little recked thou of the heart and brain
That feared not Fate and scorned the cynic's jibe;
Nor deemed that once again sweet Liberty
Had borne a son, bred of old hero strain,
Beyond the reach of thy most splendid bribe!

V

Hark! from the Southland rolls the boom of guns!
Out from replying Sumter sudden leaps
A tongue of fire that onward flames and runs
From sea to sea and up the mountain steeps,
Lighting a signal to Columbia's sons!
List, how the hills make answer to the deeps!
Then from a silence, big with human fates,
Our Lincoln calls—nor calls without avail!
Forth from the Empire City's mighty gates
Its Guard of Honor—clad in freemen's mail,

APPENDIX B

'Gainst which not any based foes prevail—
Its SEVENTH marches maid mad huzzahs:
Nor doth our hero in the peril quail!
Not his the quaking soul to bid him pause
When that the Nation's Chief had work to do:
For him no second bugle summons blew—
Enough—an armed hand raised against the laws,
Enough—that need was for the gallant few
To guard their country's cause!

VI

Again the bugle shrills a sterner blast:
High duty's call rings clear upon the air
As Andrew bold, with heart and brain to dare,
Flings out his challenge to the craven Past!
The bondsman's hour of triumph comes at last:
The immemorial Children of Despair,
In Hope's new sunlight, fair,
Leap, freedom-armed, to storm the walls of Caste.
Who shall the Captain be to lead them forth
From out the risen North
Unto the Southland where their brothers are?
Not some great chief of war
Emblazoned with a hundred battles won:
He hath his shining star,
His brave triumphal car—
His days filled with a service nobly done!
No! let it be some young and valiant son
Who scorns the present good to seek the Right afar:
Some dauntless soul, unworldly, unadvised
By Custom's whims: some heart without a flaw!
Ah, there was one who held this higher law!
An, there was one who holier guerdons prized,
Who with his true eyes saw
The Manhood of the lowly and despised
And dared to link with theirs the name of—SHAW!

VII

See! see! they come in soldierly array
The Bay State banner floating at their head!
Old State street echoes to their steady tread
As on they sweep to blaze the Union's way.
Ah, think ye not the all-undying dead,
(On this new Freedom day,
Who sleep beside old Bunker's riven hill,
Passing pleased whispers still,
Have some proud word to say
To cheer the work that they so nobly sped?
And he, the fearless, fearless onward led!
Nor leads he there brave Afric's sons alone:
After him troop innumerable hosts

APPENDIX B

Of ever-shining years—the blessed ghosts
Of Freedom's heroes Earth has loved to own—
Nor in *their* light hath he less radiant grown!
They seem to join him from the farthest coasts
Of elder Time:
Young David victor o'er the boasts
Of great Goliath, men of every clime—
Leonidas sublime
Who sees afar a new Thermopylae:
There Cincinnatus, of the placid brow,
Leaving his ox and plow,
And Tell rejoicing in his mountains free.
Yes, yes! the spirit of the Chief is here,
Our age-creating man,
Of all his elder brothers nobly peer,
Whom tyrants in their strongest castles fear—
The great Virginian!
Ah, there is Perry; here is Lawrence, too—
They lead their phantom crew
And sigh again for vaster works to do!
As on they sweep—the living and the dead—
(Dead only in the seeming) overhead
The sky takes on a deeper, softer blue,
The heavens widen—and the primal curse
Of Earth seems lifting, to the spirit's sense.
At last, at last! some little recompense
Old Time thou givest from thy grudging purse
To God's free universe!

VIII

The ranks are formed by Wagner's towering walls:
And there, within Strong's desperate design,
Shaw's Fifty-fourth has sought the right-o'-line.
Hark, how the braying, strident bugle calls!
See! see! the dread explosion of the mind
While carnage red in wild confusion falls!
Say, who is he that leads the far advance,—
Whose eagle-piercing glance
Sees where the deadliest onslaught may be set?
'Tis he! 'tis he! our knight without a lance
Who hath found glory in the bayonet!
Onward he leaps thro' rain of deadly fire,
On where the mounds are wet
With clotted blood: and higher yet and higher
Filled with a fierce desire,
Scatheless he stands upon the parapet!
"On, Fifty-fourth!" rings out his clear command—
He speaks his summons to the Juster Land
Where shining deeds are not refused their debt
And naught can be denied that is so nobly planned!

APPENDIX B

IX

On came his blacks with mighty rush on rush—
And then a sudden hush;—
Broken their spirits as their leader fell!
The loyal hearts that cannon could not crush,
The loyal hearts that loved him long and well
Had heard their deadliest knell.
An, in his presence they were fiercely bold,
Had welcomed death to follow in this track:
Backward the torn and battered remnant rolled!
Pierced were their banners, rended fold on fold—
And two that went but one came shattered back!

X

“Under his negroes bury him!” they cried,
Thinking to mark dishonor on his grave.
Ah! he who, as a brother, loved the slave,
Who loved him ‘spite of race and blinded pride,
Who, in the richness of his spirit, gave
Life’s utmost largess—as his great soul wide,
By blessed chance, at last, was not denied
A rest his faithful Afric hearts beside!
Over the ashes of departed kings
Triumph, in beauty, storied aisle and nave:
‘Neath Egypt’s skies the mighty desert flings
From out its bosom giant stone on stone,—
Within their breasts dead monarchs hold their throne;
And where fair Paris rings
With sounds of joy and dreams her dream of art
Rises the palace-tomb of Bonaparte;—
Yet these, not these, with glory oversown,
Nor all the purchased splendors of the mart,
Can match that headless grave,
Unmarked, ungarlanded, unknown,
Where sleeps the undaunted, the undying brave
With hearts he loved, with hearts he called his own!

XI

Defiant still the haughty fortress frowned,
And, unto eyes that saw alone the round
Of surface things, the day was counted lost:
But unto others rushed a mighty sound
As came unto the Christ disciples, tost
In swaying doubt: a Spirit Presence crossed
Their skeptic threshold and the darkness wound
About their eyes, in faithless shades profound,
Was loosed forever in that Pentecost!
No more forever, never nevermore
Could cynic sneer or dread proscription’s ban
Deny these souls the name and place of man—
These darker men who there so nobly wore

APPENDIX B

The badge of manhood,—there, in one brief hour,
Amid the cannons' roar,
Answering the taunt of century-fattened Power!

XII

That hour the fortress fell!
Not that where shot and shell
Rained crimson fury thro' the shuddering air:
But, in that onslaught there,
Went down the blood-bought citadel
Where Pride of Race and mighty Custom play,
With futile weapons cherished long and well,
To bar the onward marching of the Day!

XIII

See! how he towers there in his great soul's height
Crowned now in glory with immortal youth,
Upon his head the halo-crown of truth
And in his eyes a far celestial light!
Gaze, gaze again—he sees us! now he lifts
His hand to give salute for these our gifts.
Ah, now he marks his comrades' sons—
And feel ye not his thrilling of delight?
Over his face a beam ecstatic runs—
For doth he not yon happy freedman see?
O soldiers of the army of the Right
On-marching to the fairer yet-to-be,
O Captains of the never-ending Fight
 This is conquest, this is victory!¹⁰

23. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "An Ode on the Unveiling of the Shaw Memorial on Boston Common May Thirty-First, 1897," in *The Cruise of the Dolphin, Baby Bell, and Other Prose and Verse* (Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898), 28–30

I

Not with slow, funereal sound
Come we to this sacred ground;
Not with wailing fife and solemn muffled drum,
Bringing a cypress wreath
 To lay, with bended knee,
On the cold brows of Death—
Not so, dear God, we come,
But with the trumpets' blare
And shot-torn battle-banners flung to air,
 As for a victory!

10. Full text at <http://digitalcollections.nyhistory.org/islandora/object/nyhs%3A33672#page/169/mode/2up>.

APPENDIX B

Hark to the measured tread of martial feet,
The music and the murmurs of the street!
 No bugle breathes this day
 Disaster and retreat!—
Hark, how the iron lips
Of the great battle-ships
Salute the City from her azure Bay!

II

Time was—time was, ah, unforgotten years!—
We paid our hero tribute of our tears.
 But now let go
All sounds and signs and formulas of woe:
 ‘T is Life, not Death, we celebrate;
 To Life, not Death, we dedicate
This storied bronze, whereon is wrought
The lithe immortal figure of our thought,
 To show forever to men’s eye,
 Our children’s children’s children’s eyes
 How once he stood
 In that heroic mood,
 He and his dusky braves
 So fain of glorious graves!—
One instant stood, and then
Drave through that cloud of purple steel and flame,
Which wrapt him, held him, gave him not again,
But in its trampled ashes left to Fame
 An everlasting name!

III

That was indeed to live—
At one bold swoop to wrest
From darkling death the best
That death to life can give.
He fell as Roland fell
That day at Roncevaux,
With foot upon the ramparts of the foe!
 A paeon, not a knell,
 For heroes dying so!
 No need for sorrow here,
 No room for sigh or tear,
Save such rich tears as happy eyelids know.
 See where he rides, our Knight!
Within his eye the light
Of battle, and youth’s gold about his brow;
Our Paladin, our Soldier of the Cross,
 Not weighing gain with loss—
World-loser, that won all
Obeying duty’s call!
Not his, at peril’s frown,
A pulse of quicker beat;

APPENDIX B

Not his to hesitate
And parley hold with Fate,
But proudly to fling down
His gauntlet at her feet.

O soul of loyal valor and white truth,
Here, by this iron gate,
Thy serried ranks about thee as of yore,
Stand thou for evermore
In thy undying youth!

The tender heart, the eagle eye!
Oh, unto him belong
The homages of Song!
Our praises and the praise
Of coming days
To him belong—
To him, to him, the dead that shall not die!

24. Richard Watson Gilder, "Robert Gould Shaw" *The Critic*, 12 June 1898, and *In Palestine and Other Poems* (New York: Century Co., 1898), 75–77

Robert Gould Shaw (The Monument by Augustus Saint-Gaudens)

I
Fixt in one desire,
Thrilled by one fierce fire,
Marching men and horse,
And he the youthful rider—one soul, one aim, one force.

II
Onward he doth press;
Moving, tho' motionless;
Resolute, intent,
As on some mighty errand the willing youth were bent.

III
Onward, tho' he hears
Father's, sisters' tears;
Onward, tho' before him
—Grief more near, more dear—the breaking heart that bore him.

IV
Onward, tho' he leaves
One who lonely grieves;
O, keep him, Fate! from harm,
For on his dewy lips the bridal kiss is warm.

APPENDIX B

V

What doth he behold?
Making the boy so bold?
Speak with whispering breath!
O Fate, O Fame, O radiant soul in love with glorious Death!

VI

Eyes that forward peer
—Why have they no fear?
Because, through blood and blight,
They see the golden morning burst and bring the living light;

VII

See War the fetters strike
From white and black alike;
See, past the pain and scorn,
A nation saved, a race redeemed, and freedom newly born;

VIII

See, in days to come,—
When silent War's loud drum,
Ere civic wrong shall cease,—
Heroes as pure and brave arise on battlefields of peace.

25. Anonymous or James M. Guthrie, "The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground," in Guthrie, *Camp-Fires of the Afro-American* (Philadelphia: Afro-American Publishing Co., 1899), 469–73

"The Old Flag never touched the ground!" 'twas thus brave Carney spoke—
A Negro soldier: words renowned, that Honor will invoke
Upon the records of the Race whose heroes many are,
Records that Time cannot efface, and Hate can never mar.

Those words were stamped with Carney's blood upon our Country's scroll,
And though dislike, deep as a flood, against his Race may roll,
It cannot dim, nor wash away, its crimson-written fame
Which History wrote on Wagner's day without a tinge of shame.

Not only Carney did she view, when with immortal pen
She stood to write the honors due one thousand Colored men
Who laughed at death, who felt not fear, and followed Colonel Shaw
Where none but heroes dared to go, with cheer and loud hurrah.

July the eighteenth, of the year eighteen-and-sixty-three,
To Negroes always will be dear, as any one could be,
For bloody cost of honors won, for loss of noble life,
For valor that no risk would shun in fiercest battle strife.

'Twas at the setting of the sun, Fort Wagner to attack,
Four thousand men their march began, one-half to ne'er come back,

APPENDIX B

The Massachusetts Boys in front—the Fifty-fourth with Shaw,—
Negroes, to bear as hard a brunt as this world ever saw.

Their brave White comrades marched behind, to follow where they led,
And with them soon the ramparts lined with wounded and the dead;
For when the blood of which God made all nations on the earth
Began to flow none were afraid to give it without dearth.

Nor did they dread lest it unite together in one stream,
In one oblation, Black and White, for it should surely seem
To be in color and in kind alike to God and man;
Poured from one course, one end to find, since Races first began.

No color-line was drawn that night, except the blood-red line
On which these comrades stood to fight, and there was seen no sign
Of Race aversion, for they fought as kindred, freemen, men
Against Oppression, and they sought one brotherhood again.

So, when Fort Wagner, Morris Isle, they had approached quite near,
There was not seen in any file a man who seemed to fear;
And there were none who would go back because of Blacks ahead
Who begged to lead the fierce attack and be first 'mongst the dead.

There stands Fort Wagner's sullen wall with double-shotted guns;
Its frowning ramparts one appalls who thinks of risks he runs;
But there are none who stop to think, to count the cost and odds,
Of all the men now on the brink of death died like the gods':

A death of noble sacrifice—fearless, unselfish, free;
A joyous paying of the price to purchase liberty
For those in bondage, and maintain a Union of Mankind
Freedom and happiness to gain: the truest good to find.

March on, Black soldiers, in the van, free Negroes of the North,
And each one prove yourself a man—a man of equal worth
With any in the ranks of those who boast that they are White,
And for this reason are your foes: show them that you can fight!

Fight, not to fetter, but to free; not for one Star, but all:
Fight for your Race, its liberty, and do not fear to fall
Wounded and dying, for your loss will sanctify the cause,
Will crown with glory Freedom's cross, and win the world's applause.

Halt! to the colors, soldiers, dress; and keep in steady line:
Forward, QUICK-STEP: CHARGE now and press right on with zeal sublime!
Follow the flag where Carney leads: press on though he should fall!
This is your time for deathless deeds—to make immortal, all.

APPENDIX B

The Fifty-fourth their Colonel heard with pride, and with a shout
Which every noble impulse stirred, and gave no room to doubt,
They charged into volcanic fires; they breasted sheets of flame;
They showed the courage God admires, and won undying fame.

While roared the guns which rent the skies, and shook and rocked that isle,
And belched forth death, the veterans, with wonder and surprise
Saw new recruits, these Colored men, this new Black regiment,
Rush on with force Death could not steam, to go where they were sent.

What care these men for leaden hail, and iron tempests, too?
Right on they charge! they do not quail—the Black Boys dressed in blue:
They storm the works! they seize each gun! with gleaming bayonets
They make their foemen backward run, or fall with crimson jets!

Hurrah! Hurrah!! the fort is theirs, and on the parapet
Their flag now floats, for Carney dares to hold it there, while yet
Prostrate he lies with wound on wound: he will not let it fall:
“The Old Flag must not touch the ground!” this was his thrilling call.

The men fight on, still gaining ground, their work to finish well,
But now, alas! with rapid bound, and with exultant yell,
Fresh troops from Charleston join the foe and meet these cheering men
Who still fight on, with zeal aglow, e’en in this slaughter-pen.

Hemmed in they fight; they fall, they die, till but a few remain:
Their Colonel’s dead; and leaders lie thickly among the slain:
And now the men hear with dismay the orders to retreat;
And though reluctant they obey,—still loath to own defeat.

Back, o’er the ramparts, fighting yet, they leave the fort they gained,
And in the darkness try to get, ‘midst piles of dead and maimed,
The noble Shaw: in this they fail, and sadly they retire
Before Fort Wagner’s vengeful hail, and Gregg and Sumter fire.

Where now is Carney? On his knees, wounded in head and limb:
His painful efforts Heaven sees, and angels pity him,
As with the flag above his head he creeps to reach the lines
Where he is failed as from the dead, while proudly he resigns

Charge of the flag he bore so well, while comrades him surround
And cheer, while Carney tries to tell—“*It—did—not—touch—the—ground!*”
Brave words and true! and they will live: in Union fights be found;
For aye this motto they will give: “*It shall not touch the ground!*”

APPENDIX B

26. William Vaughn Moody, "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1900

(After seeing at Boston the statue of Robert Gould Shaw, killed while storming Fort Wagner, July 18, 1863, at the head of the first enlisted negro regiment, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts.)

I

Before the solemn bronze Saint Gaudens made
To thrill the heedless passer's heart with awe,
And set here in the city's talk and trade
To the good memory of Robert Shaw,
This bright March morn I stand,
And hear the distant spring come up the land;
Knowing that what I hear is not unheard
Of this boy soldier and his negro band,
For all their gaze is fixed so stern ahead,
For all the fatal rhythm of their tread.
The land they died to save from death and shame
Trembles and waits, hearing the spring's great name,
And by her pangs these resolute ghosts are stirred.

II

Through street and mall the tides of people go
Heedless; the trees upon the Common show
No hint of green; but to my listening heart
The still earth doth impart
Assurance of her jubilant emprise,
And it is clear to my long-searching eyes
That love at last has might upon the skies.
The ice is runneled on the little pond;
A telltale patter drips from off the trees;
The air is touched with southland spiceries,
As if but yesterday it tossed the frond
Of pendent mosses where the live-oaks grow
Beyond Virginia and the Carolines,
Or had its will among the fruits and vines
Of aromatic isles asleep beyond
Florida and the Gulf of Mexico.

III

Soon shall the Cape Ann children shout in glee,
Spying the arbutus, spring's dear recluse;
Hill lads at dawn shall hearken the wild goose
Go honking northward over Tennessee;
West from Oswego to Sault Sainte-Marie,
And on to where the Pictured Rocks are hung,
And yonder where, gigantic, willful, young,
Chicago sitteth at the northwest gates,
With restless violent hands and casual tongue
Moulding her mighty fates,
The Lakes shall robe them in ethereal sheen;

APPENDIX B

And like a larger sea, the vital green
Of springing wheat shall vastly be outflung
Over Dakota and the prairie states.
By desert people immemorial
On Arizonan mesas shall be done
Dim rites unto the thunder and the sun;
Nor shall the primal gods lack sacrifice
More splendid, when the white Sierras call
Unto the Rockies straightway to arise
And dance before the unveiled ark of the year,
Sounding their windy cedars as for shawms,
Unrolling rivers clear
For flutter of broad phylacteries;
While Shasta signals to Alaskan seas
That watch old sluggish glaciers downward creep
To fling their icebergs thundering from the steep,
And Mariposa through the purple calms
Gazes at far Hawaii crowned with palms
Where East and West are met, —
A rich seal on the ocean's bosom set
To say that East and West are twain,
With different loss and gain:
The Lord hath sundered them; let them be sundered yet.

IV

Alas! what sounds are these that come
Sullenly over the Pacific seas, —
Sounds of ignoble battle, striking dumb
The season's half-awakened ecstasies?
Must I be humble, then,
Now when my heart hath need of pride?
Wild love falls on me from these sculptured men;
By loving much the land for which they died
I would be justified.
My spirit was away on pinions wide
To soothe in praise of her its passionate mood
And ease it of its ache of gratitude.
Too sorely heavy is the debt they lay
On me and the companions of my day.
I would remember now
My country's goodliness, make sweet her name.
Alas! what shade art thou
Of sorrow or of blame
Liftest the lyric leafage from her brow,
And pointest a slow finger at her shame?

V

Lies! lies! It cannot be! The wars we wage
Are noble, and our battles still are won
By justice for us, ere we lift the gage.
We have not sold our loftiest heritage.

APPENDIX B

The proud republic hath not stooped to cheat
And scramble in the market-place of war;
Her forehead weareth yet its solemn star.
Here is her witness: this, her perfect son,
This delicate and proud New England soul
Who leads despoised men, with just-unshackled feet,
Up the large ways where death and glory meet,
To show all peoples that our shame is done,
That once more we are clean and spirit-whole.

VI

Crouched in the sea fog on the moaning sand
All night he lay, speaking some simple word
From hour to hour to the slow minds that heard,
Holding each poor life gently in his hand
And breathing on the base rejected clay
Till each dark face shone mystical and grand
Against the breaking day;
And lo, the shard the potter cast away
Was grown a fiery chalice crystal-fine
Fulfilled of the divine
Great wine of battle wrath by God's ring-finger stirred.
Then upward, where the shadowy bastion loomed
Huge on the mountain in the wet sea light,
Whence now, and now, infernal flowerage bloomed,
Bloomed, burst, and scattered down its deadly seed, —
They swept, and died like freemen on the height,
Like freemen, and like men of noble breed;
And when the battle fell away at night
By hasty and contemptuous hands were thrust
Obscurely in a common grave with him
The fair-haired keeper of their love and trust.
Now limb doth mingle with dissolved limb
In nature's busy old democracy
To flush the mountain laurel when she blows
Sweet by the southern sea,
And heart with crumbled heart climbs in the rose: —
The untaught hearts with the high heart that knew
This mountain fortress for no earthly hold
Of temporal quarrel, but the bastion old
Of spiritual wrong,
Built by an unjust nation sheer and strong,
Expugnable but by a nation's rue
And bowing down before that equal shrine
By all men held divine,
Whereof his band and he were the most holy sign.

APPENDIX B

VII

O bitter, bitter shade!
Wilt thou not put the scorn
And instant tragic question from thine eye?
Do thy dark brows yet crave
That swift and angry stave —
Unmeet for this desirous morn —
That I have striven, striven to evade?
Gazing on him, must I not deem they err
Whose careless lips in street and shop aver
As common tidings, deeds to make his cheek
Flush from the bronze, and his dead throat to speak?
Surely some elder singer would arise,
Whose harp hath leave to threaten and to mourn
Above this people when they go astray.
Is Whitman, the strong spirit, overworn?
Has Whittier put his yearning wrath away?
I will not and I dare not yet believe!
Though furtively the sunlight seems to grieve,
And the spring-laden breeze
Out of the gladdening west is sinister
With sounds of nameless battle overseas;
Though when we turn and question in suspense
If these things be indeed after these ways,
And what things are to follow after these,
Our fluent men of place and consequence
Fumble and fill their mouths with hollow phrase,
Or for the end-all of deep arguments
Intone their dull commercial liturgies —
I dare not yet believe! My ears are shut!
I will not hear the thin satiric praise
And muffled laughter of our enemies,
Bidding us never sheathe our valiant sword
Till we have changed our birthright for a gourd
Of wild pulse stolen from a barbarian's hut;
Showing how wise it is to cast away
The symbols of our spiritual sway,
That so our hands with better ease
May wield the driver's whip and grasp the jailer's keys.

VIII

Was it for this our fathers kept the law?
This crown shall crown their struggle and their ruth?
Are we the eagle nation Milton saw
Mewing its mighty youth,
Soon to possess the mountain winds of truth,
And be a swift familiar of the sun
Where aye before God's face his trumpets run?
Or have we but the talons and the maw,
And for the abject likeness of our heart
Shall some less lordly bird be set apart? —

APPENDIX B

Some gross-billed wader where the swamps are fat?
Some gorger in the sun? Some prowler with the bat?

IX

Ah no!

We have not fallen so.

We are our fathers' sons: let those who lead us know!

'T was only yesterday sick Cuba's cry

Came up the tropic wind, "Now help us, for we die!"

Then Alabama heard,

And rising, pale, to Maine and Idaho

Shouted a burning word.

Proud state with proud impassioned state conferred,

And at the lifting of a hand sprang forth,

East, west, and south, and north,

Beautiful armies. Oh, by the sweet blood and young

Shed on the awful hill slope at San Juan,

By the unforgotten names of eager boys

Who might have tasted girls' love and been stung

With the old mystic joys

And starry griefs, now the spring nights come on,

But that the heart of youth is generous, —

We charge you, ye who lead us,

Breathe on their chivalry no hint of stain!

Turn not their new-world victories to gain!

One least leaf plucked for chaffer from the bays

Of their dear praise,

One jot of their pure conquest put to hire,

The implacable republic will require;

With clamor, in the glare and gaze of noon,

Or subtly, coming as a thief at night,

But surely, very surely, slow or soon

That insult deep we deeply will requite.

Tempt not our weakness, our cupidity!

For save we let the island men go free,

Those baffled and dislaureled ghosts

Will curse us from the lamentable coasts

Where walk the frustrate dead.

The cup of trembling shall be drainèd quite,

Eaten the sour bread of astonishment,

With ashes of the hearth shall be made white

Our hair, and wailing shall be in the tent;

Then on your guiltier head

Shall our intolerable self-disdain

Wreak suddenly its anger and its pain;

For manifest in that disastrous light

We shall discern the right

And do it, tardily. — O ye who lead,

Take heed!

Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite.

APPENDIX B

27. Percy MacKaye, "Prologue to the Saint-Gaudens Masque," 1905, in MacKaye, *Poems and Plays* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 2:38–41

Iris

Fresh from the courts of dewy-colored eve
Jove summons me before you. Who I am
And why he bids me here I must declare.
My home is half-light; you have watched me oft,
Through closing lids at noontide, or at dusk,
Moving between the daylight and your dreams,
A shape illusory. Whether I pause
Midway my quivering arc, that spans the roar
And tumbling prisms of sheer Niagara,
Or by the ferny banks of Blowmedown
Trellis my hair with braided fleur-de-lis,
Still I am Iris, and my mission is
To shatter the white beam of garish day
Into a thousand mellower tings of twilight,
Spinning across the sceptic eyes of reason
Fine rainbow-films of fancy. Such, then, I.
But when, emerging from the curtained wood
Of Aspet, on this longest summer eve,
While yet the veerie rings his vesper chimes,
I have made journey hither, hearken!

Late,

Below the gilded state-house by the bay,
Sitting his horse in proud simplicity,
I left a young commander; thronged beneath
His lifted brow, clouded with battle dreams,
The eager Ethiop faces onward surged;
No sound arose from all their trampling feet,
But the imagined drum-beats rolled in bronze.
From these I passed to where the human hives
Shadow the stars from the Metropolis,
When, turned homeward from the hell of war,
Another hero, scarr'd and old, there rode;
And at his bridle-rein, in maiden awe,
Went Victory—with pity in her eyes.

A third and Sibyl form, remote and mute,
Brooding alone beside a secret grave,
Asked with unopening eyes, "What means it all?"

From these imagined and immortal forms
To him, O mortals, who imagined them,
And fixed his revery in stone and bronze,
I come to render tribute, not of praise

APPENDIX B

Superfluous, but play badinage
And mock-Olympic mummerly, whereby
If these shall cause the elvish Gallic smile
To twitch his lip, or stir his blarney laugh,
The mock-Olympians will die content.

Behold, then, by the enchantment of his staff
A magic transformation: not such change
As once my goddess sister Circe wrought—
Circe, whose spell debased the forms divine
Of men to bristled shapes of snout and horn:
Mine is a charm reverse, that lifts, not lowers,
By power whereof all neighbor Jacks and Jills
That tug their art-pails up these pasture slopes
Of Cornish are converted here to strut
In guise of antic gods and demigods.

(Iris waves her staff, music sounds from the grove.)

Hark now! 'Tis they, who clamor to begin
Their frolic masque of satyr, muse, and faun,
And on the shrine of mirth make sacrifice
In honor of their only pagan saint.

28. George E. Lothrop and Henry Mather, "Boys the Old Flag Never Touched the Ground / As Sung by Wm. H Carney" (Boston: Lothrop Music Company, 1909)

One night on Southern battle fields,
Down where Fort Wagner lay,
A Regiment of black men fought,
The Blue against the Gray.
As the sun sank slowly in the West
A thunderstorm and gale
Wept tears to see the brave black troops
Shot down by leaden hail.
A negro saw the old flag fall,
And threw his gun away
To grasp the falling colors staff
And lead them to the gray.

[Chorus]

'Twas the Blue against the Gray, Boys,
And he said to all around
"I've only done my duty boys,
The old Flag never touch'd the ground.
"I've only done my duty, boys,"
He said to all around,
"I've only done my duty, boys,
It never touched the ground!"

APPENDIX B

Around the dead and dying lay;
He reach'd the parapet.
The old flag never touched the ground,
As kneeling he held it yet.
The old flag did not bite the dust,
Where the bold black hero lay;
Two armies battled for the fort,
The Blue against the Gray
Amid the awful slaughter here,
He said to all around,
"I've only done my duty, boys,
It did not touch the ground."

29. Robert Underwood Johnson, "Saint-Gaudens: An Ode," in *Saint-Gaudens: An Ode and Other Verse* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1914), 325–40

excerpt

"Read, in part, November 20, 1909, in New York, at the presentation to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens of the gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters awarded to the sculptor's work"

Saint-Gaudens

Born in Dublin, Ireland, March 1, 1848—Died in Cornish, New Hampshire, August 3, 1904

I

Uplands of Cornish! Ye, that yesterday
Were only beauteous, now are consecrate. . . .
O hills of Cornish! chalice of our spilled wine,
Ye shall become a shrine
For now our Donatello is no more! . . .

V

So, on the traveled verge
Of storied Boston's green acropolis
That sculptured music, that immortal dirge
That better than towering shaft
Has fitly epitaphed
The hated ranks men did not dare to hiss!
When Duty makes her clarion call to Ease
Let her repair and point to this:
Why seek another clime?
Why seek another place?
We have no Parthenon, but a nobler frieze,—
Since sacrifice than worship nobler is.
It sings—the anthem of a rescued race;
It moves—the epic of a patriot time,
And each heroic figure makes a martial rhyme.
How like ten thousand treads that little band,
Fit for the van of armies! What command

APPENDIX B

Sits in that saddle! What renouncing will!
What portent grave of firm-confronted ill!
And as a cloud doth hover over sea,
Born from its waters and returning there,
Fame, sprung from thoughts of mortals, swims the air
And gives them back her memories, deathlessly.

VI

I wept by Lincoln's pall when children's tears
That saddest of the nation's years,
Were reckoned in the census of her grief;
And, flooding every eye,
Of low estate or high,
The crystal sign of sorrow made men peers.
The raindrop on the April leaf
Was not more unashamed. Hand spoke to hand
A universal language; and whene'er
The hopeful met 't was but to mingle their despair. . . .

30. Charles Ives, "The 'St. Gaudens' in Boston Common (Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and His Colored Regiment)," opening movement in *Three Places in New England* (1910)

Moving,—Marching—Faces of Souls!
Marked with generations of pain,
Part-freers of a Destiny,
Slowly, restlessly—swaying us on with you
Towards other Freedom!
The man on horseback, carved from
A native quarry of the world Liberty
And from what your country was made.

You images of a Divine Law
Carved in the shadow of a saddened heart—
Never light abandoned—
Of an age and of a nation.

Above and beyond that compelling mass
Rises the drum-beat of the common-heart
In the silence of a strange and
Sounding afterglow
Moving—Marching—Faces of Souls!¹¹

11. Reprint, Pennsylvania: Mercury Music, 1935.

APPENDIX B

31. Abigail Fletcher Taylor, "The Shaw Memorial," in Abigail Fletcher Taylor, *Verse of Today and Yesterday* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1920), 138

The Shaw memorial

By St. Gaudens
On Beacon Hill, Boston

Youthful, erect, calm as a God he rides
Forward to glorious death or victory;
Him and his dusky rank and file I see
Together as one mighty will that guides
The purpose of a land where love abides
Unswerving rider, horse and men are free
To march through fire and sword for Liberty.
What though grim death in awful waiting hides!
It may not drown the tramp of loyal feet
That ever onward move with steadfast course;
The rhythmic thrilling sound shall never cease.—
Up countless years its echo sad and sweet
Shall be a holy and inspiring source
Of brotherhood's triumphant joy and peace.¹²

32. John Berryman, "Boston Common" (1942), in Berryman, *Poems* (Norfolk: New Directions Press, 1942), and in *The Dispossessed* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1948)

I
Slumped under the impressive genitals
Of the bronze charger, protected by bronze,
By darkness from patrols, by sleep from what
Assailed him earlier and left him here,
The man lies. Clothing and organs. These were once
Shoes. Faint in the orange light
Flooding the portico above: the whole
Front of the State House. On a February night.

II
Dramatic bivouac for the casual man!
Beyond the exedra the Common falls,
Famous and dark, away; a lashing wind;
Immortal heroes in a marble frame
Who broke their bodies on Fort Wagner's walls,
Robert Gould Shaw astride, and his
Negroes without name, who followed, who fell
Screaming or calm, wet cold, sick or oblivious.

12. Also published in "Poetical Salutations to Scenes and Events on Boston Common," *Boston Herald*, 16 June 1935, 44.

APPENDIX B

III

Who now cares how? here they are in their prime, —
Paradigm, pitching imagination where
The crucible night all singularity,
Idiosyncrasy and creed, burnt out
And brought them, here, a common character.
Imperishable march below
The mounted man below the Angel, and
Under, the casual man, the possible hero.

IV

Hero for whom under a sky of bronze,
Saint-Gaudens' sky? Passive he seems to lie,
The last straw of contemporary thought,
In shapeless failure; but may be this man
Before he came here, or he comes to die,
Blazing with force or fortitude
Superb of civil soul may stand or may
After young Shaw within that crucible have stood.

V

For past her assignation when night fell
And the men forward, — poise and shock of dusk
As daylight rocking passes the horizon, —
The Angel spread her wings still. War is the
Congress of adolescents, love in a mask,
Bestial and easy, issueless,
Or gets a man of bronze. No beating heart
Until the casual man can see the Angel's face.

VI

Where shall they meet? what ceremony find,
Loose in the brothel of another war
This winter night? Can citizen enact
His timid will and expectation where,
Exact a wedding or her face O where
Tanks and guns, tanks and guns,
Move and must move to their conclusions, where
The will is mounted and gregarious and bronze?

VII

For ceremony, in the West, in the East,
The pierced sky, iced air, and the rent of cloud
As, moving to his task at dawn, who'd been
Hobbledehoy of the cafeteria life
Swung like a hobby in the blue and rode
The shining body of his choice
To the eye and time of his bombardier; —
Stiffened in the racket, and relaxed beyond noise.

APPENDIX B

VIII

“Who now cares how?” — the quick, the index! Question
Your official heroes in a magazine,
Wry voices past the river. Dereliction,
Lust and bloodlust, error and goodwill, this one
Died howling, craven, this one was a swine
From childhood. Man and animal
Sit for their photographs to Fame, and dream
Barbershop hours . . . vain, compassionate parable.

IX

“Accidents of history, memorials” —
A considering and quiet voice. “I see
Photograph and bronze upon another shore
Do not arrive; the light is where it is,
Indifferent to honour. Let honour be
Consolation to those who give,
None to the Hero, and no sign of him:
All unrecorded, flame-like, perish and live.”

X

Diminishing beyond the elms. Rise now
The chivalry and defenders of our time,
From Spain and China, the tortured continents,
Leningrad, Syria, Corregidor, —
Upon a primitive theme high variations
Like soaring Beethoven’s. — Lost, lost
Whose eyes flung faultless to one horizon
Their fan look. Fiery night consumes a summoned ghost.

XI

Images of the Possible, the top,
Their time they taxed, — after the tanks came through,
When orderless and by their burning homes’
Indelible light, with knee and nail they struck
(The improvised the real) man’s common foe,
Misled blood-red statistical men.
Images of conduct in a crucible,
Their eyes, and nameless eyes, which will not come again.

XII

We hope will not again. Therefore those eyes
Fix me again upon the terrible shape,
Defeated and marvellous of the man I know,
Jack under the stallion. We have passed him by,
Wandering, prone, and he is our whole hope,
Our fork’s one tine and our despair,
The heart of the Future beating. How far far
We sent our subtle messengers! when he is here.

APPENDIX B

XIII

Who chides our clamour and who would forget
The death of heroes: never know the shore
Where, hair to the West, Starkatterus was burnt;
And undergo no more that spectacle —
Perpetually verdant the last pyre,
Fir, cypress, yew, the phoenix bay
And voluntary music — which to him
Threw never meat or truth. He looks another way.

XIV

Watching who labour O that all may see
And savour the blooming world, flower and sound,
Tending and tending to peace, — be what their blood,
Prayer, occupation may, — so tend for all:
A common garden in a private ground.
Who labour in the private dark
And silent dark for birthday music and light,
Fishermen, gardeners, about their violent work.

XV

Lincoln, the lanky lonely and sad man
Who suffered in Washington his own, his soul;
Mao Tse-tung, Teng Fa, fabulous men,
Laughing and serious men; or Tracy Doll
Tracing the future on the wall of a cell —
There, there, on the wall of a cell
The face towards which we hope all history,
Institutions, tears move, there the Individual.

XVI

Ah, it may not be so. Still the crucial night
Fastens you all upon this frame of hope:
Each in his limited sick world with them,
The figures of his reverence, his awe,
His shivering devotion, — that they shape
Shelter, action, salvation.
. . . Legends and lies. Kneel if you will, but rise
Homeless, alone, and be the kicking working one.

XVII

None anywhere alone! The turning world
Brings unaware us to our enemies,
Artist to assassin, Saint-Gaudens' bronze
To a free shelter, images to end.
The cold and hard wind has tears in my eyes,
Long since, long since, I heard the last
Traffic unmeshing upon Boylston Street,
I halted here in the orange light of the Past,

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XVIII

Helpless under the great crotch lay this man
Huddled against woe, I had heard defeat
All day, I saw upon the sands assault,
I heard the voice of William James, the wind,
And poured in darkness or in my heartbeat
Across my hearing and my sight
Worship and love irreconcilable
Here to be reconciled. On a February night.

33. Robert Lowell (1917-77), "For the Union Dead," 1960, in *Robert Lowell: For the Union Dead* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1964)

"*Relinquunt Omnia Servare Rem Publicam.*"
The old South Boston Aquarium stands
in a Sahara of snow now. Its broken windows are boarded.
The bronze weathervane cod has lost half its scales.
The airy tanks are dry.

Once my nose crawled like a snail on the glass;
my hand tingled
to burst the bubbles
drifting from the noses of the cowed, compliant fish.

My hand draws back. I often sigh still
for the dark downward and vegetating kingdom
of the fish and reptile. One morning last March,
I pressed against the new barbed and galvanized

fence on the Boston Common. Behind their cage,
yellow dinosaur steamshovels were grunting
as they cropped up tons of mush and grass
to gouge their underworld garage.

Parking spaces luxuriate like civic
sandpiles in the heart of Boston.
A girde of orange, Puritan-pumpkin colored girders
braces the tingling Statehouse,

shaking over the excavations, as it faces Colonel Shaw
and his bell-cheeked Negro infantry
on St. Gaudens' shaking Civil War relief,
propped by a plank splint against the garage's earthquake.

Two months after marching through Boston,
half the regiment was dead;
at the dedication,
William James could almost hear the bronze Negroes breathe.

APPENDIX B

Their monument sticks like a fishbone
in the city's throat.
Its Colonel is as lean
as a compass-needle.

He has an angry wrenlike vigilance,
a greyhound's gentle tautness;
he seems to wince at pleasure,
and suffocate for privacy.

He is out of bounds now. He rejoices in man's lovely,
peculiar power to choose life and die—
when he leads his black soldiers to death,
he cannot bend his back.

On a thousand small town New England greens,
the old white churches hold their air
of sparse, sincere rebellion; frayed flags
quilt the graveyards of the Grand Army of the Republic.

The stone statues of the abstract Union Soldier
grow slimmer and younger each year—
wasp-waisted, they doze over muskets
and muse through their sideburns . . .

Shaw's father wanted no monument
except the ditch,
where his son's body was thrown
and lost with his "niggers."

The ditch is nearer.
There are no statues for the last war here;
on Boylston Street, a commercial photograph
shows Hiroshima boiling

over a Mosler Safe, the "Rock of Ages"
that survived the blast. Space is nearer.
When I crouch to my television set,
the drained faces of Negro school-children rise like balloons.

Colonel Shaw
is riding on his bubble,
he waits
for the blessed break.

The Aquarium is gone. Everywhere,
giant finned cars nose forward like fish;
a savage servility
slides by on grease.¹³

13. Originally delivered at the Boston Arts Festival in 1960.

Key to Biographical Appendixes

All places in Appendixes C, D, and E are in Massachusetts unless otherwise indicated

AME:	African Methodist Episcopal (church)
b:	born
bdr:	boarder
bds:	boards
bur:	town of burial and/or cemetery
cen:	census
c50, c70, c00, etc:	1850 census, 1870 census, 1900 census
crew:	whaling crew lists (New Bedford only)
d:	died
DANB:	<i>Dictionary of American Negro Biography</i>
DC:	District of Columbia
dir:	directory
DOB:	date of birth
DOD:	date of death
DOM:	date of marriage
drec:	death record
enl:	enlistment record
FH:	Faneuil Hall
gr:	date on grave
Greene:	Robert Ewell Greene, <i>Swamp Angels</i>
h:	house (in directory listings)
hh:	household
lab:	laborer
MHS:	Massachusetts Historical Society
milrec:	military record
mrec:	marriage record (mrec1=first marriage)
Nell:	Dorothy Porter Wesley and Constance Porter Uzelac, eds., <i>William Cooper Nell: Nineteenth-Century African American Abolitionist, Historian, Integrationist</i> (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 2002)
NL:	not listed
op:	overseers of the poor records (New Bedford only)
pars:	parents
POB:	place of birth
POD:	place of death
POM:	place of marriage
prob:	probate record
serv:	rank/company/regiment (or Navy)
UGRR:	Underground Railroad
USCT:	United States Colored Troops
vet sched:	1890 federal census veterans' schedules
vr:	Massachusetts vital records (before 1915)
vr ind:	Massachusetts vital records index (for dates after 1915)
[year]d:	city directory in given year

Appendix C

African American Civil War Veterans Living in and near Massachusetts, 1897¹

bold*=documented to have attended 1897 Shaw Memorial unveiling

Adgurson, James Munroe
DOB: Mar 1840 c00
POB: Marion Co TN c00, mrec 3, enl
father: Alexander b Eng c20
mother: Annie b TN c20
spouse: 1) ? 2) Martha Richardson b VA 3) Ellen C Rand (white) b 1850 Tilton NH
DOM: 3) 31 July 1888
POM: 3) Boston
DOD: 1 Feb 1927
POD: Lynn MA
bur: Pine Grove, Lynn

cen: 1900 Lynn/shoe-cobbler
1920 Lynn/shoemaker w/ wife and sons James A and Frank

dir: 1886 Lynn/shoemaker h rear 8 Mailey
1891 Lynn/shoemaker h 11 Brook
1899 Lynn/boot & shoe maker 94 Brookline
1919 Lynn/shoemaker h 9 Clovelly wife Ellen
1925-27 Lynn/no occup h 9 Clovelly

serv: private Co F 54th

children: Frederick A 1868 Hampton NH d 1905 Lynn, Burchard Lester 1875-1903, James A 1878 NH, Frank 1891 MA, Burchard Lester

note: farmer residing Milton MA at time of enlistment 10 Oct 1863; mustered out 20 Aug 1865; signed his enlistment paper with mark

note: living in Milton at time of Emilio's history; shoemaker living in Lynn at time of third marriage; third wife Nellie C. swallowed (on purpose, husband said) corrosive sublimate she obtained from a neighbor nurse son and was taken to hospital ["Took Corrosive Sublimate," *Boston Globe*, 19 Nov 1896, 12]; son Frederick A.'s drec states he drowned in the Saugus River ae 39 and had been born in Hampton NH; he was state chaplain of the MA Temperance Reform Club in 1905 [*Boston Herald*, 20 Apr 1905, 6]

1. This appendix does not include members of the United States Colored Troops who died after May 1897 at the Soldiers' Home and the Sailors' Home in Chelsea, Massachusetts.

APPENDIX C

note: photographed in Boston at 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner battle 18 July 1913 [*Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1913]

Aikens, William H

DOB: 12 Sept 1837

POB: Boston

father: Ardon mrecs, drec

mother: Lois Barbon drec, Barhew mrec2

spouse: 1) Nancy P Scott b 1836 Boston 2) Alice M Dickson b 1846 Newburyport

DOM: 1) 25 Mar 1863 2) 14 Nov 1906

POM: 1) Boston 2) Chelsea MA

DOD: 4 August 1910

POB: Chelsea Soldiers' Home

bur: Forest Dale, Malden

cen: 1855 Boston/lab in hh Nancy Dailey ward 6
1860 Boston/porter in multifam hh
1880 Portsmouth NH/lab in hh wife Nancy, 2 children
1900 Chelsea/farm lab, inmate Soldiers' Home

dir: 1899–1901 Chelsea/bds Soldiers' Home

serv: corp Co A 54th

children: Annie A b 1868 MA, Charles M b 1877 MA

note: married laborer at time of enlistment 13 March 1863 at Boston, promoted to sgt 1 Apr 63 but reduced at his own request 1 Jul 1863, wounded "slightly in his back" at Wagner 18 Jul and in Beaufort hospital until 17 Aug 63, discharged 20 Aug 65 at Charleston

note: admitted to Chelsea home from Haverhill 1907; married laborer at time of death

note: "Aikens-Dickson," *Boston Globe*, 15 Nov 1906, 4: "In the African M. E. Church, Chelsea, last night, William H. Aikens, a blind veteran of the civil war and an inmate of the soldiers' home, Chelsea, was married to Mrs. Alice M. Dickson" and will reside at 160 Ash St, Chelsea

Arnum, Charles Henry

DOB: 11 Oct 1843

POB: North Adams MA

father: Franklin Van Arnum b Holland drec

mother: Caroline Gardner b 1810 MA

spouse: Lucinda M Jones b 1852 MA or LA

DOM: 8 Mar 1873

POM: North Adams

DOD: March 1934

POD: North Adams

APPENDIX C

cen: 1850 Adams MA/in hh mother, 5 sibs
1855 Adams/in hh w/ bro Geo in hh blacksmith Ivory Witt
1860 Springfield/ae 16 painter in hh mother, her sibs, his sibs
1880 N Adams/lab in hh wife and dau
1890 vet sched N Adams
1900 N Adams/truckman owns mort w/ wife, 2 children
1930 N Adams/owns \$6k widowed w/ widowed dau Charlietta

dir: 1872 N Adams/blacksmith bds State
1874 N Adams/laborer h State (w/ Geo D Arnum blacksmith)
1899 N Adams/truckman 44 Meadow
1903 N Adams/truckman in Arnum and Kearn 10 Holden, h 98 Meadow
1912 N Adams/trucking 98 Meadow h do; see ad p 60 (see notes)
1919 N Adams/retired h 98 Meadow w/ Charlietta, maid, bdr
1932 & 1933 N Adams/retired h 98 Meadow

serv: private Co E 54th

children: Charlietta b 1875 MA, Harry R 1888–1917

note: teamster when he enlisted 4 Nov 1863; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at SC; living in N Adams when Emilio published his history; member of Charles D Sanford Post 79 and chaplain in 1887 [*Boston Globe*, 31 May 1887, 12] and officer of the guard of this post same year [*Pittsfield Sun*, 8 Dec 1887, 8]; special officer N Adams police 1896 [*North Adams Transcript*, 7 Apr 1896, 1]; in 1919 was guest of honor “and wore the blue uniform of the G.A.R.” at a reception for black men who had served in Army or Navy during WW1 in North Adams [*North Adams Transcript*, 8 Aug 1919, 3]; was a trustee of AME church in North Adams

note: applied for invalid pension, 1891 and 1907, cert #809.759 and 830.128

note: “The Police Force,” *North Adams Transcript*, 7 Apr 1896, 1: Chas H Arnum reappointed a special officer for Sampson Mfg Co and vicinity (Calvin T. Sampson shoe factory in North Adams said to have brought first Chinese laborers to MA from CA); 1912 N Adams dir, 60: “Charles H. Arnum / Trucking of all descriptions/ Twenty-eight years’ experience / Furniture, Pianos and Safes Moved / Competent Help Employed / Price Right / 98 Meadow St / Phone 347–11 / North Adams, Mass.” Retired by 1919.

note: 1904 he was aide-de-camp representing GAR Post 79 at march through Boston [*Boston Globe*, 9 Aug 1904, 14]; “Arnum Had Many Narrow Escapes,” *North Adams Transcript*, 9 Mar 1921, 2, notes that day before was his 50th wedding anniversary; he presented papers here that showed he enlisted from Boston and was assigned to Littleton in Oct 1863 to serve 3 years; he was struck by a spent ball on James Island and was sent to hospital with sunstroke at Honey Hill but ran away to return to his regiment; at one point he was about to surrender to a rebel when the rebel was shot and killed; served as an oarsman on a boat crew in and around Charleston; before he joined the 54th he had been an orderly to Captain Wolf at Readville and later a messenger for General Pierce; took part in Mem Day exercises in North Adams in 1928, one of 9 vets in town to take part; “Colored Veterans are Entertained,” *North Adams Transcript*, 8 Aug 1919, 3: Arnum, vet of war, was guest of honor at reception for army and navy vets at Grand Army Hall; in 1926 he was past commander on the local GAR Post, the CD Sanford Post [*North Adams Transcript*, 6 Nov 1926, 14]; “Reunion of Colored Civil War Veterans,” *Boston Globe*, 13 Jul 1930, 12: pic of him first row with Ditmus, Kellogg, Geo Williams, CW Harrison, Edwin J Foster, Wm H Jackson

APPENDIX C

note: "Colored Civil War Veteran Dies," *North Adams Transcript*, 29 Mar 1934, 3, with almost illegible photo of him: Arnum was 90 and one of only 4 Civil War Union Army vets in town; he ran "a large trucking business" in N Adams for 40 years and died at his 98 Meadow St home last evening; obit says his paternal grandfather had come from Holland to US and "was one of the first Negro residents of this section"; says he was in battles at James Island and Ft Wagner as well as Olustee, James Island second battle, Morris Island, Honey Hill, Boykins's Mills, Cassefin, Charleston, and Georgetown SC (but he wasn't in 54th at time of first James Island and Wagner); retired from his trucking business "about 15 years ago"; of 8 children only daughter Charlietta, then Mrs. Charlietta W. Hill, survived; he was "one of the best known Negro residents of Northern Berkshire and was constantly promoting movements for the advancement of his race in this secton"; was member of First Baptist Church; became member of Sanford post GAR when it was organized and became its commander 5 years ago; lived at time of death with his only daughter; "Final Tribute to Charles H. Arnum," *North Adams Transcript*, 2 Apr 1934, 3: given a full military burial

note: pl 25 in *Tell it with Pride*; he attended and was photographed at 50th anniversary Wagner battle in Boston 18 July 1913 and identified there as "Armun" [*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913]

*Ashport, Lemuel

DOB: 22 Mar 1846

POB: Taunton

father: Noah (b Brockton)

mother: Esther Wood (b Marshfield)

spouse: Elizabeth Pierce

DOM: November 1881

DOD: 29 February 1905

POD: Brockton

bur: Brockton

cen: 1870 Ft Clark Mil Res TX/Co D 25th Reg
1880 Brockton/works in shoe-shop
1900 Brockton/leather sorter rents w/ wife, 5 daus

dir: 1878 Brockton/shoe laster h Centre opp cem
1884 Brockton/shoemaker, h Lawrence nr Main
1890 Brockton/police, h 17 Lawrence
1892 Brockton/police, h 17 Lawrence
1901 Brockton/leather sort h 22 French's court

serv: priv Co I 54th

children: Gertrude E 1879, Mabel 180, Chester R b/d 1884, Lillian 1884-1905, Ethel H 1886, Perl L 1898

note: shoemaker at 16 Dec 1863 enlistment at W Bridgewater but shown as farmer in company descriptive book; discharged 20 Aug 1865 and reenlisted in 1867 in 39th Inf, trans April 1869 to 25th US Infantry through consolidation as corporal; discharged 15 Aug 1870 [Greene 19]

APPENDIX C

note: 1900c has two daughters working as shoe factory nail setters

note: "From Many States," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 6, notes that "William Ashport" was the left support to the two flags carried by the Battalion of Survivors at the Shaw unveiling parade; no Wm Ashport listed in fold3, so it's probably this man

Bates, Joseph H
DOB: Jan 1840 c00
POB: Blair Co, NJ milrec
father: Henry b PA
mother: Ann b NJ
spouse: Harriet b 1847
DOD: 12 Dec 1904
POD: Wilkes-Barre PA
bur: city cem, Wilkes-Barre

cen: 1860 Wilkes-Barre/farmer in pars' hh
1870 Wilkes-Barre/lab w/ wife, 2 children
1880 Wilkes-Barre/lab w/w wife Elizabeth, 3 children, nephew
1890 vetsched Wilkes-Barre
1900 Wilkes-Barre/day lab w/ wife Elizabeth 1854 Pa, dau Rachel

dir: 1882 Wilkes-Barre/lab h rear Hazel ave nr RR
1891 Wilkes-Barre/hod carrier h 76 Darling
1896 Wilkes-Barre/lab h 78 Darling
1904 Wilkes-Barre/h 100 Darling

serv: priv Co H & C 5th Cav

children: Henry A b 1867, Ellen b 1868, Jacob b 1870, Rachel b 1877

note: farmer when he enlisted 27 Feb 1864, mustered in at Readville 12 Mar 1864; transferred into Co C 20 Mar 1864; sick at hospital in DC since 12 May 1864, then at Hammond Genl Hospital Pt Lookout MD by Sept 1864; discharged 29 June 1865 at Pt Lookout MD for disability; his discharge states "has not done a week's duty since he has been in the company Has been in Hospital since July 10th 1864"; he had "secondary syphilis, chronic pleuritic affection of left lung probably before he enlisted; "he had done no duty in the Regt—I think he never can"

note: on exec committee for 1887 reunion of 54th, 55th, and 5th Cav

note: 14 Jan 1904 will leaves son Henry \$300, to dau Rachel \$250, dau Ella \$100, rest to wife Elizabeth

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Bayard, Robert H

DOB: 1837

POB: St Albans VT milrec, DE c80, drec

spouse: Hannah Ann

POM: Middletown DE

DOD: 28 Oct 1898 drec

POD: 140 Riverside Ave, Medford MA

bur: Oak Grove soldiers lot, Medford

cen: 1880 Boston/junk dealer lodging 10 Norfolk Pl

dir: 1890 Medford/canvasser bds 62 Riverside
1893 Medford/junk collector, h 62 Riverside
1895 Medford/junk h 62 Riverside
1897 Medford/junk, h 140 Riverside

rank: private Co C

note: laborer when he enlisted 28 March 1863 disch 20 Aug same year; by pension application wife stated she was born a slave in Cecil Co MD and married in Middletown DE "when I was freed," before 1855, but the daughter of her enslaver said Hannah was enslaved when she married and when Bayard left and that Bayard "was supposed to be a free man"; she said husband went into Navy before the war and then into the 54th, sent no money; his daughter Sofronia King b ca 1855 and was living with mother in New Rochelle NY; she stated that "I went to Massachusetts in October, 1900 because I wanted my father to live with my mother" but learned he had died and was buried by the GAR [Greene 24-26]

Biddle, Eli George

DOB: 8 Jan 1846 / 11 Apr 1840 findagrave

POB: Black Rock, Chester Co PA

father: James b 1825 c50

mother: Sarah b 1825 c50, PA c70, VA c80

spouse: Sarah Eliza Decker d 1939

DOM; 1 September 1873

POM: Newburgh NY

DOD: 8 April 1940

POD: Boston

bur: Mt Hope Cem, Boston

cen: 1850 Bart PA/in hh parents, 2 sibs, bdr
1860 W Nottingham PA/bdr in hh John Stevens white farmer
1865 Boston/seaman in hh w/ mother, 3 sisters
1870 Boston/house & sign painter in hh mother, sister, 3 bros
1880 Boston/sign painter w/ wife, 3 children [Geo]
1900 Newburgh NY/clergy, owns, w/wife and 3 children
1910 Providence RI/minister w/ wife, 3 youngest children [Geo E]
1920 New London CT/minister w/ wife, daus Bessie, Elise [Geo]

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dir: 1870 Boston/E G Biddle sign and standard painter 152 Hanover, bds 88 Phillips
(mother's hh)
1880 Boston/E G Biddle house ptr and glazier 24 Elm
1921 Cambridge/sign pntr h 19 Hubbard Ave
1928 Cambridge/sign pntr h 19 Hubbard Ave
1936 Boston/Rev and editor h 20 Greenwich Park

rank: priv Co A 54th

children: George H b 1884 MA, Bessie Concord b 12 Apr/May 1889 Worcester MA (m __ Young),
Edna Isabelle b 1892 CT d 1955 (m 1914 Marius Coblyn 1894–1971), Elise b 1912

note: sign painter when he enlisted 30 Mar 1863 ae 17 (his military gravestone applic states his enlistment date as 14 Feb 1863); wounded neck and shoulder at Wagner, hospitalized and returned to duty 15 Oct 1863; Redkey O23 notes he was wounded at Wagner, served through the war

note: drec for brother Lemuel 24 Dec 1903 states father James b Harrisburg PA and mother b Alexandria VA; he died in accidental fall, skull fracture

note: mid-1870s mother and bro Lemuel lived in Cambridge; 1880c his mother Sarah living on Anderson St with sons Lemuel 28 janitor and Joseph G 26 barber and 1880d shows them at 28 Anderson, Joseph G a hairdresser at 164 Bunker Hill, Lemuel A janitor; 1894–97d his mother “widow of James” h 53 Revere; his mother might have died 3 Sept 1898 in Newburgh NY

note: lived in New Haven for five years after war, NY for 8 years, and then in Boston and Worcester (by 1889, when dau Bessie was born); he was living at 88 Phillips St Boston when he applied for pension; by 1916 living in Norwich CT; 1917 CT military census shows him living in Norwich, Methodist minister, painter, and decorator at 71, married, 4 dependents, served as corporal in Civil War 2 years had gunshot wound; in 1932 he asked for pension increase from \$75 to \$100 a month; federal pension examiner wrote in Feb 1936 that he was then “living comfortably in a poorer section of the city of Boston with his family” and was a retired preacher; after he died his daughter Bessie Young of Boston sought funds from Vets Admin to bury him and provide a flag as he had no insurance [Greene 29, 31]; his military grave marker application has stone being sent to Mrs Bessie Biddle Young, 4 Westminster Ave c/0 Carlos, Roxbury, but I find nothing on Carlos; dau Bessie a musician in c20 and music teacher in Cambridge dirs in 1920s to 1928

note: “Two G. A. R. Veterans at Roxbury Service,” *Boston Globe*, 13 Jul 1936, 2: Commander Wm H Jackson and Rev Eli G Biddle of Robert A Bell Post GAR attended services at St Cyprian’s church Roxbury to commemorate approaching 73d anniversary of Ft Wagner battle; “Negroes Pay Homage to G.A.R. Survivor,” *Boston Globe*, 29 May 1939, 8: Bell Post paid homage to him, “lone survivor of the post and the only living Negro veteran of the G.A.R. in Massachusetts”; escorted him from his home at 20 Greenwich Park by Sons of Union Vets to Columbus Ave AME; “The Stirring Tale of the Last Survivor of the Glorious 54th,” *Boston Traveler*, 12 Apr 1960, 47, includes photograph of him at 1939 GAR meeting and states that at a mission school in Boston “he had refused to join the class in singing, ‘My Country ‘Tis of Thee,’ and when asked why he said, “This is no land of freedom for me,” and was dismissed from the school; he was then 16 years old; came to Boston with his mother, 3 brothers, and a sister in 1859 and enrolled 6 Feb 1863 (probably not) when he was 17, and *Boston Globe* of 9 April 1940 had a one-sentence report of his death

note: member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887 and living then at Worcester; findagrave has incorrect 1923 death date

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note: he attended and had pic taken with other 54th survivors at 1913 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1913]

note: obit for his grandson Carl M Coblyn (1929–97) b/res Falmouth went to Northeastern and MIT and lived at E Falmouth when he died; was in Air Force 24 years as civil engineer and retired 1971 as master sergeant, then works as cost and structural engineer for Stone and Webster 17 years; left wife Caroline Black Coblyn (d 2005), son Carl M Jr (d 2018 ae 54; he was adopted from Salish Kootenai tribe of MT as an infant; had 3 children Carl Milton III, Reanna, and Matthew Webb) and sister Cheryl D. (b 1962), grandson George H Coblyn of Lexington 1991 d 31 July 2002 had son George H of Bethesda MD, son Michael E of Amherst; family contacted for the 1983 Shaw Memorial rededication

Birch, William Austin
DOB: 22 Sept 1837
POB: New Haven CT
father: Charles J b Schenectady
mother: Ann b Baltimore
spouse: Mary Elizabeth Wentworth d 1918
DOM: 17 Sept 1866
POM: Ballston Spa NY
DOD: 20 March 1910
POD: Cambridge
bur: Cambridge Cem

cen: 1870 Salem/porter in store w/w wife, son Fredk W
1900 Newton/clergyman

dir: 1904 Cambridge/Rev b 222 Columbia
1909 & 1910 Cambridge/Rev h 1 Front

rank: priv Co E

note: March 1860 he was listed at Naval rendezvous as a landsman, black, b New Haven; waiter when he enlisted 30 March 1863 at Readville; discharged 5 Sept 1865 Boston; lived in MA 1878, PA 1880, MI 1886, OH 1890, IL 1897, OH 1905; had daughter Grace Birch Johnson who listed at 1 Front St in 1908 and helped mother file for widow's pension March 1910 (elsewhere says 1908) [Greene 47, who spells his name Burch]; drec states he was a clergyman

note: "Colored Vets of Bay State," *Boston Herald*, 18 Aug 1904, 3: 54th, 55th and 5th old reunion at English High and Zion Church; "the reunion lasted all day and included a visit to the Robert Gould Shaw memorial on the Common"; morning session at the high school called to order by Chair Wm H Carney, and then invocation by Rev Wm A Birch, then a call on the drum by Maj Alexander H Johnson, and then "remarks by comrades" including Chas A Smith of Auburn NH and Thomas W Jackson, "a well known musician of New Bedford"; the "old Shaw quartet of the 54th," being Carney, Frederic Johnson, Furlong, and Rev Birch, sang some of the old songs; then they all went to Shaw memorial for speaking and singing, then afternoon bus meeting at high school, then evening "camp fire" at Zion church with Shaw quartet and Maj Johnson providing music and address by Wm H Dupree; among those present were NP Hallowell, Capt Bowditch,

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Capt Soule, Col Henry S Russell, Cap Sheldon, Maj Nutt, Capt Geo A Pope, Capt Woodward, Lt Thoams R Appleton, Capt Sprague, and Gen John W Appleton (all white) [same reported as "Colored Veterans," *Boston Globe*, 28 Jul 1904, 12]

note: drec shows him as clergyman

Brown, James E
DOB: 28 Aug 1832, 1837 milrec
POB: Romney VA; Hampshire Co VA or Spencer Co KY milrec
spouse: Emma Lucille Carter b 1852 IN
DOD: 30 Sept 1904 drec
POD: Chicago IL drec
bur: Oakwoods, Chicago

serv: priv Co F 54th

note: born enslaved; Romney VA is in Hampshire County; laborer when he enlisted 12 May 1863 at Readville (Oberlin OH by *Tell It with Pride*, and Oberlin shown as place of residence in many records); sick in regimental hospital 25 Aug 1863; daily duty as company laundryman Mar–July 1864; sick at Beaufort hospital May–July 1865; present as of 5 June 1865; mustered out at Charleston 20 Aug 1865; discharged 17 Oct 1865 (elsewhere in same record 8 Aug 1865) by Gillmore's instructions (but elsewhere in this record 1 June 1864); his muster-out roll states no US bounty due him, and he is owed \$4.25 for "clothing undrawn" and owes \$40.01 for transportation (on furlough to Oberlin OH), lost ordnance, and in debt to sutler; Charles Newbold, Chief Mustering and Disbursing Office, State of Ohio, to Chief Mustering Officer State of Massachusetts, 27 September 1875, states he cannot reconcile discrepancy between Brown's papers because he has no copy of muster out roll of his company, so referred case to MA; he is listed as a soldier from OH in that state's records

note: lived in OH, KS and Chicago, where he worked as a plasterer, and was a married plasterer at time of death

note: not to be confused to James Brown, also in Co F; records are assembled as one person on Fold 3 (discharged for disability 1 or 12 June 1864)

Brown, John
DOB: 1845, 1838 milrec
spouse: Emma
DOD: 21 May 1915
POD: Soldiers Home, Chelsea
bur: Woodlawn, Everett

serv: priv Co F 54th

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note: enlisted 8 Apr 1863 at Readville and mustered in 23 April; sick Mar–Apr 1864 and May–June 1865; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston; admitted to Chelsea Soldiers Home 9 Apr 1894 [Greene 42–43 has him confused with John S Brown below]

note: probably a different John Brown enlisted 21 Feb 1863 at Worcester; disch 21 Aug 1863 at Boston; also a John Brown b 1831 Zanzibar, seaman, enlisted at draft rendezvous 27 Jan 1865, drafted in Lawrence MA as a substitute; “not taken on muster rolls of regt”

note: a John Brown b 1845 NC in 1880c Fall River with wife Esther ae 37 b MD a John Brown black b 1844 PA lab Boston st dept 1910c with lodger, Harrison Ave

***Brown, John Stewart**

DOB: 25 Oct 1844

POB: Harrisburg PA

father: David P b Richmond VA

mother: Charlotte Steward b Harrisburg PA

spouse: 1) Emma Harris 2) Rachel Bishop 3) Mary E Smith 4) Anna Louisa Burnett Duncan

DOM: 1) 19 Sept 1877 2) 15 Feb 1895 3) 6 June 1907 4) 9 Jul 1910

POM 3) Boston 4) Boston

DOD: 26 February 1913

POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea

cen: 1880 Boston/hooper heart trouble in hh Emma F domestic b PA
1910 Boston/lab st dept rents w/ bdr Adelaide Dewey (cen enum bef 4th m)

serv: priv Co A 54th

children: John S Jr b 1887 (mother show as Annie E)

note: first wife d 1866 Boston, second wife d 1906 Boston, third wife d 1909 Boston

note: laborer when he enlisted 12 Feb 1863 at Worcester and when son born 1887; father had moved from PA to Worcester 1850; disch 21 Aug 1865 at Boston; was member of GAR Post 1876; lost right arm when he fell and train wheels ran over him; drove teams for city of Boston [Greene 43–44]; drec gives alias as David Brown; lab at time of fourth mar

note: “From Many States,” *Boston Globe*, 1 Jun 1897, 6, notes that John S Brown and 3 other men of color were officers of the sections of “colored men” in the unveiling parade that followed the officers, who were in one platoon

Bundy, George L.

DOB: 12 March 1840

POB: Concord NH greene, MA drec

father: George Bundy

mother: Eliza A. Rickman or Richmond drec

spouse: Minnie A. Cisco b RI

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DOM: 19 Sept 1898
POM: Oxford
DOD: 11 July 1917 drec
POD: Worcester drec
bur: Hope Cem Worcester

cen: 1865 Worcester/barber in hh mother b MA
1900 Worcestre/barber in hh wife Mary, laundress
1910 Worcester/no occup in hh wife Mary washerwoman, cousin

dir: 1901 Worcester/barber h 54 Bowdoin
1908 Worcester/h 54 Bowdoin
1914 Worcester/h 41 John

rank: priv, sgt Co A 54th

note: barber at 30 Mar 1863 enlistment at Boston, wounded at Ft Wagner, discharged from hospital at Portsmouth Grove RI 24 Dec 1863 [Greene 47]; drec shows wife at 41 John St Worcester

note: upholsterer at time of marriage

***Bush, James William**

DOB: 28 August 1843, Aug 1843 1900c
POB: KY 60c, 1900c, Lexington KY milrec, Xenia OH obit
spouse: Alice b 1865 IL
DOD: 21 April 1918
POD: Lincoln NB

cen: 1860 Xenia OH / lab w/ Trotter fam in hh farmer Henry B Galloway
1900 Lincoln NB/rr porter rents w/ wife, dau, gradson, bdr

dir: 1893 Lincoln NB/col'd porter B&M
1900 Lincoln NB/col'd porter B&M
1914 Lincoln NB/ c [colored], porter, wife Alice

rank: first sgt Co K 54th

children: Mabelle M May 1884 KS

note: 1860c he is living with AG Trotter ae 42, James Trotter 20 clerk b KY, Lilla A Trotter 18, and Mattie G Trotter 9 KY; none are shown as people of color

note: was a student at enlistment 12 May 1863 in Co K 54th, promoted to full sergeant next day and to full first sergeant 14 May 1864; mustered out at Mt Pleasant SC 20 Aug 1865; 16 July 1864 he requests 30 day furlough, in letter from Morris Island, states that "I have just received word that my wife is dead" and he needs to go attend to property she left; "also in 1858 some property was left to my mother & myself since then my mother has died and I have knowledge that my uncle is squandering the property there being no one to attend to taking it out of his hands"; from Morris

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Island, first Lt A Watson Leonard commanding Co K has "Sergt. Bush has always been a worthy & meritorious soldier"

note: he enlisted 19 Jan 1872 ae 29 from Fort Davis TX in Co M 9th Cavalry and discharged at Fort Selden NM 19 Jan 1877, private of "excellent" character by US Army Register of Enlistments; enlisted 23 Aug 1877 at Santa Fe ae 34 in Co H 9th Cav, disch 22 Aug 1882 at camp near Clines Branch Coat expiration of service, a private character "good" by same; he was from Lincoln NB when he attended Shaw unveiling; worked as a RR porter in Lincoln after his military service

note: "From Many States," *Boston Globe*, 1 Jun 1897, 6, notes that James W Bush and 3 other men of color were officers of the sections of "colored men" in the unveiling parade that followed the officers, who were in one platoon

note: *Lincoln (NB) Journal Star*, 22 Apr 1918, 10: James William Bush born Xenia OH 28 Aug 1843 and d 21 April 1918 at Lincoln, was first sergeant Co K 54th, enlisted at Boston, served at Wagner and 16 other engagements, he was in the regular army nearly 18 years and had lived in Lincoln 29 years, where he was "in the employ of the Burlington during the entire period." No mention of survivors

note: 1920c widow a maid living in Lincoln NB with son Harold, hotel porter, his wife Dore, two grandchildren, and her brother Fredrick Curtis 49 b IL music teacher

Caesar, Samuel L

DOB: 1848 c10

POB: MA c10, Canada c80, c20, milrec, St Armond Canada mrec2

father: John b RI, Stutley mrec2

mother: Eliza Billings b VT

spouse 1) Hannah Louisa Hoose b Dalton 1854–1911 2) Emma Eliza Hooks b 1875 Newbern NC

DOM: 1) 1874 2) 25 Aug 1915

POM: 2) Bennington VT

DOD: 8 Feb 1929

POD: Dalton

cen: 1880 Dalton/lab in hh wife, son Arthur A ae 2
1890 vet sched Dalton/private 5th MA Cavalry
1910 Dalton/farmer in hh wife, 3 children, in laws, grandchildren
1920 Dalton/town forest warden

dir: 1907 Dalton/tree warden h 82 High (also here John M farmhand, Miss Lottie A)

serv: priv Co B 5th MA Cav

children: Arthur A 1878, John M 1883–1948, Charlotte A 1887 (m Leon Tucker), Archie D 1893

note: farmer ae 18 when he enlisted 19 Feb 1864, at Cambridge, b Canada; vet schedule shows him enlisting 4 Mar 1864 and serving until 31 Oct 1865; sick at Brazos Post hospital beginning 9 Sept 1865; mustered out 31 Oct 1865 at Clarksville TX

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note: photographed with and identified as 54th vet at 50th anniversary of Wagner battle 18 July 1913
(*Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1913)

note: “Dalton. Grip Claims Civil War Veteran,” *Berkshire Evening Eagle*, 9 February 1929, 14:
Samuel L Caesar, ae 81, Civil War vet, died at High Street home day before; he was “a full-blooded
Massasoit Indian” born at St. Albans, Quebec, son of John and Eliza; father a “runner in the war of
1812, but his descendants do not know whether he was employed by the British or Americans. . . .
The Indian messengers or runners of those days were frequently entrusted with messages of vital
importance.” Notes Samuel was underage at time of elisted and went to Boston, “where he was
not known” and said he was older; enlisted 14 Feb 1864; assigned to Co G 5th Cavalry (differs from
enlistment record) and mustered in 4 Mar 1864; took part in battle at Baylor’s Farm VA 15 June
1864, then did picket duty on N side Appomattox, then guard duty at Confederate POW camp at
Point Lookout MD; then at Richmond and there at surrender of city 3 Apr 1865; then patrol duty
in TX until discharged 31 Oct 1865; served in all offices of the Dalton Post 1887 GAR, was sexton of
Main St cemetery in Dalton 12 years; buried “with full military honors”; survived by second wife,
dau Mrs Leon Tucker of Dalton, son John M, Dalton, and son Archie D, New Haven CT; was in the
ice business in Dalton 19 years

note: “Samuel L Caesar a Wise Man from Youth,” *Berkshire Eagle*, 12 February 1929, 18: letter to
editor from T. Nelson Baker, pastor Second Congregational Church, Pittsfield, dated 11 Feb 1929:
Caesar had joined Second Congo under Rev Samuel Harrison and was a member until he died;
notes that he “identified himself fully with the race that he helped to free.”

note: Emma L Caesar b 30 Aug 1933 d 28 Oct 1998 at Pittsfield, daughter of Clifford H and Grace
E Stevenson Potter, LPN, may have been related by marriage to him; his son John M was Dalton
tree warden for more than 30 years, and John’s son Samuel Lawrence Caesar also a tree surgeon
and warden; his son Archie served in WW1, and Archie’s sons Millard was a steamfitter on USS
New Jersey for two years in South Pacific during WW2, Archie also a steamfitter, and Lawrence at
sergeant at Ft Devens [“Millard Caesar Gets Discharge,” *Berkshire Eagle*, 1 Jan 1946, 5]

*Carney, William H

DOB: 1840

POB: Norfolk VA [see notes]

father: William ca 1800–1885

mother: Frances Ann Dean/Dine (sometimes Nancy) 1816–88

spouse: Susanna Williams b 1846 Norfolk VA; d 21 Jan 1916

DOM: 11 Oct 1865 mrec

POM: New Bedford mrec

DOD: 9 Dec 1908 drec

POD: Boston drec

burial: Oak Grove Cem, New Bedford

cen: 1870 New Bedford/postman w/ wife Susannah

1880 New Bedford/letter carrier w/ wife, dau, mother, f-in-law 146 Mill

1890 vet sched New Bedford/wounded hip, head, has rheumatism

1900 New Bedford/letter carrier w/ wife and dau Clara, music teacher 128 Mill

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dir: 1859 New Bedford/family NL
1867 New Bedford/h 146 Mill [possibly his father]
1877 New Bedford/letter carrier PO, h 146 Mill
1883 New Bedford/letter carrier PO, h 146 Mill
1899 New Bedford/letter carrier h 128 Mill
1904 Boston/messenger 331 State House rms 227 W Canton

serv: priv, sgt Co C 54th

children: Clara Heronia 1876–1939

prob: #26996 NB/will 24 Oct 1901 leaves all to wife as long as she does not again marry and to dau Clara as long as she is unmarried; if income insufficient, sell “homestead on Mill St” [#128] if practical; 13 Jan 1909 inventory lists only house and lot corner Elm and Cedar at \$1950 but doesn’t list Mill St house; personal estate in cash and shares \$425.01 (at wife’s death no real estate listed but \$1000 in furnishings and \$2775.95 in bank)

note: father possibly enslaved by Major Richard Carney of Portsmouth VA, who freed “Bill” and five others by will 1 Feb 1839 and requests that all but one, Lucy, migrate to Liberia; this Bill Carney listed in Norfolk Co Register of free negros 19 Nov 1860, but son Wm H says his father was in New Bedford by 1856, and he was certainly there by Dec 1858, when he’s recorded as one of the original members of Salem Baptist; in 1859 Carney asks New Bedford merchant Loum Snow to help negotiate purchase of wife Nancy, enslaved by Joseph Carter in Norfolk; Snow’s granddaughters told WPA that her freedom was purchased for \$300, \$80 of which she had saved, and sent to New Bedford after 30 Sept 1859 and that Snow paid to bring children to New Bedford after Union troops occupied Portsmouth [National Archives RG 69.5.5]; another Wm Carney was enslaved by Sarah Twyne estate and escaped; see Wm Still, *UGRR*, 453–55, but details are not all similar

notes: he says in letter to Col MS Littlefield, written from Morris Island 13 Oct 1863 that he was born in Norfolk in 1840 and that mother’s name was Ann Dean and was enslaved by Major Carney but freed by his will; at ae 14 he went to a “private and secret school kept in Norfolk by a minister” (could this be Geo M Bain?); at ae 15 “embraced the gospel” and took up coasting trade with his father; 1856 he left sea “for a time, and my father set out to look for place to live in peace and freedom”; went first to PA, NYC and then New Bedford before the Civil War; after being there “a short time, he sent for his family, and there they still dwell. I remained in the city with the family, pursuing the avocations of a jobber of work for stores, and at such places as I could find employment. I soon formed connection with a church under charge of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, now chaplain of the 55th Mass. Volunteers”; before the war had “strong inclination to prepare myself for the ministry,” but then responded to call for troops [*Liberator*, 6 Nov 1863 180:506; also “Interesting Correspondence,” *Salem Register*, 5 Nov 1863, 2]

note: enlists 4 Mar 63 in Co C 54th [Emilio, milrecs have 17 Feb as enlistment date] at ae 22, single, seaman, and becomes sergeant; wounded 18 July 1863 Ft Wagner [emilio 81,84, 90], but carried “national colors” to the parapet and managed to bring them back to rear with words, “Boys, the old flag never touched the ground”; Christian A Fleetwood testified in deposition for Carney’s medal, “Carney threw away his rifle, snatched the flag, and springing to the front, led the way up to the parapet”; he was isolated by heavy fire and retreated in a “storm of shot and shell” that wounded him 3 times; he refused to surrender flag to anyone but survivors of his own regiment; when he found his fellow troops he said, “Boys I only did my duty. The old flag never touched the ground.” [Mulderink diss] Carney discharged 30 Jun 1864 Morris Island, SC (Greene states he

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was born in NB in 1840, mistaken; also states that his wound at Fort Wagner gave him “partial paralysis of the nerves of sensation and motion supplying the leg and a gunshot wound through the left buttock,” accdg to his disability certificate of discharge); one of 4 enlistees in 54th to receive Gillmore Medal and 1st African Am (by service date) to receive Congressional Medal of Honor 9 May 1900 for “most distinguished gallantry in action at Fort Wagner” [Adams, Greene, milrecs]; retired from New Bedford post office 1901 and goes to work at MA State House next seven years; he was messenger in office of “his comrade-in-arms” Col. Wm M. Olin, secretary of the commonwealth; dies from injuries sustained by getting leg caught in elevator in State House 1908

note: His service record that that he was “absent sick” July 1863 and wounded in action 18 Jul at Morris Island; Oct 1863 absent sick at St Augustine FL; Nov & Dec absent sick at Beaufort Hospital since 20 Oct 1863 and another record states he was discharged 5 Dec 1863 from hospital; Feb 1864 absent sick at Hilton Head since 6 Feb 1864; Jul 1864 loss June 30/64 Black Island SC discharged in Surgeons certificate disability by order Maj Gen JG Foster; his CW record states he was “discharged for disability June 30 1864 by order of Maj Genl Foster / Promoted to be Sergt Mar 30 1863 / Wound at Wagner July 18 1863 in head & hips”; company muster roll March and Apr 1864 notes he was “sick in quarters stop for transportation from Boston to N.Y. by order of Capt. W. M. McKim A.Q.M. \$4.00”

note: offers to buy his father-in-law John W. William’s half-interest in houses and lots, inc 128 Mill, in 1892

note: he was commander of Post 146 of the GAR 1872 when they planned to celebrate Decoration Day; Post 146 was then the Robert G Shaw Post [*Boston Daily Advertiser*, 29 May 1872, 2]; was on the executive committee of the Grant Club, organized by colored citizens making arrangements to represent NB at the MA Convention at FH 5 Sept 1872 [*Boston Traveler*, 4 Sept 1872, 2]; “Battle Flags,” *Boston Herald*, 22 Dec 1885, 8, notes that the 54th was in 9 battles and skirmishes and has 3 flags, 1 national and 2 state, representing it; the national color is worn thin and ragged,” and “there is but little left” of one of the state flags, while the other “is gashed and battered, and shows the marks of repairs. On the staff is a card written at the time the pole was returned to the commonwealth. The card reads: ‘Color staff of the 54th Massachusetts volunteers, from which the state regiment color was torn during the assault on Fort Wagner, July 18, 1863. Received by his excellency, John A. Andrew, the Governor, from the hands of Sergt. Johnson. Any portions of the color that may have been brought off with the staff are supposed to have been carried off in fragments as trophies, while in charge of Lieut. Littlefield.’ A state color was issued to the regiment to take the place of the one lost, and is attached to this original staff.” This particular flag had been planted upon the Wagner works when a rebel seized it, and the bearer struggled with him, which tore the flag from staff and Union soldier kept it, but Confederate General RS Ripley officially reported that the flag was found in the ditch of the works and taken to Charleston, and eventually Ripley got it back and took it with him to London; then, after vowing never to return it until a Democrat was elected MA governor, he finally did return it 12 Jan 1875 to Gov Wm Gaston of MA, who placed it with the other flags in Doric Hall at State House. Carney, according to this account, carried the US ensign

note: was on the exec comm appointed at Worcester 1886 to plan a national reunion of colored veterans for 1887; Walter H. B. Remington, “Hero of Fort Wagner: Tale of Color Bearer William H. Carney,” *Boston Journal*, 29 Dec 1892, 5: “There are few people who have not heard of the gallant old soldier, who, it is said, was the greatest hero of his race in the war.” Story here “as told by himself”; notes he helped organized the Robert G. Shaw Post 146, GAR, in NB. Carney is quoted here to state, “On the 18th of July, 1863, about noon, we commenced to draw near this great fort under a tremendous cannonading from the fleet directly upon the fort. When we were

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within probably a thousand yards of the fort we halted and lay flat upon the ground, waiting for the order to charge. The brave Col. Shaw and his Adjutant, in company with General Strong, came forward and addressed the regiment with encouraging words. Gen. Strong said to the regiment, 'Men of Massachusetts, are you ready to take that fort to-night?' And the regiment simultaneously answered, 'Yes.' Then followed three cheers, proposed by General Strong, for the regiment, three cheers for Col. Shaw, three cheers for Governor Andrew and Massachusetts, and three cheers for General Strong. / "We were all ready for the charge, and the regiment started. We had got but a short distance when we were opened upon with musketry, shell, grape and canister, which mowed down our men right and left. / "As the color-bearer became disabled I threw away my gun and seized the colors, making my way to the head of the column, but before I reached there the line had descended the embankment into the ditch and was making its way upon Wagner itself. / "While going down the embankment our column was staunch [*sic*] and full. As we ascended the breastworks the volleys of grapeshot which came from right and left, and of musketry in front, mowed the men down as a scythe would mow the thick grass. In less than twenty minutes I found myself alone, struggling upon the ramparts, while all around me were the dead and wounded, lying one upon another. Here I said, 'I cannot go into the fort alone,' and so I halted and knelt down, holding the flag in my hand. / "While there the musket balls and grapeshot were flying all around me, and as they struck the sand would fly in my face. I knew my position was a critical one, and I began to watch to see if I would be let alone. Discovering that the forces had renewed their attack further to the right and the enemy's attention being drawn thither, I turned and discovered a battalion of men coming toward me on the ramparts of Wagner. They proceeded until they were in front of me, and I raised my flag and started to join them, when from the light of the cannon discharged on the fort I saw that they were enemies. I wound the colors around the staff and made my way down the parapet into the ditch, which was without water when I crossed it before, but was now filled with water that came up to my waist. / "Out of the number that came up with me there was no man moving erect save myself, although they were not all dead, but wounded. / "I rising to see if I could determine my course to the rear, the bullet I now carry in my body came whizzing like a mosquito. I was shot. Not being prostrated by the shot I continued my course, yet had not gone far before I was struck by a second shot. / "Soon after I saw a man coming toward me, and when within hailing distance I asked him who he was. He replied: 'I belong to the One Hundredth New York,' and then inquired if I were wounded. Upon my replying in the affirmative, he came to my assistance and helped me to the rear. 'Now, then,' said he, 'let me take the colors and carry them for you.' / "My reply was that I would not give them to any man unless he belonged to the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. / "So we pressed on, but did not go far before I was wounded in the head. We came at length within hailing distance of the rear guard, who caused us to halt, and upon asking us who we were and finding I was wounded, took us to the rear and through the guard. An officer came, and after taking my name and regiment, put us in charge of the hospital corps, telling them to find my regiment. / "When we finally reached the latter the men cheered me and the flag. My reply was, 'Boys, the old flag never touched the ground.'" The reporter stated, "The Sergeant's eyes brighten as he tells the story, his closely-knit form straightens and the blood courses through his veins with the vigor of youth, as the memory of that glorious experience returns. 'The truest courage and determination were manifested on both sides on that day at Fort Wagner,' he continues. 'There was no longer a question as to the valor of Northern negroes. The assault on Fort Wagner completely removed all prejudices in the department. / 'General Gillmore issued an order forbidding all distinction to be made among the troops in his command, so that, while we lost hundreds of our numbers, we nevertheless were equal in all things save the pay. / 'However, while the Government refused to pay us equally, we continued to fight for the freedom of the enslaved and for the restoration of our country. We did this, not only at Wagner, but also in the battles on James Island, Honey Hill, Olustee and at Boykins' Mill.'" Reporter adds that the occasion probably second most meaningful to Carney was the visit of General Russell A Alger to NB in January 1890, when Carney gave a speech at dinner in his honor; Alger had been "National

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Commander of the Grand Army at that time”; Alger left his place at head of table and marched down to where Carney was seated, grasped his hand, pointed to the Gold Medal on his chest, and said, “I want to congratulate you. I would rather carry that badge than to receive any office in the gift of the people of the United States.” [“Gen. Alger’s Movements,” *Boston Globe*, 26 Jan 1890, 13: Alger, commander in chief of the GAR and wife to arrive in Boston early the next day and then will take 9:30 am train to New Bedford, where Post 90 and Post 1 were to receive him and escort him to City Hall, then board of trade, GAR and others will be able to shake his hand; then a reception at City Hall and dinner at Parker House; will leave NB for Rutland VT 28 Jan, but no coverage of his NB visit in Boston papers]

note: “Colored People Celebrate,” *Boston Herald*, 2 Aug 1889, 4: dateline New Bedford 1 Aug anniversary of British West Indies enslaved in 1834 observed here with procession including Boston fife and drum corps, RG Shaw Veterans Association, William H Carney Camp 82 Sons of Veterans (founded 1887), both of Boston, and many people of color from Boston; 4000 attended; “Colored Veterans of Boston,” *Boston Herald*, 26 May 1890, 4: Robert A Bell Post 134 had services of Charles St Church and “old soldiers” joined by Co L, 6th Reg; Wm H Carney Camp Sons of Veterans, Richard Allen; Wesley J Furlong was major of the Vet Assn; “State Sons of Veterans,” *Boston Herald*, 15 Jun 1893, 7, notes that the eleventh annual encampment of the MA Division Sons of Veterans was opened at NB Odd Fellows Hall this day, and Carney spoke at evening banquet; “Are We Brothers?” *Boston Herald*, 15 May 1895, 3: letter from member of Wm H Carney Camp 82, MA Div Sons of Vets condemn actions of everyone engaged in any way in the erection and unveiling of a monument to Confederate soldiers in Chicago 30 May 1895; “They are Off: Grand Army Boys Started Today for St. Paul.” *Boston Journal*, 29 Aug 1896, 1: Carney among them, and the only one from New Bedford; “Local Varieties,” *Boston Herald*, 27 May 1897, 4: welcoming meeting for the vets of 54th and 55th MA, 5th Cavalry, and Navy at Fanueil Hall next Monday, with Gov Wolcott and Mayor Quincy to attend and Geo T Downing to preside; Carney, “the hero of Fort Wagner,” also will be present

note: C. A. Fleetwood, Washington DC, to the Secretary of War, 26 Feb 1900 (on stationery of the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900), states that he filed application to issue medal of honor to Carney on 15 Jan 1900 along with affidavits and references to official records; “It is purposed to have a place for the photographs and official records of the colored men who have received these Medals of Honor, in the Negro Educational Exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900, and as our time is growing very short now, I respectfully beg the favor of special action in order that this man, one of the first to so distinguish himself and honor his country may be included therein.” Documents included with application included Andrew’s 9 Nov 1863 recommendation that Carney be granted at 30-day furlough “for meritorious conduct in the field”; Lewis H. Douglass, Washington DC, 15 January 1900, affidavit in support of Carney’s Medal of Honor: notes he was sergeant major of 54th on 18 July 1863 and took part in Wagner assault; had read affidavits of John WM Appleton and Charles H Harrison re: particulars of Carney and certifies that they are true account of his gallantry; he was some distance from the color guard at the time but saw Carney when he came to rear “and when he was the recipient of the plaudits of his comrades for his pluck in keeping the colors from trailing in the dirt.” [National Archives] Sec of War issued a medal of honor of “new design” to Carney 14 April 1905. On 9 May 1900 Asst Sec of War GD Meiklejohn wrote Carney saying Congressional Medal of Honor awarded to him that day and would be sent by registered mail “as soon as it shall have been suitable engraved”; Carney wrote 26 May 1900 saying he’d received it [Meiklejohn letter transcribed in “Has Congressional Medal,” *New Bedford Mercury*, 18 May 1900; this article also notes that Carney had recently received “large matrix group of 15 colored heroes who served in the civil war, his own portrait being among them. Mr. Carney was informed by the commissioner [for the Paris expo] that

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the group picture, of which he had received a copy, had been made for exhibition at the Paris exposition” and names the 15 men and their units]

note: “For Wagner Anniversary,” *Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1902, 4: 39th anniversary of battle noted by RG Shaw Vet Assn at HQ 125 Chandler St, Carney spoke and told his story of the battle and then added, “We who went to the front at that time have nearly finished our lives among you. I want the young people who are to take our places in the future to never forget Col Robert G. Shaw and what he stood for. It took a courage that was ideal in those days to march forth from Boston at the head of a regiment of 1000 negroes and to go down in the hotbed of secession. Col Shaw and his courageous white officers went forward, and though nearly all were cut down in death at Wagner they left behind him with their black soldiers an imperishable, heroic memory that will stand as long as Massachusetts lives. / “I fear, though, that we have not so many friends as we had in times past. New conditions reached after 35 years seem to have hidden the love of our friends. Still I do not believe that the sons of the men in Massachusetts, who in the early 60s were our friends, have wholly forgotten us. What is needed is some incident that will rekindle the fires of friendship now smoldering under the desire of the rapid getting of wealth. These fires will not, cannot be rekindled by loud talk or threats or other attempts on the part of some thoughtless orators among us who court momentary notoriety. Such talk has done more to hurt us as a people in New England than anything else I know of. I am not for surrendering a single right or privilege, as a citizen of this republic, that I helped win in that bloody struggle for my race, my children and myself, but I do believe in keeping close to the best that pertains to law, order and good citizenship.” Other speakers were Robert T Teamoh, Julius P Goddard, Curtis J Wright, and Robert Gould Shaw Furlong (Wesley Furlong’s son)

note: “Negroes’ Tribute to Col. R. G. Shaw,” *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1904, 3, notes that 3 “colored organizations” paid tribute to Shaw at the memorial on Boston Common yesterday; Carney spoke at an event organized by the Robert A Bell Post on Park St and said, “I glory in this grand old commonwealth, which dared trust its white flag in our keeping and gave us such an able and fearless commander”; the post and relief corps had earlier gone to Rainsford Island to decorate 105 soldiers’ and sailors’ graves

note: Onley notebook (Cruz collection) says he bought African Christian Church on Middle St and turned it into apartment house; torn down 1920s and was in 1960s the vacant lot east of 277 Middle

note: Carrie Lee Blanchet, “William Harvey Carney,” *Negro History Bulletin* 7, 5 (Feb 1944): 107–8, states that after Carney was mustered out he married Oct 1865 and was a “trader,” then supt of street lights for a year, then went to CA and came back 1870 and became letter carrier, one of four in city; collected china and had a victrola and loved listening to music

note” “Sergt W. H. Carney’s Leg Crushed in Elevator,” *Boston Globe*, 23 Nov 1908, 3 (with portrait), notes that his leg was badly crushed about 11:30 am at state house; he’d boarded a car on second floor, elevator in charge of Edwin R Rollins, and just as he entered he heard the elevator man call out, “Second,” which he thought meant that someone in the car wanted to get out; Carney tried to back out just as the door was about to close and his leg was caught between the sill and the car, and Rollins was able to stop the car before the third floor was passed; an attorney on the elevator at the time said the crushing “was terrible,” that Carney’s right leg was broken and badly crushed

note: “State Honors Negro Soldier,” *New York Age*, 17 Dec 1908, 1, notes the “old flag” statement and says he was buried Friday before “with imposing ceremonies”; state put flags at half mast on all its buildings, and Carney’s body, wrapped in Am flag, lay in state at the chapel of Walden Banks, where hundred viewed it; next to Shaw Carney “was the most heroic figure of the 54th

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Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment,” died from accident two weeks earlier from which “thought he would recover”; by *Globe* 10 Dec 1908 Walden Banks was at 142 Lenox St and he was there by wish of wife and daughter; body then to be taken to NB on 8:50 am train next day for funeral services there in afternoon

note: “One of the Heroes of Fort Wagner,” *Boston Globe*, 9 Dec 1908, 1, 6, with portrait on page 1: “At the state house, where his courtesous deportment made hosts of friends, the death of Sergt Carney will be greatly felt, and he will be missed by the thousands of school children from all over the state, who have sought him there, through their instructors, to hear the story of how in the fierce action before battery Wagner in a series of engagements, in front of Charleston, he coined the phrase [*sic*] that has been repeated around the world, ‘The old flag never touch the ground.’ He was one of the few civil war veterans who could proudly wear upon his breast the congressional medal of honor that was awarded the most valiant men in the civil war.” Also quotes one of Carney’s versions of the Wagner incident at length

note: death also reported in “Saved Flag at Fort Wagner,” *Evening Star* (DC), 9 Dec 1908, 1; “Carney Dead,” *Fall River Daily Globe*, 9 Dec 1908, 9; “Brave Sergeant Dies,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 9 Dec 1908, 1; “William H. Carney,” *New-York Tribune*, 10 Dec 1908, 7 (same 2-graph story as in *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*); “Sergt Carney Dead,” *Boston Globe*, 10 Dec 1908, 10; “Color Sergeant Carney Dead,” *Morning Journal-Courier* (New Haven CT), 10 Dec 1908, 12; “Saved Color,” *Daily Press* (Newport News VA), 10 Dec 1908, 1; “Wm. H. Carney Dead,” *News and Observer* (Raleigh NC), 11 Dec 1908, 2; *Broad Ax* (Salt Lake City), 17 Dec 1908; *Ottawa (KS) Daily Republic* (from *Springfield Republican*, which called Carney “the man to whom the state paid honor as to a president, an ex-president, a governor, an ex-governor or a United States senator. . . . Certainly Sergreant Carney had a right to take particular satisfaction in the Col. Shaw memorial by Saint Gaudens, which he daily passed in going to his humble work at the statehouse.” N P Hallowell stated in the *Transcript*, “A very gallant man has passed away, the victim of an elevator accident at the state-house” and adds that his “old flag” words “are immortalized in the pages of history, and the verses of poetry”

note: “Pay Last Tributes,” *Boston Globe*, 12 Dec 1908, 7: with New Bedford 11 Dec dateline: funeral held at his New Bedford home this afternoon with Edward A Horton chaplain of MA Senate conducting it; then Post 1 GAR, of which Carney was a member, performed its ritual; Gov Guild sent a huge floral tribute in shape of state seal and Sec of State Olin attended and placed an “immense bouquet” next to the casket; numerous other bouquets, quartet sang, pallbearers Edward D Hayden, John C Guinn (both Odd Fellows), Benjamin F Little and John J Holmes (both Post 1); efforts to be made to have the state appropriate \$5000 for Carney’s family, which senator-elect Samuel Ross will draw up and introduce to legislature in January

note: “For Statue to Sergt Carney,” *Boston Globe*, 12 Jan 1909, 3: memorial meeting at St Paul’s Baptist church on Camden St in honor of Carney and Nathaniel Joseph Butler, Garrison’s *Liberator* office boy; church was filled, and resolutions passed to effect that the Boston Historical and Literary Association and the colored people of Boston petition legislature “to erect a lasting memorial to to Sergt Carney in the form of a statue on the state house grounds, or by a tablet on the walls of the state house: also that the sum of \$10,000 be appropriated by the state for the family of Sergt Carney.” Many GAR veterans and “a few of the old 54th regt” to which Carney belonged were there; in center of floral tributes on pulpit “was a small silk American flag, which was contributed by Mrs. May Hallowell Loud”; also an American flag for the “colored group” accompanying Carney’s body to NB, given by the Congressional Medical Association, and the other by Mrs RB Records of Malden for the colored Baptist church in New Bedford to which Carney belonged; musical selections by the Goins sisters and Carl T White, James H Moore of Co L 6th Reg sounded taps, Dr WO Taylor read Dunbar’s “Colored Soldier,” and Wm M Trotter read

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resolutions; letters of regret from Sec Wm Olin, Garrison Jr, Mrs Loud, TW Higginson, Elizabeth Carter, James H Wolff, LR Stone, Emilio, and seven others; addresses by Ex Gov Guild, Mark De Mortie, Bumstead (former Pres of Atlanta University), JL Parker, who was with Shaw when he fell, Furlong, Rev WH Burch, ID Barnett, and six others; "State House Notes," *Boston Herald*, 13 Jan 1909, notes that resolve to provide \$5000 to Carney's widow presented in Senate yesterday by Ross of New Bedford; "To Secure a 5-Cent Rate," *Boston Globe*, 14 Jan 1909, 14, notes that on motion of Kemp of Springfield the house "nonconcurrent in the senate's reference of the resolve in favor of the family of the late Sergt William H. Carney, the measure providing that the state pay \$5000 to his widow," and upper branch sent it to Committee on Public Service while the house sent it to its ways and means committee; "Gets Check for \$3000," *Fall River Globe*, 11 Feb 1909, 9, notes that Carney's widow got a \$3000 check from the National Assn of Letter Carriers, his death benefit; Carney was a charter member of the New Bedford branch of the group; "On Beacon Hill," *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 22 Apr 1909, 6, notes that the committee on ways and means voted to report a resolve to pay to Carney's widow \$180 a year for the rest of her life; Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Journal of the Senate for the Year 1909* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., 1909), 815, 823, 894, indicates that Senate passed appropriation 30 Apr 1909, to be engrossed, and sent to governor for signature (Senate Resolve 14 and Senate Bill No 336); *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1909* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., 1909), 1062, notes that bill went through 3d reading, passed 6 May 1909 and sent to be engrossed.

image: *Tell It with Pride* 6, 18 (ca 1887, with Gillmore Medal of Honor and GAR medal), plate 67, plate 69

Craig, Noah

DOB: 1835 milrec, 1832 drec

POB: New Bedford milrec, DE drec

father: Jacob

spouse: Julia E Washington 1841-1905

DOD: 28 May 1900

POD: Attleboro

bur: Woodlawn, Attleboro

cen: 1890 vet Attleboro/served 18 Mar 63-2 Aug 65

dir: 1889 Attleboro/lab h rear Leroy
1897 Attleboro/labor h 22 George

serv: private Co C 54th

note: enlistment records for him show him as a laborer and a seaman (on separate records), enlisted 18 March 183, mustered in 30 March; survived Ft Wagner; milrec shows him as assistant cook Sept and Oct 1863, washerman March 1864, May to July 1865 laundryman for company; company muster roll Jul-Aug 1864 notes he was free on or before 19 Apr 1861; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston with \$6.89 clothing account debt but was due \$100 from government, with \$6 taken out for equipments

note: drec states he was black ae 68 d of edema of lungs, laborer DE, pars Jacob and "unknown" from DE; can't find him in any Attleboro census except 1890 vetsched

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note: possibly in the crew of bark *Fancy*, which sailed 13 June 18860 for Pacific from New Bedford ; seaman, "residence unknown" [*Whaleman's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript*, 19 Jun 1860, 2]

Davis, John
DOB: 1842 milrec
POB: Cumberland Co PA milrec
father: John b 1805 VA
mother: Jane b 1802 VA
spouse: Mary b 1842 VA

cen: 1870 Carlisle PA/lab in pars' hh
1880 Carlisle PA/lab w/ wife, niece

serv: priv, sgt Co C 5th MA Cav

note: was a farmer when he enlisted in Co C 5th Cav 1 Jun 1864; first sergeant by 29 Feb 1864, patient at US General Hospital Fort Monroe VA when he was discharged 12 or 13 Jun 1865

note: 1870c shows father as a cobbler with \$625 real property, and John Jr might have been married then (a Mary ae 31 in hh); 1880c shows him as John Davis Jr next to John Davis Sr b 1820 VA, wife Jane b 1815 VA

note: a John Davis b 1480 black lab single b DC registered for draft in Chester PA June 1863; a John Davis, black, b ca 1843, died at Philadelphia 1908 and bur there 3 June 1908

note: on one of committees for planning 1887 reunion of 54th, 55th, 5th Cav and ided as from Carlisle PA at that time

***De Mortie, Mark René**

DOB: c 1829 c55, 8 May 1829 bio (see notes)
POD: VA c55, Norfolk VA dau's drec, bio
mother: Frances Brown
spouse: 1) Harriet ? [div] 2) Cordelia Downing
DOM: 1) ? 2) 14 May 1870
POM: 1) by 1865 2) DC
DOD: 3 or 5 September 1914
POD: Newport RI
bur: Woodlawn, Everett

cen: 1855 Boston/bootmaker w/ mother in hh John Oliver
dir: 1870 Chicago/col'd, James & DeMortie (NL under James), res 108 3d Ave
1892 Boston/clothes cleaner 7 Alden h 219 W Newton
1900 Boston/tailor 5 ½ Chardon h 34 Yarmouth
1908 Boston/tailor 40 Merrimac h 38 Wigglesworth Roxbury
1909–1914 Newport RI/bds 84 John

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rank: sutler 54th (NL in fold3 or soldiers and sailors database)

children: Harriet b 1872 Richmond VA d Boston 1889, Cordelia J 1874 Newport (m 1898 Marcus F Wheatland physician b Barbados)

note: mother b 1803–5 Fredericksburg VA d 23 Sept 1863 Boston

note: second wife was daughter of caterer/restaurateur George T Downing and d in NYC 1 Mar 1917

note: Yacovone, *Voice of Thunder*, 286 n. 11 notes that De Mortie received his sutler job at “insistence of Boston’s black community and with Andrew’s approval. De Mortie supported the regiment’s stand on equal pay and extended a \$1 line of credit to the men. His actions may have been, as GES [George E. Stephens] suggests, self-interested, and he placed himself in further jeopardy by failing to extend credit to the regiment’s officers, who also had not been paid.”

note: secretary with GL Ruffin of call for New England colored people’s convention 1858 [*Liberator*, 3 Jun 1859]; presided at first “emancipation meeting” in Boston 1863 and again at 1905 meeting honoring Garrison [*Boston Herald*, 10 Dec 1905, 13]; *Springfield Republican*, 20 May 1870, 8: “The ‘Downing wedding’ in high colored circles at Washington came off on Wednesday, the only drawback being that it could not be held in church, as the bridegroom has been once divorced”; Downing is 21, DeMortie of “Franco-African descent, a member of the Chicago firm John T. Jones & Co., real estate brokers, and is also engaged in the manufacture of sassafras oil in Richmond”; “Crispus Attucks’ Monument,” *Boston Globe*, 17 May 1887, 2, notes that DeMortie spoke at meeting protesting call by MA Hist Soc to request Gov Ames not to sign bill for Attucks monument on grounds that “these men are not patriots, says the society, but rioters, who attacked the British soldiery and were shot down” and De Mortie here identified as “one who was always willing to aid a runaway slave”; “Black Men Rock the Cradle,” *Boston Herald*, 2 Aug 1890, 5, notes that at FH meeting of blacks in favor of the Lodge elections bill De Mortie was on platform with EG Walker, John J Smith, Geo W Lowther, Capt Nathan Appleton, Richard S Brown, and both NP and RP Hallowell; member of MA Racial Protective Assn and member of committee to form resolutions at indignation meeting at FW about “mob law and lynching in the South” 1895 [*Boston Herald*, 13 Nov 1895, 2] and in many other such meetings in this period; Lewis Hayden’s body was placed in his lot at Woodlawn at his death but moved 1889 to a lot in same cemetery that his widow had just bought [“Local Lines,” *Boston Globe*, 14 June 1889, 5]

note: Pauline E. Hopkins, “Men of Vision. No. 1. Mark René DeMortie,” *New Era Magazine*, February 1916, 35–39: he was born 8 May 1829 at Norfolk VA and died at Newport RI 3 Sept 1914, and states that when he was 18 he interested himself in the work of “Dr.” Harry Lundy, a free man in Norfolk “whose business was running off slaves by the underground railroad and he took charge of Dr. Lundy’s large correspondence with the abolitionists”; DeMortie said in his “own words,” “I continued with Dr. Lundy about four years, rescuing a great number of men and women, sending some twenty slaves to Dr. Tobias at Philadelphia, who forwarded them to Canada, and others direct to New Bedford, Mass., by ships. I would conceal one or two men at a time in a vessel bound for the north, paying the captain or steward twenty-five dollars for a man and fifty dollars for a woman disguised as a man; only one woman at a time could be taken as the risk was much greater than with a man. The slaves paid this money with one exception. In 1851, I went to Boston and met Mr. Lewis Hayden; I told him that many more men would run away had they the means and that one man had been trying to save the money for a year. When I returned to Norfolk, Mr. Hayden gave me twenty-five dollars for this man, and I hired Captain Hunt of New Bedford to take the fugitive with him. He was known in slavery as Tom Speatley, locksmith and lamplighter,

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but he changed his name after he became free. / After this, we helped many more to escape, including Maria Augusta who went to Boston. I also attempted to help Sally Waller, known in New Bedford as Sally Jackson, to reach her brother in Boston, William Dunn, but through a letter written by Dunn to me, which was intercepted by her master, I came very near being imprisoned and was obliged to leave the South myself.” [35–36] So DeMortie went to Boston and opened a shoe store with Wm Dunn at 127 Cambridge St; “Efforts were made to have Governor Clifford of Massachusetts return me South as a fugitive from justice, my crime being running off slaves or stealing ‘property,’ but the governor would not acknowledge property in slaves. My counsel were Lawyers Benjamin F. Hallett, John A. Andre[w] and Benjamin F. Butler, the latter told me to arm myself with a pistol, go to my store and attend to my business, keeping near my money drawer, where I must place the pistol, and if a suspicious party entered the store whom I thought might wish to arrest me, to use it for it was better to be tried for murder in Massachusetts than for running off slaves in Virginia.” [36] DeMortie then became a Free Soiler 1853, a Know-Nothing Party ally in 1854 along with Grimes, Hayden, John S Rock, and Dr John B Smith; he says they were influential in getting bill passed 1855 for desegregating Boston schools and that he, Hayden, and BF Roberts got the abbreviation “col.” removed from voting list names [36–37]. DeMortie states that he, Hayden, Downing, James Scott, Nathaniel Butler and TW Higginson stormed the SW door of Boston Court House in attempt to rescue Burns in 1854 but failed; in 1856 he and Roberts got city laborer jobs; and he says a group called the West Boston Wide-Awakes, “consisting of 144 uniformed and equipped men of color” under John C Coburn paraded with white groups to generate enthusiasm for electing “our loved Lincoln” [37]. In 1863 Andrew asked him to be the Sutler for the 54th, and he was appted by Shaw; because the position required spending money and he hadn’t enough he partnered equally with Joseph Paul Whitfield, a New England man of color then living in Buffalo, and built up \$60k in money and real estate; Whitfield chartered a ship and stocked it with supplies and it sailed with the regiment on 28 May 1863; when the 54th was offered \$7, he told them not to accept it and he would credit them \$2 a month “if they would stand firm for the amount they enlisted for”; when the troops finally were paid, they owed DeMortie and Whitfield about \$14,000, “which they paid like men.” [37] After the war he opened a tailoring shop at 1 Cambridge St, Boston, almost opposite the Revere house; in Jan 1868 when the white laborers at Boston & Albany RR struck, one of the company’s directors, Judge Russell, asked him and Hayden if they could get 120 black men to fill their place; up to that time no colored laborers had been employed by this RR as freight handlers; they sent notices to all black churches to have men meet at the Union Progressive Association, corner Cambridge and Chambers St, and enrolled 120 men, and DeMortie stipulated that they had to get the same pay as the strikers, and men went to work. [38] Went to Chicago 1868 to the Soldiers’ National Convention and then decided to go into real estate in Chicago, then began making sassafras oil, and spent winters in VA; he married Cordelia Downing, dau of Geo T Downing, and then moved to VA full-time, to Nottaway County; his oil factory and saw mill burned and he had no insurance, so he sold part of his real property and went back to Boston 1887 and worked as a tailor. [38] He was one of committee who called upn Gov Ames re: the Attucks Monument and got him to sign the \$10k appropriation; he was only “active colored member” of the Wendell Phillips Memorial Building Association, which created two scholarships in his name and placed at bust of WP at Bates Hall, BPL [38–39]. When Haverhill’s Wm H Moody was the state atty general, DeMortie, Downing, and Edward E Brown were invited to go to Haverhill by Haverhill citizens to take part in a public anti-lynching meeting; when Moody said that if he were a congressman he’d introduce an anti-lynching bill, the three created “sentiment that sent Mr. Moody to Congress,” and he did introduce a bill “finally” 10 Dec 1901. [39] He states he was an organizer of the Colored National League and chair of the Citizens’ Committee of the WLG Centennial; Hopkins says he’d been paralyzed for a number of years before his death and lived with his wife in home of son-in-law Dr Marcus Wheatland of Newport RI, who married his dau Irene.

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note: Wm H Ferris, *The African Abroad* (New Haven CT: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Press, 1913), 2:709–713 features autobiographical sketch of him “per Cordelia,” which appears to be what Hopkins presented it in *New Era*

Derrick, William Benjamin

DOB: 27 July 1843

POB: Antigua, British West Indies

father: Thomas

mother: Eliza

spouse: 1) Mary E White 2) Lillian M Lillian b 1854 VA d 1907 3) Clara Henderson Jones

DOM: 1) 10 Nov 1863 2) ca 1882 3) 1909

POM: 1) Norfolk VA

DOD: 15 April 1913

POD: Flushing NY

cen: 1870 Augusta VA/clergyman b Eng in hh Jacob Rohr white mason

1892 Queens NY/bishop

1900 Queens NY/bishop w/ wife, son, niece, 2 cousins, 2 servants

serv: Navy

children: Joseph B b 1876 Antigua

note: came to US in 1860 by nat pet; an AME bishop and missionary who worked as seaman early in life and was in Union Navy on the *Minnesota* during Monitor-Merrimac battle; joined AME church 1866 and appointed to Mt Pisgah Chapel in DC 1867, ordained deacon 1868; became bishop 1896

note: at naval enlistment rendezvous 22 July 1864 in Boston, identified as 22, landsman b West Indies blacksmith mulatto with “W.B.D” tattooed on right forearm; mustered out 20 Nov 1864 at NYC

note: was on one of committees for 1887 reunion of 54th, 55th, and 5th Cav

Ditmus, Edward Augustus

DOB: 9 August 1841

POB: Monroe or Cranberry NJ

father: Lewis F

mother: Catherine

spouse: 1) Frances EM Ellis b Norwich CT 2) Virginia Sheldon Leach b Norfolk VA

DOM: 1) 9 May 1867 2) 31 Oct 1883

POM: 1) Norwich CT 2) Boston

DOD: 14 Jan 1934

POD: Boston

bur: Evergreen Cem, Boston

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cen: 1900 Boston/laborer 67 Phillips w/ wife, dau
1910 Boston/lab street work 67 Phillips w/ wife Virginia
1920 Boston/alone in hh occup illeg

dir: 1885 Boston/porter B&P depot, h 29 Phillips
1895 Boston/lab rms 65 Phillips
1903 Boston/lab h 67 Phillips
1912 Boston/lab h 40 Williams Roxbury
1921 Boston/h 33 Cunard Roxbury
1933 Boston/res 30 Windsor Roxbury

serv: corp, sgt Co H 29th CT Inf

children: Mary V b 1889 Providence RI d 30 June 1908 accidental drowning Charles River

note: coachman at time of second marriage; might have lived in New Haven 1874 (Edward A Dittymus)

note: laborer when he enlisted at Norwich CT 2 January 1864, apptd corporal 2 Jan 1864, promoted to sergeant 1 Jan 1865, mustered out 24 Oct 1865

note: likely misidentified in some sources as Wm C Ditus, about whom nothing can be learned, and other aspects of identification suggest strongly he and Edw A are same man

note: application for military headstone says it's to be shipped to Bessie Raynor, 30 Windsor St, Boston

Dorsey, Robert M

DOB: 1842 milrec, Dec 1842 c00

POB: Philadelphia milrec

father: John E b 1809 PA d 1881 Boston

mother: Louisa b 1811 PA

spouse: 1) Virginia Green b 1847 Charleston SC 2) Fannie Norton?

DOM: 1) 27 Sept 1866 2) 13 Nov 1890

POM: 1) Boston 2) DC

cen: 1855 Boston/in parents' hh
1865 Boston/in pars hh
1900 Elizabeth City VA/inmate Southern Branch National Home disabled vets
1910 Elizabeth City VA/inmate do

dir: 1869 Boston/waiter bds 48 Phillips (home of John and John H Dorsey, porters)
1870 Boston/painter 129 Merrimac bds 35 N Anderson (home of John H Dorsey)
1887 DC/painter 407 First St SE

rank: priv, sgt Co F 55th

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children: Harry Comfort

note: c55 he has siblings Allen ae 28, Sarah ae 20, John ae 19 waiter, Rachel ae 10

note: 1869 living in home of John and John H Dorsey, both porters, and 1870 in home John H Dorsey

note: mariner when he enlisted 3 June 1863, mustered in 1 June 1863 at Readville; corporal 1 June 1863; Sept–Oct 1863 on detached service at Botany Bay Island with Capt Wales; 13 Nov 1864 his captain James D Thurber asked for furlough for him “to visit his home in Massachusetts. Corp Dorsey has been with the Company since its organization, and has proved himself, both in Camp and Field, to be a faithful and efficient soldier”; sergeant 1 July 1865; mustered out 29 Aug 1865 at Charleston

note: “The Colored Men in Council,” *Boston Journal*, 15 Aug 1872, lists him as captain of Co A of a battalion to help generate enthusiasm for coming presidential election, one of 3 companies to be formed; listed as asst messenger customs house Boston b PA making \$720 a year; “Political: The Rights of Colored Citizens,” *Boston Globe*, 22 Nov 1873, 8: Robert M Dorsey calls meeting of Young Men’s Colored Republican Club to order at Joy St Church day before; “Colored Veterans’ Reunion,” *Boston Globe*, 28 Jul 1887, 8, notes that he was on committee of arrangements for the 1887 reunion 1–2 Aug 87; 1892 he was one of two black delegates supposed to go to Chicago convention when they were arrested on a vagrancy charge in DC and were acquitted [DC *Evening Star*, 14 Jun 1892, 3]; he was on arrangements committee in DC for welcoming back Cos D & F from Spanish-Am war [DC *Evening Star*, 9 Mar 1899, 12]

note: widower, mariner, in 1900c

note: father John at death at 26 N Anderson St; in 1884 John H Dorsey still at 48 Phillips but Robert NL; brother John H died 1907 ae 78 b Harrisburg PA brass worker but mrec 1858 states he was born in Columbia PA (wife Julia Cozzens Savoy b 1835 Providence)

Douglass, Charles Remond

DOB: 21 Oct 1844

POB: Lynn MA

father: Frederick Douglass

mother: Anna Murray

spouse: 1) Mary Elizabeth Murphy b ca 1848 PA d 1878 2) Laura Antoinette Haley b ca 1851 d 1928

DOM: 1) 27 Sept 1866 2) 30 Dec 1880

POM: 1) Rochester NY 2) Canandaigua NY?

DOD: 23 Nov 1920

POD: Washington DC

bur: DC, Old Harmony Cem

serv: corp Co F 54th, sgt 5th Cav

children: m1 Charles Frederick 1867 Rochester, Joseph Henry 1869–1935 bDC, Annie Elizabeth 1871–72, Julia Ada 1873–87, Mary Louise 1874–90, Edward Arthur 1877 Corona? NY; m2 Haley George 1881–1954 b Canandaigua NY

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note: enlisted 23 Apr 1863; was asked to assist Lt Wulff in MA with recruitment and was for that reason accused of desertion; he was discharged from 54th to become first sergeant in the 5th MA Cavalry; after war worked as printer and editor with brother Lewis at the *New National Era* in DC and as pension office clerk [greene 85–86]

note: named for Af Am abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond; first wife b Canandaigua NY; claims to have been first African American man from NY State to enlist in 54th, but is ill at the time of departure from Boston and remains at Readville perhaps through Nov 1863; discharged from 54th 19 Mar 1864, then enlists as sergeant in 5th MA Cavalry 26 Mar 1864; father requests his discharge citing son's ill health, and he is discharged 15 Sept 1864; Oct 1864 apptd clerk (or hospital steward) at Freedmen's Hospital DC

***Douglass, Lewis Henry**

DOB: 9 Oct 1840

POB: New Bedford

father: Frederick Douglass

mother: Anna Murray

spouse: Helen Amelia Loguen b 1843 NY d 1936

DOM: 7 Oct 1869

POM: Syracuse NY

DOD: 19 Sept 1908

POD: Washington DC

cen: 1850 Rochester NY/in pars' hh, 4 sibs (see note)
1860 Rochester NY/printer in pars' hh parents, siblings
1870 DC/printer \$2k real prop with wife
1880 DC/dep marshall in hh with wife, niece, sister in law, neph in law, bdr
1900 DC/realtor in hh w/ wife, 2 bdrs, servant

serv: sgt maj Co D 54th

note: 1850c hh includes Charlotte Murray 30 MD and white Julia Griffiths b Scotland

note: a printer when he enlisted; not physically described in the reg descriptive book, which shows he enlisted 1 April 1863 at Boston, by Appleton; promoted to sergeant major from Co F 54th Mar 25 1863; mustered in 23 Apr 1863; wounded at Wagner; Army surgeon 23 Feb 1864 described his condition as "scrotal abscess gangrenous in its character. There is now a fistulous opening in Pleineum with discharge of pus. He has done no duty since October 1863 and is unfit for Invalids Corps. Disability incurred in the line of his duty and is one half." James McCune Smith, MD, New York NY, 6 October 1863, certifies that Douglass reached NYC from Hilton Head 23 Sept 1863 being "very ill with diarrhea, cachexy and spontaneous gangrene of left half of scrotum. He continues seriously ill at the present date, the slough having separated, leaving the part named entirely denuded: he is now too feeble to be safely removed from this city, and, in our judgment, several months must elapse before he will be able to do even the lightest military duty." Sept–Oct 1863 field and staff muster roll notes, "Furloughed to Oct 14 now sick at New York unable to travel and certificate of disability sworn to before G. O. F icholl notary public"; discharged on order 29 Feb 1864 for disability; absent on furlough Sept to 14 Oct 1863; Oct 1863–Feb 1864 absent sick at Rochester NY

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note: 25 Feb 1864, then at 26 Myrtle St, Boston, he writes Col Hallowell for a statement of his clothing account so that he can get his pay for clothing

note: he had planned to “try his fortune as one of the colony of colored emigrants that is to establish itself in Central America” in 1862 [“For Central America,” *Buffalo Commercial*, 9 Oct 1862, 2]; Bernier and Taylor, *If I Survive*, 15, notes that this was Lincoln’s plan to settle American blacks at Chiriqui in South America, but plan fails; 1863 teaching school in Salem NJ; Aug 1865 teaching at a school for people of color in MD “in the same neighborhood where his father was brought up” [*Liberator*, 25 Aug 1865, 4] and was still there in 1866 when he was among those “delegates from the colored conventions of the several states to represent the interests of the colored people of the country” to General Howard representing the federal government [*Evening Star* (DC), 23 Jan 1866, 2]; he managed *Frederick Douglass’ Monthly*, which succeeded *Frederick Douglass Paper* after it ended publication in 1866, with his brother Fred Jr. doing the composition; at some point including 1874 he was the editor of the *Era and Citizen* (later the *New National Era*), a consolidation of the *National Era* created after *Frederick Douglass’ Monthly* and the *Colored Citizen*, but it was short-lived; he was living in NY when he applied for membership in the Columbia Typographical Union after he had been rejected at Denver by a subordinate union of the Typographical Union. [*New York Times*, 16 May 1869, 1]. He alleged that because “combinations entered into by Printer’s Unions throughout the country he is unable to obtain employment at this trade” [“The ‘Swamp’ Imbroglia,” *Evening Star*, 22 May 1869, 1], and he was working at the Government Printing Office at this time and tells a reporter that he was not admitted to the Denver Union though he didn’t formally apply and was discharged because a white compositor there didn’t want to work with a black person; also tells reporter his brother Fred Jr had been refused as union member throughout the country and so couldn’t work as a printer; Lewis’s fellow GPO compositors and pressmen backed his admission to Typographical Union No 101 and noted that he had worked for his father in Roch for 10 years until paper stopped in 1863, enlisted in the 54th, taught school in MD, in 1866 moved to Colorado but couldn’t get work as a printer except at one paper, then applied to GPO and got work there “until recently” but was back there by Aug 1869 [“The Case of the Colored Printer Douglass,” *Evening Star*, 18 Jun 1869, 4; *National Republican* (DC), 19 Aug 1869, 4]; he was sec of the National Labor Union 1870 and advertised that any labor assn that wanted to organize under its jurisdiction could get charter from this group for \$5 sent to his attention [*New Era*, 7 Apr 1870, 2]; appointed to DC Council May 1871 but resigned, and bro Lewis took his place until 20 June 1871; he was a principal in many Republican party meetings for “colored” voters, and presented a talk “The Negro Not to be an Undesirable Citizen” at Union Bethel Historic and Literary Assn in DC 1884 [“The Union Bethel,” *National Republican*, 18 Mar 1884, 6]; he and his brother Fred Jr and other black people of DC present a petition that they are denied privileges based on race in public places and transportation and ask that the license bill ban such discrimination [“The Color Line in the District,” *Evening Star*, 28 Jan 1886, 3]; “The Race Problem,” *Buffalo Commercial*, 24 Dec 1889, 1, notes proposal of Senator Butler to move lots of blacks to North and West in order to deal with the “race question,” to which Lewis Douglass is asked to respond: “I believe the only way to settle the race question is to educate the negroes in the South and then given them all the rights that any other citizens have, including the right to protect themselves from violence. All this talk of deportation is nonsense. The negro has got as much right here as any one else.” In May 1894 he held a meeting at his office after Major Moore states that half of the 85,000 blacks in DC were “idle” and “vicious” and the district government needed to prepare to prevent “lawlessness” among them in order to express sentiments of people of color on these sentiments [“Maj. Moore’s Words,” *Evening Star*, 9 May 1894, 3]

note: he was post commander of the GAR Shaw Post No 4 in DC 1870; “Colored Veterans,” *Boston Journal*, 2 Aug 1887, 1, notes he was one of committee of five, with Isaac S Mullen, Burrill Smith, Carney, and PW Beatty “to draft a plan for a permanent organization of colored veterans,” and

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he offered the resolutions at this Boston meeting “on behalf of the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ National League”; he was elected a delegate along with JM Trotter and others to attend a reunion in Boston of black soldiers and sailors in fall 1887 [*Evening Star*, 23 July 1887, 8]; “Reunion of Colored Veterans,” *Washington Bee*, 6 Aug 1887, 2, notes that it brought together 54th, 55th, and 5th MA Cav for a meeting, and recorder James M Trotter was the speaker and also, along with Lewis Douglass and 3 others, a delegate, and they visited Gov Andrew’s grave in Hingham (or Higum, as paper has it); he and brother Charels among founder of new GAR post named for their father in DC, Post No 21 [Bernier and Taylor, 23]

note: Greenough in B14: he was one of highest ranking A2 officers in the regiment and had Boston firm of Case & Getchell made a full length carte de visite of him; another photo made with his wife Amelia when he was discharged for medical reasons in 1864; Emilio 34 states he was “the original sergeant-major,” that rank being the highest-ranking noncommissioned officer, above master sergeant and below warrant officer

note: “From Many States,” *Boston Globe*, 1 Jun 1897, 6, notes that in the battalion of vets “Lewis Douglass was the right escort to the colors” in the unveiling parade

Duncan, Justin Milo

DOB: 8 Dec 1843

POB: Lanesborough MA, Cheshire MA obit

father: Pharoah Duncan (John P 55c)

mother: Loviso Newton (Lucy M 55c, Lovica mrec2)

spouse: 1) Emma R Gilliard 2) Mrs Sarah Elizabeth Adams Brown

DOM: 1) 1 May 1897 2) 13 Nov 1913

POM: 1) Pittsfield MA 2) Bennington VT

DOD: 10 September 1934

POD: Osceola FL, St Cloud FL obit

bur: St Cloud FL obit

cen: 1850 Lanesborough/in pars’ hh
1855 Lanesborough/in pars’ hh
1860 Cheshire/farm lab in hh white farmer Wm P Bennett [“Justice”]
1870 Paw Paw IL/farm lab in hh white farmer Carrie Williams b MA
1900 Tyringham/farm lab in hh bro Orrin, bro Perry, Perry’s wife
1910 Pittsfield/odd jobs bd in hh Af Am janitor Robert Watkins & wife
1920 Pittsfield/hall caretaker in hh niece Mary Duncan ae 65, her bro John, other rels
1930 St Cloud FL/no occup, bding in hh white lawyer (shown as white)

dir: 1894 Pittsfield/lab bds 124 Alder
1898 Pittsfield/removed to Iowa
1903 Lee/farmer h Maple w/ Alvin R Duncan
1907 Lee/farmer h E Center n East w/ John P, Alvin R Duncan
1910 Pittsfield/odd jobs, bdr
1911 Lee/h Railroad nr depot
1913 & 1916 Pittsfield/no occup h 164 Daniels Ave
1920 Pittsfield/janitor Municipal Bldg, bds 53 King
1921 Pittsfield/removed to Jacksonville

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1934 Pittsfield/bds 53 King

note: Greene 89 states that he lived in Earlville IL for 5 years, Dodge IA 13 years, Coon Rapids IA 5 years, and Lee MA for 17 months

note: Saml Harrison performed his 1897 wedding [*Berkshire Eagle*, 3 May 1897, 7]; middle name from mrec2

note: 1850c shows sibs as Oren G 15, Martin VB 14, Eleanor V 6, Emily EM 5, Mary L 2; his brother John Perry Duncan b Lanesboro 8 Dec 1825 oldest of 14 children of Pharlo and Livica Newton Duncan and d 18 May 1925 ae 99 in Springfield, one of oldest residents of Pittsfield, and at that time Justin was living in Miami, and he had sister Mary of Pittsfield and Mrs Eleanora Winnie of Cambridge NY [*Springfield Republican*, 19 May 1925, 12; *Berkshire Eagle*, 18 May 1925, 3]

note: he was aide-de-camp of Post 125 of GAR and was in charge of making Flag Day arrangements, and of coordinating his post's involvement in the national encampment 27 Sept–2 Oct 1915 in DC ["G.A.R. Plans Observance of Flag Day June 14," *Boston Herald*, 28 May 1915, 10]

note: "Justin M. Duncan Named by G.A.R.," *Springfield Republican*, 21 Mar 1932, 4: he was then 80 and living in Lee when elected jr vice commander of Rockwell post GAR of Pittsfield, which then had 9 members; states that he is "part Indian" and was in the 54th, b Cheshire but enlisted at Pittsfield; in recent years spending winters at St Cloud FL but came back last week; in 1932 he was one of 4 Civil War vets to take part in Memorial day parade and exercises in Pittsfield and was living in Lee

note: "Justin Duncan, Cheshire Indian in Civil War, Dies; Was Member of Local G.A.R.," *Berkshire County Eagle*, 12 Sept 1934, 13: he was 92, and "Indian native of Cheshire, Union Army scout and leader of raids in the Civil War, died Monday night at St. Cloud FL, where he had spent much time in recent years, and was buried there; had not lived in Pittsfield permanently for about 30 years but made trips North now and then, his most recent visit being last Spring and left before Memorial Day; that leaves only four members of the WW Rockwell GAR Post (Samuel S Jones, Farnum E Sawin, Edwin H Lincoln all of Pittsfield and Charles H Fuarey of FL); "A picturesque figure, Mr. Duncan wore his hair in two long braids to the middle of his back. It was parted in the middle, true Indian fashion, He often wore mocassins, even on unyielding pavements. He was slight and short of physique, though straight and alert. He walked with a distinct limp, caused by a bullet wound in the leg at Camden, S. C., which he sustained three days after peace had been declared. Word had not reached the wilds that the war was over. / Mr. Duncan was in the attack upon Fort Wagner. The boys of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment in which he enlisted from Lanesboro where he had employment, had silenced the cannon of the Confederates. . . . Mr. Duncan's enlistment was a strenuous ordeal. He tried every way to get into the service. A mere stripling of a youth, he was examined physically three times by three different doctors, before final acceptance. He was the son of an Indian cople well known in Cheshire and vicinity as collectors of herbs." After the war he returned to Pittsfield and for years was messenger at GAR Hall in the Municipal building; before the war he had been assistant manager on a large cattle ranch near Des Moines IA "for a number of years"; only survivors nieces and nephews, including Mrs Alice Grover and Miss Mollie Gabriel in Pittsfield, and several grandnieces and nephews [Alice Grover b 1865 dau of Russell T and Christiana Duncan Gardner and niece of Justin and Orrin Duncan, m 1911 Frank S Grover/Gover (1845–1923) of Co A 54th; in 1920c Pittsfield shown as ae 55, black, doing housework "outside" and living with ash collector truckman Josiah Gardner black ae 75, her uncle; 1934d she is shown as widow of Frank and bding Robbins ave; 1939d Pittsfield states she removed to Brockton]

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note: at his death the Agricultural National Bank apptd admin of his estate, which had \$2500 of personal property [*Springfield Republican*, 20 Oct 1934, 4]

Duncan, Orrin

DOB: 11 Nov 1831 drec

POB: Lanesborough

father: Pharoah Duncan b Stephentown NY

mother: Lovica Newton b Lanesborough

spouse: 1) Mary Jane Porter b 1846 Wmstown 2) August E Van Hoesen Jones b ca 1859 Sheffield 3)

Catherine Ann Van Blake Rogers b 1847 Lenox 1847

DOM: 1) 28 Aug 1867 2) 14 Sept 1897 3) 12 June 1899

POM: 1) Pittsfield 2) Pittsfield 3) Chatham NY

DOD: 18 April 1914 [see notes]

POD: Great Barrington

bur: Mahaiwe Cem, Great Barrington

cen: 1850 Lanesborough/in pars' hh

1870 Pittsfield/lab bdg in black hh

1900 Tyringham/lab in hh bros Perry and Justin

1910 Great Barrington/general repair in hh wife, hotel cook

dir: 1907 Great Barrington/chair seater

rank: priv Co C 54th trans to 55th

note: in 54th, but Greene doesn't state company or date of enlistment and states only that he was a seaman at enlistment in Springfield; mrec has enlistment as 17 Aug 1864 and states that he was erroneously report as KIA at Honey Hill 30 Nov 1865; was taken prisoner, exchanged, and rejoined company 8 June 1865

note: 1850c shows sibs as Martin VB 14, Justin M 7, Eleanor V 6, Emily EM 5, Mary L 2; informant on drec is brother Justin

note: board of alderman in Pittsfield granted him \$4 a month in state aid in Oct 1897 [*Berkshire Eagle*, 20 Oct 1897, 11]

note: parade for colored draftees 1 Aug 1918 had two colored Civil War vets at head, Sam Ceasar of Dalton, of 5th Cav (see his entry), and Orrin Duncan of 54th MA (but he's dead; perhaps his brother Justin?) [*Berkshire Eagle*, 1 August 1918, 6]

***Dupree, William H**

DOB: 13 Mar 1838

POB: Petersburg VA Greene, VA c70, MI c00, Chillicothe OH milrec

spouse: Marie Elizabeth Isaacs 1838-1914

DOM: 22 or 23 June 1870

POM: Ross [Co] OH (Chillicothe by *MA Ploughman* 2 Jun 1870)

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DOD: 22 June 1934

POD: Boston MA (Neponset by obit)

cen: 1870 Boston/letter carrier in hh James M Trotter
1880 Boston/in hh w/ wife & Chas & Nellie Mitchell
1900 Boston/supt PO station owns, in hh w/ wife and 3 Trotter females
1910 Boston/supt Boston PO, w/ wife Maria E ae 68 OH, and 3 Isaacs
1920 Boston in hh w/ lodger and fam Mary Turner & 3 children

serv: 2d Lt Co H 55th, Co I from 23 June 1865

note: wife is sister of James Monroe Trotter's wife Virginia

note: he was living in Petersburg VA or Chillicothe OH and working as a plasterer when he enlisted in Co H, 55th, 5 June 1863 and made first sergeant 23 June 1863; "discharged for promotion as 2d Lieut. 55 Regt Mass Vols June 24, 1865"; commissioned 2d Lt 30 May 1864 but "was not mustered on account of color until July 1, 1865" (on milrec muster as 2d Lt to take effect 21 Jun 1865) and by special act of Congress was awarded 2d Lt pay to date of his commission; mustered out 29 Aug 1865 at Charleston SC; letter carrier Boston PO 12 Feb 1866-1 May 1874, clerk of PO to 1 Oct 1874, and Supt Post Office Station A, Boston, 1 Oct 1874; resigned his post office job in 1914 ["Each Has a War Record: Five Colored Men Who Will Serve on Col Hallowell's Staff," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7; "Neponset Veteran 93 Tomorrow," *Boston Globe*, 12 Mar 1932, 2]

note: was present at the banquet for LA Lt Gov Pinchbeck 11 Sept 1872; invited guest to "grand military concert, ball and banquet" at Parker Fraternity Hall 10 March 1881 put on by Shaw Guard Veterans Association ["The Shaw Guard Veterans Association," *Boston Herald*, 6 Mar 1881, 12]; one of ca 12 men who signed a 17 Aug 1883 call for formal meeting of colored voters and politicians of MA in order to organize for their rights, partly in view of the "rapid increase of the colored population of the state and the necessity of an organization to protect our interests as citizens and make our vote influential," which met in Boston 17 Sept 1883 ["Colored Politicians," *Boston Herald*, 18 Sept 1883, 2]; he, Trotter, and Mitchell apptd at colored soldiers' convention in Worcester May 1886 to "see about having a large reunion of colored soldiers of the 54th, 55th regiments and 5th cavalry in the spring of 1887" ["Veterans' Reunion," *Boston Herald*, 11 Nov 1886, 4]; was chair of executive committee that planned this 1887 colored vets reunion; elected president of (Colored?) National League in Boston 11 Oct 1887 ["New Colored League," *Boston Herald*, 12 Oct 1887, 4]; vp Wendell Phillips Club Jan 1888 [*Boston Herald*, 21 Jan 1888]; chair of gov-apptd committee to build a statue to Crispus Attucks on Boston Common ["Crispus Attucks Monument," *Boston Herald*, 22 Sept 1888, 5]; he and Mitchell were in charge of arranging funeral of Lewis Hayden at his widow's request ["Death of Lewis Hayden," *Boston Herald*, 8 Apr 1889, 1]; he was commander of Benjamin Stone Jr Post GAR in 1895 and its chaplain from 1920 to at least 1932 ["Neponset Veteran 93 Tomorrow," *Boston Globe*, 12 Mar 1932, 2]

note: named among 5 men of color to serve NP Hallowell as staff at 1897 unveiling parade for Shaw Memorial

note: lived at 16 W Cottage Street, Dorchester, 1900 and entire family shown as white; he, wife Lizzie M b Feb 1838 OH, lodgers Virginia Trotter b 1842 OH, Maud A Trotter b 1874 MA, and Bessie L Trotter b 1883 MA; 1910c shares 16 Cottage St with Frederic Isaac(s) ae 27 OH clerk PO, Maude E his wife 27 MA, dau Dorothy F ae 1; 1920 still at 16 Cottage

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note: "Mrs Elizabeth M. Dupree," *Boston Herald*, 4 July 1914, 6, notes that she, wife of Wm H, died at ae 75 at home 16 West Cottage St, b Cincinnati and dau of Tucker Isaacs; survivors include husband, a brother Wm T Isaacs in Chillicothe and a sister Mrs James M Trotter

note: "Negro Civil War Veteran to be Buried Tomorrow," *Boston Globe*, 23 June 1934, 7: Dupree died yesterday at 59 Walnut St, Neponset, home; he was one of 7 surviving members of Post 68 GAR Dorchester, born in Petersburg "of a family of slaves" and went to OH after the Emancipation Proclamation "determined to enlist in the Union Army" and to do so came to MA, was 40 years the supt of Station A of Boston Postal District and had been letter carrier 9 years before that; only relative a cousin, Anna Rickman

note: photo of him in Burt Green Wilder Collection, Cornell

note: copy of his will in folder 10, box 6, Trotter/Guardian Papers, Boston University: leaves to Frederick Douglass Isaacs \$500 in cash as well as all his books about the PO and GAR, "also all my military pictures, photographs, my civil war sword and belt, my United States flag with the flag pole and house ladder" and his clothes except his GAR uniform "in which I desire to be buried"; leaves to Bessie Letitia Craft \$1500; she is wife of Henry Kempton Craft (1883-1974) of St Louis and leaves her the portrait of her aunt Maria Elizabeth Dupree and furnishings; leaves Wm Monroe Trotter \$100

Ellis, Jefferson

DOB: 1844, Oct 1845 c00

POB: Poughkeepsie NY

father: William b 1807 NY boatman

mother: Margaret b 1808 NY

DOD: 30 Apr 1930

POD: Poughkeepsie

cen: 1850 Red Hook NY/in pars hh
1880 Wethersfield CT/prisoner CT State Prison
1900 Wethersfield CT/prisoner CT State Prison hotel cook
1910 Wethersfield CT/prisoner CT State Prison wkg shoe factory
1920 Kennebec ME/inmate Nat Home Disabled Vol Soldiers

serv: priv, corp Co F 54th

note: boatman when he enlisted 4 April 1863; initially listed as missing after Ft Wagner; discharged 20 Aug 1865; applied for pension 19 Feb 1891

note: enlisted in 9th Cav 5 Dec 1872 and deserted 27 Jan 1873 at Austin TX

note: *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 10 July 1879, 2: dateline New Haven CT 9 July, at Clinton village near New Haven Jefferson Ellis, ae 34, and Lewis Fairchild, ae 60, both colored, had a dispute in blacksmith shop, and Ellis crushed Fairchild's skull in with a sledge hammer and was arrested; Fairchild died 12 July, and the "house" where murder occurred was burned down at about the time he died; Ellis convicted of murder in the 2d degree and sentenced to life in prison; he was sent from prison to CT Hospital for the Insane but was reported to "have regained reason"

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and was sent to state prison at Middletown Apr 1894; in Nov 1901 Ellis reported that he felt he had served "sufficient time" [*Hartford Courant*, 4 Nov 1901, 4], and at 50th anniversary meeting in Boston of Ft Wagner, a petition sent around seeking his pardon. Ellis's attorney said that he had struck Fairchild, his business partner, "during a heated altercation"; he applied for pardon 4 times by Nov 1913; state board of pardons pardoned him Dec 1913 after serving 34 years [*Hartford Courant*, 20 Dec 1913, 6; "War Veteran is Granted Pardon," *Norwich (CT) Bulletin*, 20 Dec 1913, 1] and he boarded a train for Poughkeepsie, where relatives were

note: 1914 living at Soldiers and Sailors Home in NY, ae 70; listed at Dayton OH soldiers home 23 Sept 1914 to 20 June 1922 but in and out 3 times; he was in and out (9 times total) of the home for disabled volunteers at Togus, Kennebec ME, first admitted 23 Sept 1914 and last discharged 9 Dec 1929; was at Bath NY soldiers home 31 Feb 1891, discharged 10 Jan 1930, then readmitted 28 Jan 1930 and discharged 10 Mar 1930

Fisher, Albanus S
DOB: 1829 c70
POB: Montgomery Co PA muster, PA c70, c80
spouse: Margaret c70 b 1840 PA
DOD: Oct 1900
POD: Norristown PA

cen: 1870 Norristown PA/lab \$800 real in hh w/fam
1880 Norristown/calcliminer w/ fam

dir: 1860 Norristown PA/col'd lab h 2 site Walnut
1882 Norristown/lab h Powell c Spruce
1898 Norristown/lab h 1536 Willow
1900 Norristown/do to 1898

serv: priv, sgt Co I 54th

children: George E 1852, Alfred R 1862, Harry E 1867, Willard H (Howard) 1868, Alice S 1869, Leah L 1870, Alonzo 1879, Anna 1880

note: lab at time of enlistment by RP Hallowell, for 3 years, promoted to first sergeant but reduced to sergeant 11 May 1864

note: "He Starved to Death," *Buffalo (NY) Evening News*, 5 Nov 1900, 8: Capt Albanus Fisher, "one of Norristown, Pa.'s, most prominent and well-known colored residents" died at home from starvation after cancer on his tongue, operated on several times and had his tongue removed, but disease spread and he could not eat; he was 59 years old [also in *Philadelphia Times*, 23 Oct 1900, as "special telegram to the Times" from Norristown]

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Fisher, George T
DOB: 1824 op65, 1822 drec, 1820 c50
POB: DC c50, c60, op65, drec, milrec, MD c80
spouse: Eliza A Ferguson b 1823 MD d 4 Apr 1888
DOM: 30 June 1849
POM: New Bedford
DOD: 10 Aug 1901 drec
POD: New Bedford drec

dir: 1849 New Bedford/lab/h 220 Middle
1867 New Bedford/lab h 233 Middle
1875 New Bedford/lab h 233 Middle
1883 New Bedford/lab h 233 Middle
1893 New Bedford/lab h 319 Middle
1899 New Bedford/lab h 319 Middle
1901 New Bedford/h 319 Middle

cen: 1850 Seneca NY/butcher
1860 Seneca NY/butcher in hh w/ family
1870 New Bedford/lab \$600 real, w/ wife and dau Mary Ann E
1880 New Bedford/lab in hh w/ wife, son-in-law, dau Mary

rank: priv, sgt Co C 5th MA Cav

children: Mary F 1850 (m Edward Bailey 1849 MA) , Isabella 1854, Chas H 1859 all b NY, Ann E 1868 New Bedford

note: Robert Hayden states he was in Co C 54th, but he is not listed in Greene, and see below

note: butcher at enlistment in Mansfield MA 7 Jan 1864 and apptd sgt 24 Mar 1864; absent sick at Fortsesss Monroe VA since 15 June 1865; reduced from sgt 10 July 1865; mustered out at Clarksville TX 31 Oct 1865 and discharged at Boston 17 Nov 1865; has a casualty sheet but nature of injury not noted

note: New Bedford overseers of poor v4 23 Dec 1865: "George T. Fisher col'd age 41 born in Washington D.C. enlisted in Taunton 5th Mass Cavely came from NY state served 22 months has not recd his pay. has wife Eliza and one child Mary Francis 14 live 180 Kempton. George has chronic diarea, not able to work 1/4 ton coal, 1/2 ft wood order on JMS 150"

note: Ray Patenaude files, New Bedford, contain photocopy of certificate of freedom, DC, 6 Oct 1846, Samuel A. Little testifies that George Fisher, about 25 years of age, "stout and well made is a free man, having been born free"; Wm Brent, clerk of circuit court of DC, further certifies that "the bearer hereof George Fisher, a dark chesnut colored man, about twenty five years of age, about five feet ten and a half inches high, straight, stout and well proportioned, having bushy hair, full dark eyes, broad nose, and wide nostrils, and rather large mouth, having a scar near the right corner of the right eye, a small black mole on the nose near the left eye, a scar on the end of the right thumb, a scar on the right thumb and a scar on the left thumb, each occasioned, by a cut, with several other scars or marks about his hands, strong and somewhat prominent features, and good countenance, is identified to me by the said Samuel A. Little to be the same George Fisher mentioned in the foregoing affidavit"

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note: commander of Shaw Post 146, New Bedford, in 1879 & 1889–90 [*Boston Globe*, 16 May 1879, 10; 31 May 1889, 6]; he addressed about 60 vets at Fort Wagner anniversary in New Bedford 1886 [*Boston Globe*, 20 July 1886, 1]; member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887 and meets with committee at Boston May 1887 [*Boston Globe*, 26 May 1887, 1; *ibid.* 28 July 1887, 8] and led the 5th Cavalry second company in procession 1 Aug 1887 [*ibid.*, 1 Aug 1887, 1]; takes part as commander Post 146 in GAR encampment in Boston 1890 [*ibid.*, 13 Aug 1890, 7]

note: mrec states he is a butcher of Geneva NY, and it was possibly his 2d m; was of 319 Middle St when leg amputated at St Luke's Hospital, New Bedford, after having stepped on rusty nail "some time since" [*Fall River Daily Evening News*, 6 Jul 1893, 4]; drec leaves parents blank; states he died of diarrhea

Foster, Moses
DOB: 1844, Feb 1845 c00
POB: Pittsfield
father: Moses b 1811
mother: Orinda b 1815
DOD: 27 Mar 1913
POD: Pittsfield
bur: Pittsfield

cen: 1870 Pittsfield/farmer ae 25 in hh black farm lab Stephen K Fineman
1870 Pittsfield/farmer ae 25 in hh white farmer Austin Kellogg
1880 Sandisfield/lab bding hh white farmer
1900 Otis/day lab "soldier" servant in hh farmer Andrew Soule

note: farmer at enlistment 26 Dec 1863 at Pittsfield; wounded in knee at Morris Island SC 28 June 1864; in 1888 he was told to go to Springfield about his pension claim and wrote, "I was trying to get to Springfield, Massachusetts and got lost in a storm of March 12, 1888 and did not find a house until the next morning at 8 o'clock. My face legs and hands were frozen. later they had cut my right leg off and I could not get around and had no money" [Greene 100]; *Berkshire Eagle*, 22 Mar 1888, 5: "Moses Foster, who has a settlement in this town, was found in Blandford on the 12th with both legs badly frozen from the knees down. Pittsfield selectmen have been notified." *Berkshire Eagle*, 5 Apr 1888, 6, noted that Foster was well known in Otis and had been trying to go to work in the storm and they fear his feet will need to be amputated

note: "Sandisfield Man Insane," *Berkshire Eagle*, 25 June 1912, 2: "Moses Foster, formerly of Pittsfield and now of Sandisfield, has become suddenly insane. The Pittsfield board of overseers of the poor have been notified of the condition of Foster, who may be taken to the Northampton insane asylum. Foster is colored and is a veteran of the Civil war. He made his home at the city almshouse here in 1907 and 1908 and has been in Sandisfield most of the time since then although for a while he was a resident of Great Barrington. He is 72 years old."

note: drec shows him as "about 68" b Pittsfield pars unknown and single, d of pneumonia

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Friman, Loyal F

DOB: 1845, 13 Jan 1847 findagrave, Nov 1846 c00

POB: Oswego NY

father: David

mother: Mary

spouse: 1) Alice L Wright d 1878 2) Fannie Smith b 1858 Richmond VA d 1936

DOM: 1) 17 Sept 1872 2) 13 Oct 1879

POM: 1 & 2) Springfield

DOD: 24 Aug 1921 obit

POD: Boston

bur: Springfield Cem

cen: 1900 Springfield/janitor rents w/ wife, 2 daus
1910 Springfield/bank janitor w/ wife, dau Ada, lodger
1920 Springfield/no occup, wife waitress fam, 2 lodgers

dir: 1876 Springfield/barber 68 Bridge rms 64 Vine
1886 Springfield/barber 70 Bridge h 34 Lombard
1891 Springfield/barber 94 Worthington h 49 Loring
1895 Springfield/do to 1891d
1898 Springfield/do to 1891d
1914 Springfield/janitor h 34 Central
1922 Springfield/janitor h 34 Central
1925 Springfield/do to 1914, 1922d

serv: priv Co L 1st USCT

children: Loyal F Jr b/d 1882, Stella 1883, Ada 1890

note: enlisted March 1865; took part in 1908 "negro float" depicting Wagner siege in Springfield; still listed in dirs after death as reported in obit, findgrave

note: "Loyal F. Friman: Funeral of Well-Known Veteran Held Here," *Springfield Republican*, 30 Aug 1921, 4: Rev WN DeBerry of St John's Congregational church in Springfield officiated at his funeral in Friman's Springfield home at 34 Central St; Friman b "74 years ago" in Oswego NY and came to Springfield in 1869 after being discharged from Union army and began working for barber Wm Montague; left Montague after a few years and began conducting "one of the best barber shops in the city," but health forced retirement and he was appointed letter carrier for US post office, which he did for a few years, but health again forced his retirement and he's been unable to work since; was a Mason and vet of Wilcox Post 16 GAR

***Furlong, Wesley**

DOB: ca 1837 c60, 1839 emilio

POB: NB milrec, MD c60, Martinsburgh VA mrec, VA c70, c80, c00, WV c10

father: Thomas mrec b unknown

mother: Ursula mrec b VA

spouse: Elizabeth Arabella Stallard b 1842 Portsmouth NH d 16 Feb 1912

DOM: 11 May 1875 mrec

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POM: Boston mrec
DOD: 14 Feb 1918
POD: Melrose MA

cen: 1860 New Bedford/waiter living in hh Scipio Blackwell
1880 Boston/porter w/ wife, 2 daus, 2 boarders [Wesley J]
1890 Boston vet sched/7 Anderson St [Wesley J]
1900 Melrose/gas fitter owns mort w/ wife, 3 children
1910 Melrose/own income in hh w/ wife, dau Edith L

dir: 1867 New Bedford/capt Schouler Guards, bds 90 S Sixth
1876 Boston/porter 25 West h 96 W Cedar
1889 Boston/porter 547 Washington h 7 Anderson
1890 Boston/porter h 7 Anderson [Wesley J]
1896 Melrose/gas fitter Boston, h 47 Sanford
1902 Boston/porter 95 Summer h at Melrose
1908 Melrose/gas fitter Boston h 47 Sanford
1917 Melrose/h 47 Sanford

rank: corp & sgt Co C

children: Lucy Roberta 1877–83, Ada Arzula 1879–1902, Edith Lillian b 1881 (m 16 Oct 1913 at Melrose James S Jones, janitor b Yorktown VA res Cambridge), Robert Gould Shaw 11 Jun 1885

note: wife b Portsmouth NH ca 1842 d 16 Feb 1912 ae 70

note: sometimes known as J. Wesely Furlong, and other times as Wesley J. Furlong; “The Colored Soldiers,” *Liberator*, 13 Mar 1863, 43, reprinted from *New Bedford Standard*: “Capt. Grace’s recruits bade farewell to their friends in City Hall, Tuesday evening. After a season of social chat and conversation, the meeting was called to order by John Briggs, and organized, with William Berry in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Grimes, and short speeches from Lieut. Colonel Hallowell of the 54th, Capt Grace, C. B. H. Fessenden, Ezra Wilson, Rev. Mr. Kelly, Wesley Furlong, and Dr. Bayne, were listened to. A procession was then formed, which marched to A. Taylor & Co.’s saloon, where a bountiful collation had been prepared, to which full justice was done. The company departed for Readville yesterday afternoon. / From gratitude for the interest taken in its behalf by S. Griffiths Morgan, Esq., of this city, the company has decided to take the name of ‘Morgan Guards.’ / Since last week’s report, the following names have been added, making 51 so far:—Robert Lawrence, New Bedford; Abram Conklin, do/ Robert Nelson, do; Arthur Schuyler, Lawrence.”

notes: ae 24, single, steward, when he enlists Co C 54th 16 Feb 1863; promoted to corporal 30 Mar 1863 and to sergeant 1 Nov 1864 “vice Carney discharged”; returns for 54th show him in Feb 1864 absent sick at Hilton Head since Feb 6/64, and Dec 1864–Feb 1865 absent left sick at Morris Island, by then promoted to sergeant; disch 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston SC; his muster-out card states “enrolled as Sergeant Reduced to the ranks May 13/63 Reinstated as Sergeant Oct 31/64 \$6 to be stopped for gun and equipment per G. O. 101”

note: “Military,” *Boston Herald*, 2 Oct 1875, 2: “Another company of colored men in the Mass. Vol. Militia has been organized at New Bedford by the choice of the following officers: Captain, Abraham Conklin; 1st Lieut, Wesley Furlong; 2d Lieut, Samuel Loughton.” “First Brigade Encampment at Sharon,” *Boston Journal*, 11 Sept 1866, 4: notes it’s the first brigade MA Volunteer

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Militia (MVM) with Furlong as first Lt in Co B under Abraham Conklin of New Bedford as Captain of Co B in Second (Colored) Battalion of Infantry; heading this second battalion is Major Lewis Gaul, Boston; adjutant Burrill Smith Jr of Boston, and quartermaster Wm Robinson of Boston; "Military Election," *Boston Herald*, 6 Dec 1866, 2, notes that Furlong as been elected captain of 2d battalion in place of Abram Conklin, who resigned; "Emancipation Celebration in New Bedford," *Boston Traveler*, 1 Aug 1867, 2, notes that the Schouler Guards under Capt Wesley Furlong of NB, will be at event, under command of Major Lewis Gaul, and they participate again (with 42 men total) at 1869 1 Aug celebration in New Bedford, and by then John T Tolliver and Geo Delavan were lieutenants in the company; Furlong remained captain of Co B of this battalion through 1870; "An Interesting Incident of Good Templary," *Boston Journal*, 10 Apr 1877, 4, notes that it's not uncommon to find black members in "the order of Good Templars" as well as lodges wholly or almost wholly composed of black members; "some of the most respectable colored citizens of the West End" have applied to become the Good Intent Lodge No 60, with 16 "earnest and intelligent temperance workers"; officers include "WM" (Worthy Master) Wesley Furlong; "Local Miscellany," *Boston Journal*, 3 Jul 1879, 3, notes that the Boston Shaw Guards Benevolent Veteran Association organized with Wesley Furlong as senior vice commander under command James B Watkins; "Shaw Veterans in New York," *Boston Herald*, 22 Jul 1883, 9, notes that the Robert G. Shaw Veterans Association of Boston under Maj James B Watkins returned home from NYC, where they were the guests of Thaddeus Stevens post; they engaged in a grand parade with the T Stevens, John A Andrew and Meade posts of NYC and other posts, and parade stopped at Union League Club HQ to "serenade" that organization, then a grand camp fire at Sixth avenue HQ at which Rev WB Derrick, Lt Vogelsgang, Chas W McKie and others spoke; "Capt. Wesley Furlong as a committee of one, visited the mother of the late Col. Robert G. Shaw at her residence and presented her with appropriate resolutions previously adopted by the veterans." [also in *Boston Globe*, 22 Jul 1883, 10]; "Blaine and Logan Battalion," *Boston Herald*, 29 Aug 1884, 5, notes that colored citizens of Ward 9 had meeting at 7 Anderson Street (where Furlong lived in 1890) to form this campaign battalion under James B Watkins as pres and Wesley Furlong as vp; 18 July 1886 60 men in Shaw company under Furlong went to commemorate Ft Wagner at New Bedford, and he spoke ["Shaw Veterans at New Bedford," *Boston Globe*, 20 Jul 1886, 1]; member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887; "Shaw Veteran Association," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1888, 5: group met at Armory Hall "under the command of Maj. Wesley Furlong" and went to Woodlawn Cem to decorate graves of Maj James B Watkins, Henry Johnson, Cap Samson Woods, and Sgt James Ruffin; then they went to Granary burial ground to decorate grave of Crispus Attucks, then went to Mt Auburn Cemetery for an address by Furlong at monument to Shaw, address by Lt Burrill Smith at monument to Gen EN Hallowell, address by ex-Rep Julius C Chappelle at grave of Charles Sumner; at tomb of Anson Burlingame address by Edwin Garrison Walker; at grave of Judge Geo L Ruffin address by Butler R Wilson; other posts went to Rainsford Island cemetery to decorate graves of 100 deceased comrades; "Anniversary of the Assault on Fort Wagner," *Boston Journal*, 19 July 1888, 4: notes that "the few remaining veterans of the Fifty fourth Massachusetts Regiment and others were at meeting at N Russell St Church; Col Hallowell and Julius C Chappelle addressed group, as did Lt Burrill Smith, who was at Ft Wagner, and he read letters from numerous persons including Furlong; "Work of the Shaw Vets," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1890, 4, notes that the assn under Furlong decorated graves of WL Garrison at Forest Hills, Wendell Phillips at Milton, Lt Sampson Woods, Lt Frank Woods and Lt David Ruffin at Cedar Grove, Mar JB Watkins, James Ruffin, Henry Johnson, and Lewis Hayden at Woodlawn, and Maj Lewis Gaul at Mt Hope, and then went to Mt Auburn to decorate the Shaw monument and graves of Hallowell, Sumner, Anson Burlingame, private Zachary Taylor, Judge Geo L Ruffin, and Chas T Torrey; Furlong gave the address at Shaw's monument at Mt Auburn; "Colored Odd Fellows," *Boston Journal*, 24 July 1890, 1, notes that the group has a new headquarters built on N Russell street, "the first structure of the kind owned by colored men," and site bought 1887, work begun on building month before, will be property of the Grand United

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Order of Odd Fellows' Building Assn, and at that time Wesley Furlong still commander of Robert G Shaw Vet Association; "In Memory of Col. R. G. Shaw," *Boston Globe*, 12 Oct 1893, 5: Shaw's birthday to be celebrated at home of Maj Wesley Furlong at 47 Sanford St in Melrose 11 October; "Local Varieties," *Boston Herald*, 23 Mar 1894, 6, reported that RG Shaw Vet Assn held public meeting evening before at 12th Baptist "for the purpose of formulating plans for the entertainment of the surviving members of the old 54th regiment, M.V.M., at the unveiling of the monument of Col. Robert G. Shaw July 18," with Wesley Furlong, RF Teamoh, Burrill Smith and others to give speeches; "Colored People Rejoice," *Boston Herald*, 2 Jan 1897, to celebrate 34th ann of Emancipation Proclamation, with parade and public meeting at FH; RGS Vet Assn under Furlong held the parade, and association then had 30 members present; they marched through West End and downtown to FH, and Furlong presided; "Decorated the Shaw Lot," *Boston Globe*, 1 Jun 1897, 4, states "After the exercises incident to the unveiling of the Shaw memorial the command [of RG Shaw Vets Assn] assembled at its hall on Court st. and under Maj J. Welsey Furlong paraded the West end, stopping to decorate the Crispus Attucks monument on the common, to place a floral tribute upon the Shaw memorial and to strew a few flowers on the grave of Crispus Attucks in the Granary burial ground" and then went to decorate as customary other graves; "Assault on Ft. Wagner," *Boston Herald*, 8 Jul 1897, 8, noted that RG Shaw Vet Assn, under Furlong, and "colored citizens of Boston" would celebrate 34th anniversary of Ft Wagner assault with a short parade in morning, a trip to Camp Meigs, and evening exercises at 12th Baptist; "the route of march in the morning is to be so arranged as to pass the Shaw memorial on Boston Common, on which a floral tribute will be laid" and later addresses by RT Teamoh, EG Walker, Edward E Brown, and alderman Clement G Morgan of Cambridge "and others"; "Placed Wreath Thereon," *Boston Globe*, 20 Jul 1897, notes that the association under Furlong placed a wreath of evergreen and violets on Shaw memorial to commemorate 34th anniversary of Wagner assault; "Negroes' Tribute to Col. R. G. Shaw," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1904, 3, notes that 3 "colored organizations" paid tribute to Shaw at the memorial on Boston Common yesterday; "Many other colored people of Boston and vicinity gathered long before the arrival of the first organization and stayed through the exercises of all, over three hours"; RG Shaw Vets Assn first marched to the Attucks monument to place a tribute and hear a brief address, and at the Shaw monument Furlong compared Shaw to Washington "in his heroism and daring and saying he was second to none as a brave soldier and leader. . . . The tribute of the association was a shield of national colors outlined in carnations, which was placed on the memorial by Robert Gould Shaw Furlong, son of the commander of the Shaw association" and group also visited Mt Auburn and family lots of Hallowells, Shaws, Burlingames, Torreys, Ruffins, Andrews, and Sumners; the post and relief corps had earlier gone to Rainsford Island to decorate 105 soldiers and sailors graves

note: "For Wagner Anniversary," *Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1902, 4: 39th anniversary of battle noted by RG Shaw Vet Association at HQ 125 Chandler St, and Major J Wesley Furlong states, "We went forth to fight for the glory of Massachusetts. It seems though that at the present time our beloved state cares so little for the black soldier of the civil war that a suitable place cannot be found for him in his declining days"; after this Carney spoke and told his story of the battle (see Carney entry). Other speakers were Robert T Teamoh, Julius P Goddard, Curtis J Wright, and Robert Gould Shaw Furlong

note: living in Boston 1894 [Emilio]; Greene incorrectly states he was born in NB 1829; working as porter at time of marriage, wife b Portsmouth NH and shown as col'd on mrec; 1908d dau Edith L waitress, son RGS phone co bds with him

note: "From Many States," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 6, notes that Furlong and 3 other men of color were officers of the sections of "colored men" in the unveiling parade that followed the officers, who were in one platoon

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notes: Mulderink diss 269 notes that in deposition for pension Furlong said he enlisted 1863 and very lame by 1888; received pension July 1888; during effort to increase monthly payment 1905, William Hollings deposed in June that year that he had been a faithful employee of Hollings for 22 years but hadn't worked for 3 years because of failing eyesight; (Hollings was president of R Hollings & Co, manufacturers of gas and electric fixtures and lamps in Boston, by 1908d); "curiously, Furlong kept hidden his slave origins, for as late as March 1907 he claimed to have been born in New Bedford. In June 1910, however, Furlong deposed that he was born "in slavery," which Mulderink states was "his first such admission." Furlong named his youngest son after Robert Gould Shaw

note: "Wesley Furlong," *Boston Herald*, 10 Feb 1909, 3; Wesley Furlong, ae 72, vet of Civil War and for many years employed at Boston custom house, "dropped dead at 9:30 o'clock last night at his home, 47 Sanford street, Melrose." Survived by widow, son, two daughters; "Wesley Furlong Dies," *Boston Journal*, 10 Feb 1909, 1, but this death is not recorded in state vr, and he's listed in 1910 census: notes that he had been employed at Boston custom house for "the past thirty years." BUT *Globe* 19 Dec 1910 states he spoke at Roxbury mtg, also 5 June 1911 he speaks at RG Shaw House in Roxbury; also at Ft Wagner 50th Ann [*Boston Globe* 30 June 1913]; and he speaks on the assault at John A Andrew Circle 23, Ladies of GAR, in South End [*Boston Globe* 9 July 1913]; his drec states he as a gasfitter b Martinsburg VA, parns names unkown, contact daughter Edith Furlong Jones at same address, 47 Sanford St Melrose ae 83

note: he was a porter when dau Ada and son Robert born; dau Ada's death record says she was 23 and cause of death "probably appendicitis followed by peritonitis operation refused"; daughter Edythe married James Sherman Jones 16 Oct 1913 at home of parents, 43 Sanford St, Melrose; she is then a member of Mary J Spaulding Tent, D of V; they are to live in Melrose [*Boston Globe*, 17 Oct 1913, 8]; son Robert a court house clerk in 1910 living in Cambridge with wife Alice E Chapman in her parents' hh with their dau Mary E ae 9 mo); in 1926 he was a porter living on Holyoke St in Boston, and in 1930 he was divorced and living with widowed sister Edith L Jones on Wellington St in Boston; he was a shipper for a printers' supply co, she unemployed, had a lodger; 1942 he was wlring for the Federal Power Commission in NYC and living on W 113 St; contact his sister Edith Jones at 24 Hammond St Boston

note: his photograph appears in "Honor Memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw," *Boston Globe*, 19 July 1916, 10, with other members of the RG Shaw Vets Assn, and Johnson is there identified as "leading figure in Shaw statue"; article notes some 150 "mostly colored" men and women honored Shaw at Columbus Ave AME church night before on 53d anniversary of Fort Wagner assault, and three survivors of same at the meeting, being Wesley J Furlong of Melrose, who was rated a 2d sergeant but was the acting 1st sergeant of Co C "and was left guide of the first charge that day—July 18, 1863. And then he heard Col. Shaw's last order: 'Forward, boys! Guide! On! Colors!' He talked a little of his recollections last night, also a little at the photographing of 10 members of the association before the Shaw Monument in Beacon st, opposite the State House, at 6 in the afternoon"; also here was Maj Alexander H Johnson, "a drummer boy that day and is the figure in advance of all in the Beacon-st bas relief. Sergt Furlong was obliged to shorten up the slings holding the boy's drum because of his stature. But to day Major Johnson is 50 and the father of five children. And last night he thrilled his hearers by reproducing on two snare drums the reveille of July 18, 1863, and picturing the sounds of the engagement." Third man was Henry James, a private, of Cambridge, who worked on "the old Cambridge horse railroad" after the war and also watered horses from his tin bucket; Commander Emanuel E. Walker of RG Shaw Vets Assn wasn't in the 54th but was in the Navy, born 81 years ago not far from Richmond VA

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note: James Bennett, “Remembering a Civil War Soldier and Civil Rights Advocate,” unidentified (but probably *Melrose Free Press*), undated newspaper on Ancestry (but probably 2020 from context, as it states it was written “during quarantine”) included an advertisement for “Public Citizens’ Testimonials to Maj. Wesley Furlong under auspices of Charles St. AME Church,” on 31 January 1912, published in *Boston Guardian*, 13 January 1912, with a photograph of him, stating that “addresses by prominent citizens” would be made and “excellent musical program” would be offered; “all loyal citizens should pay honor to this worthy veteran—all seats free.” Bennett notes that within six months Furlong’s children sold the Sanford St house in Melrose; states he was born enslaved in Martinsburg WV and that his enslaver sold his siblings and parents to Baltimore traders; in his late teens or early 20s he escaped north and much later in life he tracked down a brother living in PA; after moving to Boston ca 1875 he was a porter at the Bijou Theater on Washington St and member of Charles St AME; moved to Melrose 1891 to the largely Irish section known as Cork City; lived at Sanford St almost 30 years; wife died 1910 [no; 1912]; was a member (“joined the leadership of”) National Equal Rights League and among those members who signed a petition in 1917 to integrate forces in World War I

note: he attended and had pic taken with other 54th survivors at 1913 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913]

Garner, George H

DOB: 1835 milrec, June 1840 c00

POB: Rochester NY milrec

spouse: 1) Lucy J Mozealous (d 1872) 2) Mrs Barbara Ann Connix Tynes (b Nova Scotia)

DOM: 2) 5 May 1889

POM: 1) Lewiston NY 2) Boston MA

DOD: 26 Aug 1917

POD: Framingham

bur: Framingham

cen: 1900 Framingham/janitor in hh wife Barbara
1910 Framingham/factory janitor in hh wife, stepd, adopted d, bdrs

dir: 1904 Framingham/emp Denison’s h 77 Grant
1911 Framingham/watchman h 75 Grant S Framingham
1916 Framingham/listed under barbers in bus dir 75 Grant

serv: priv Co B 54th

note: barber when he enlisted 14 July 1863 at Concord; in hospital at Beaufort SC awaiting discharge June 1865; mustered out at NYC 30 Aug 1865; casualty sheet in his military file but injury not indicated

note: 1900c he’s renting and wife shown as emigrating from Nova Scotia 1885; wife a laundress 1910 and his parents’ pob listed as unknown

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Gould, William Benjamin
DOB: 18 Nov 1837
POB: Wilmington NC obit
father: Alexander obit
mother: Elizabeth Moore obit
spouse: Cornelia Williams Read b 1837 Charleston SC d 1906
DOM: 22 Nov 1865
POM: Nantucket
DOD: 23 May 1923
POD: Dedham
bur: Brookdale cem, Dedham

cen: 1880 Dedham/mason in hh wife, children, bding black mason
1900 Dedham/mason owns, w/ wife, children
1910 Dedham/retired own income w/ 6 children, Af Am maid
1920 Dedham/retired in hh w/ 5 children, dau-in-law, white Irish-born maid

dir: 1889 & 1893 Dedham/mason h Milton nr Readville line
1902 Dedham/mason h 303 Milton (East Dedham) nr Hyde Park line

serv: Navy

children: Medora Williams 1866–1944, Wm Benj Jr 1869–1931, Frederick Crawford 1872–1949, Luetta Ball b 1873, Lawrence Wheeler 1875–1958, Herbert Richardson 1878–1957, Ernest Moore 1880–1945, James Edward 1880–1963 (all sons served in military)

note: escaped slavery in Wilmington NC (enslaver Nicholas Nixon, Bellamy Mansion) in boat with seven other enslaved people late Sept 1862, past Confederate “sentinels,” and made their way 28 nautical miles to Union ship *Cambridge* in blockade off coast; days later enlisted in Navy 1 Oct 1862 near Wilmington, and the eight are shown in *Cambridge* log by name, enslaver, and labeled contraband; transferred 1863 to steam frigate *Niagara*; served until 30 Sept 1865; was a brickmaker and cook at time of enlistment; wife once enslaved and her freedom purchased in 1858 [Brian MacQuarrie, “Escaped Slave and Navy Sailor Recounted His Remarkable Civil War Story in a Diary. Now Dedham Looks to Honor His Legacy,” *Boston Globe*, 21 November 2020]

note: in 1900 6 of 8 children in hh were employed, as clerk furniture store, machinist, mason, draftsman, stenographer; 1902d Dedham shows boarding at his 303 Milton home are children Ernest M designer, Frederick C machinist, Herbert R mason, J Edward architect, Lawrence W mason, Luetta stenographer, Medora W, Wm B Jr clerk

note: took part in and was photographed at 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner siege in Boston 18 Jul 1913 [*Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1913]

note: “William B. Gould Dies in Dedham,” *Boston Globe*, 24 May 1923, 2: Gould ae 86, Civil War vet, res of Dedham since 1871, died at home on Milton St; enlisted in Navy 1863 and served on the steamships *Cambridge* and *Ohio* and then on the *Niagara* blockading Eup ports; survived by six sons and 2 daughters; *Dedham Transcript*, 26 May 1923: Gould was “one of Dedham’s best known citizens” and died at East Dedham home, b Wilmington NC; came to Dedham 1871 and became a brick mason and contractor and retired several years ago; was petty officer on the USS *Cambridge*, *Ohio*, and *Niagara*, was member of Norfolk Co GAR and Charles W Carroll Post 144 GAR, which

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he'd been commander of; see Wm B Gould IV, *Diary of a Contraband: the Civil War Passage of a Black Sailor* (Stanford U Press, 2002), based on one of only 3 known diaries by Af Am sailors in Civil War; all of his sons served in WW1 except for Wm B Jr, who served in Spanish Am War, and six photographs of him singly, with family, and with all his sons in uniform on Findagrave. Great grandson Wm B Gould IV, chair of National Labor Relations Board in Clinton Administration, gave diary to MHS in 2006.

***Gray, Horace J.**

DOB: 1843 c50, drec

POB: MA c50, Boston drec

father: Wm H b 1812 VA (KY son's c10)

mother: Harriet Toupe b 1814 MD

spouse: Caroline E Butler b Lynn 1843 d Cambridge 1 Apr 1915

DOM: 26 June 1866

POM: Boston

DOD: 30 Mar 1920

POD: Cambridge

cen: 1850 Cambridge/in pars' hh
1865 Cambridge/clerk in hh mother, sibs
1910 Cambridge/realtor in hh wife, dau Alice
1920 Cambridge/in hh w/ dau Alice D, realtor

dir: 1890 Boston/ dept coll internal rev at PO bldg, h Cambridgeport

rank: Navy

children: Alice D b 1876

note: enlisted at Boston 27 Nov 1861 served as landsman on board the *Sagamore* 19 Dec 1861–Dec 1864; his bro Wm H b 1841 also enlisted, 1862, in Navy

note: 1865c he, mother, sibs Edward F sailor and Henrietta enumerated next to William Wells Brown hh; he is a ship's steward at time of marriage

note: is of Cambridgeport when he was elected one of 7 secretaries of the colored convention in Boston called to support Republican party [*Boston Globe*, 6 Sept 1872, 8]; on executive committee of African American Wendell Phillips Club when it formed Feb 1876 [*Boston Post*, 18 Feb 1876, 3]; commander of Post 30 GAR in Cambridge 1882 [*Boston Globe*, 9 Dec 1882, 5]; was an assistant inspector for GAR Dept of Massachusetts 1885 [*ibid.*, 29 Nov 1885, 2]; by 1891 he was deputy collector of internal revenue for US in Boston, apparently lost the post but was reinstated 1897, and then termed "a colored man and veteran of the war, as well as an old and experienced director" who lives in Cambridge, "where he stands high as a citizen, and is especially esteemed in Grand Army circles. He was at one time the unanimous choice of the post to which he belongs, composed mostly of whites, for commander" ["Changes Will be Made," *Berkshire Eagle*, 30 Apr 1897, 8] and apptd deputy collector 1 July 1898; led the 2d platoon naval section in the battalion of survivors at Shaw Memorial unveiling ["From Many States," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 6]

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note: "Colored G.A.R. Officers," *Boston Globe*, 10 Aug 1904, 4: he, Dupree, James H Wolff and Wm Gould all men of color who have been named to high positions in state GAR 1904, Gray being the first African American to be elected commander of a white *Post*, the Wm H Smart Post 30 of Cambridge in the 1880s; says he served 3 months in the Webster Regiment at Fort Warren and then entered the Navy and served on the *Sagamore* until 1864, then under Farragut at New Orleans and Mobile; on returning to Boston entered the US marine service and was "the first and only colored man who gained admission to that branch of the service"; has been a deputy collector in revenue dept and held other posts in Post 30

note: secretary of Commonwealth Liberty Loan Committee, formed by African Americans to raise Liberty Loans subscriptions [*Boston Globe*, 7 Oct 1918, 3]

Gover/Grover, Franklin Samuel

DOB: 4 May 1845

POB: Pittsfield MA

father: Daniel

mother: Elizabeth

spouse: 1) Rosellen (Susan) Minsley 2) Sarah Thompson Van Buren 3) Alice Mary Gardiner Walker

DOM: 1) 21 Apr 1866 2) 27 Apr 1904 3) 8 Nov 1911

POM: 1) Monterrey MA 2) Pittsfield 3) Pittsfield

DOD: Nov 1923

POD: Springfield

cen: 1880 Lee/lab in hh in-laws Francis and Annie Minsley
1910 Pittsfield/farm lab owns, hkpr Alice M Walker, her 3 children

rank: priv Co A 54th

note: enlisted 18 Feb 1863 at Pittsfield and signed with x, mustered out 20 Aug 1865, served at Wagner and Honey Hill; 1914 living in Pittsfield; Greene 120 gives his name as Grover and his alias as Gover

note: third wife was niece of Justin and Orrin Duncan, also in 54th (see elsewhere), and she moved to Brockton 1939; see J Duncan's obit above; she is living in Boston with dau Carrie C Wilson in 1940

note: dirs 1903-16 show him in Pittsfield; he's a widower at time of 2d mar

Hall, Elias

DOB: 1837-38

POB: Richmond VA milrec, VA drec, c00, Houthsville VA mrecl, Richmond Co VA mrecl, NC c70

father: Elias H mrecl

mother: Julia mrecl

spouse: 1) Elizabeth Calavay b 1847 New Bern NC d 1888 2) Susan H Potter b 1854 Boston

DOM: 1) 24 Dec 1866 2) 2 Sept 1891

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DOD: 10 Jul 1905
POD: 1) Boston 2) Boston
bur: Woodlawn, Everett

cen: 1870 Boston/lab w/ wife, dau Julia
1900 Boston/longshoreman rents in hh wife, 3 children 25 Phillips [4-fam h]

dir: 1890 Boston/lab h 20 Phillips [Elias A]

serv: priv Co A 54th

children: Julia H 1868 (m 1888 Chas E Smith), Goodwin 1880–1903, Nellie 1885, Henry 1886

note: lab abnd married when he enlisted 11 Feb 1863 at Boston; detailed for duty as regimental baker 27 Feb 1864 (at Jacksonville FL) and relieved of that duty 11 Apr 1864; company cook Mar & Apr 1865; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 Charleston

note: *Boston Globe*, 13 Oct 1873, 4: “Jacob Middleton, a negro, living at the West End, committed a savage assault with a knife at 9 ½ o’clock, yesterday morning, upon another colored man named Elias Hall, which almost proved fatal”; *ibid.*, 8, states that an “old grudge” existed between them and that Middleton had “on several occasions threatened the life of his victim”; they met in yard at 2 Davis Court and Middleton attacked Hall with a razor; one among five wounds was on left side of neck “over three inches long, one deep wound in the left cheek” and one that almost cut off left forefinger; Middleton arrested soon after, and Hall’s wounds, “not dangerous,” dressed; “Municipal Court,” *Boston Globe*, 20 Nov 1886, 5, notes that Elias H Hall fined \$3 for assault and battery on Charles Smith (same as man dau Julia marries 1888?)

note: he is Elias H Hall at m1; drec does not list parents; he is married laborer and living at 3 Lindall Place at death

Hamilton, Paul
DOB: 15 Oct 1854, 1845 c60, c70, 1844 c80, 27 Nov 1844 drec
POB: Pittsfield drec
father: Charles
mother: Louisa Whittlesley
spouse: 1) Elizabeth Richards 2) Nellie Belinda Hamilton
DOM:1) 14 Apr 1868 2) 16 Nov 1898
POM: 1) Pittsfield 2) Blandford
DOD: 6 May 1920 drec
POD: Pittsfield

cen: 1860 Pittsfield/in hh white grocer
1870 Pittsfield/works on farm in hh wife, son Andrew
1880 Pittsfield/lab in hh wife, 6 children

dir: 1873 Pittsfield/lab h South Mountain
1887 Pittsfield/lab h off South Mountain

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1897 Pittsfield/emp Wood & Qua saloon & lunch room, bds 104 John
1898 Pittsfield/removed to CT

rank: private, Co NL, 54th

children: Andrew L 1869, Mary L 1871, Charles 1873, Lottie A 1875, Carrie L 1877, Wm H 1880,
Alice Elizabeth 1901 (m 1920 Wm Gross Logan, b Pittsfield son of John A Logan and Bertha Persip)

note: enlisted 21 Dec 1863 at Pittsfield and signed with x [Greene 121-22]

note: 1860c listed twice, once in parents' hh and once as shown above; 1870c listed twice once in
hh w/ wife, son and again in hh parents and 11 siblings; lab at time of marriage; laborer on drec

note: another record of Paul Hamilton, in Cos A and D, has him dying 1892 and bur Pittsfield;
no pic on findagrave, and death date probably recorded incorrectly, as it's not found on
AmAncestors records

note: Alfred Kenneth Persip b 27 May 1895 Pittsfield MA son of John L Persip b DC and Alice
L Hamilton b Pittsfield, m 1919 to Augusta May Price, writes to BOAF at 1982 rededication of
Shaw and states that his uncle is Paul Hamilton of 54th; in fact Paul Hamilton is first cousin of
Alfred's maternal grandfather Charles V Hamilton (1830-1917). Paul Hamilton's father is Charles
1816-81, and Chas V's father is Wm (1809-63), both sons of Francis (1769-1861) and Rebecca
Austin Hamilton

Harrison, Charles H

DOB: ca 1845-50 c55, 1844 op, emilio, Nov 1846 op61

POB: DE c55, NJ op, c80, MA milrec, c10

father: William H b MD

mother: Mary Ann Day b 1820 DE

spouse: 1) Maria E Johnson 2) Susan Hinson b VA

DOM: 1) 30 June 1886 2) 22 Dec 1910

POM: 1) New Bedford 2) New Bedford

DOD: 30 Nov 1927, 3 Dec on headstone app

POD: New Bedford

cen: 1865 New Bedford/in Army in hh mother, sibs
1880 New Bedford/lab in hh mother ae 60 prob 187 Elm
1900 New Bedford/day lab owns w/ sister Anne Woodhull, dau Ada
1910 New Bedford/widower no occup owns w/ dau Ada B
1920 New Bedford/wid w/ dau Ada and her husband 281 Elm

dir: 1889 New Bedford/lab h rear 187 Elm
1894 New Bedford/lab h 187 Elm
1904 New Bedford/lab h 187 Elm
1919 New Bedford/mason h 281 Elm
1924-27 New Bedford/mason h 281 Elm

serv: priv Co C 54th

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children: Ada B b 13 Jan 1891 (m Robert Jackson b VA 1881 & living at 281 Elm 1927d)

note: 1865c shows in hh his brother John H “in Army,” sister Mary A 18, mother laundress in 3-fam Af Am hh; 1910c sister Annie Woodhull in same hh, and he’s at “rear” 187 Elm; 1920c son-in-law Robert Jackson asphalt layer city streets

note: NB marriages shows a Wm H Harrison and Mary Ann Rose “of Colour” both of NB entered intention to marry 7 April 1832, but this info does not tally with op records v1 p112: “William H. & Mary Ann Harrison (c) have 4 children at home viz John 6, Charles 4, Ann 2, Wm H, 10 months [3 Feb 1849 dead] all born in New Jersey came here in 1847”; wood, groc, med, coal 4x Jan 1848–Feb 1849; v2 29 Feb 1860: “Mary Ann Harrison, c, wife of Wm H., 3 children John H. 18, Charles H. 16, Mary Ann 15. Wm & family came here from Philadelphia about 12 years ago, & lived here since. Wm in poor health, wants coal. Rear of 211 Middle St 1/4 ton coal. Order on Charles F. Packard 1.50” (in margin: “acquires a settlement by act of 1874 sec 2 chap 274 previous to 1871 4/19/78 PSM”); v3 8 Dec 1860 “Wm H Harrison c, sends his daughter Mary Ann, for Provs & Fuel, wife Mary Ann & 2 children at home, Mary Ann, 16, Charles H. 14, family came here from New Jersey 15 years ago. Rear of 211 Middle St. 1/4 ton coal 1 ft wood order of SW McFarlin 1.50”; v3 11 Jan 1861: “Mary Ann Harrison c, wife of Wm H, he left home this morning ‘for good.’ Rear of 211 Middle st 1/4 ton coal, order on Thomas A. Gardner 1.50”; v3 1 Feb 1861: “Mary Ann Harrison c, wife of Wm H, 2 children at home, Mary Ann 16 this mo 6th, & Charles 14, last November, both both in New Jersey, had one (Wm H) younger than Charles, born in New Jersey, died here 11 months old, & one Maria borh in New Jersey younger than Charles, died here aged 3. 211 Middle St, 1/4 ton coal order on SW McFarlin 1.50”; v4 25 Jan 1865: “Mary A Harrison age 50 born in Delaware wife Wm H born South have not lived together for one year lived here 18 years two boys in the Army has state aid 1 child at home Mary A 15 lives 169 Elm 2 ft wood”

notes: ae 19, single, laborer when he enlisted Co C 54th 14 Feb 1863 and gave his pob as New Bedford; disch 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston with \$20 debt to clothing account; bro John H enlisted and was discharged same day; sometimes asserted incorrectly to be last survivor of 54th; stone mason 1865–1917; not listed in greene

note: first wife Maria b/res NB ae 29 pars Wm H and Sarah Johnson; he a laborer at that time (1886)

note: headstones provided for Civil War Vets record 29 Nov 1879 has Chas H Harrison private Co C d 25 July 1878, but this is in error

note: applied for invalid pension 6 Feb 1888, which card shows his dod

note: *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 12 Oct 1899, 5, notes that he was elected “outside guard” of the Bristol County GAR; *Fall River Evening News*, 10 Jan 1901, 5, notes he was appointed same

note: he attended and had pic taken with other 54th survivors at 1913 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913]

note: 1930c his daughter Ada B Jackson house maid and son-in-law Robert H Jackson 52 b VA brick mason at 381 Elm St, New Bedford; 1940c she is a widow living at 281 Elm; she died 1958 at Bourne and is buried at Rural

note: Eleanor W Morton (1915–2006) of NB, daughter of Moses Harper Williams (1885–1957) and Elnora May Joseph (1888–1972) and wife of Harold J Morton (1915–2006), stated in 1982 that she

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was the grand-niece of Charles H Harrison and that she did not know what happened to him upon his return from war; her mother's mother, Mary Alice Johnson (b 1867), wife of Ira S Joseph (b 1866), was sister to Chas H Harrison's first wife Marie Elizabeth Johnson (1855)

*Harrison, Samuel

DOB: 15 April 1818

POB: Philadelphia

father: William

mother: Jennie

spouse: 1) Ellen Rhodes b 1815 Lewes DE d 1883 2) Sarah J Adams Davis

DOM: 1) 1840 2) 12 Apr 1885

POM: 1) prob Philadelphia 2) Pittsfield

DOD: 11 August 1900

POD: Pittsfield MA

bur: Pittsfield MA

cen: 1850 Pittsfield/clergyman
1860 Pittsfield/Cong clergy, \$800 real w fam
1870 Pittsfield/clergyman, no real prop, with fam
1880 Pittsfield/minister w/ wife, daug Ellen and Lydia

rank: chaplain 54th

children: Jane (1843), Gerrit Smith (1847–65), Alice J (1849–51), Ellen G (1851–81), Mary P (1854–75), George B (1859–), Lydia A (1861–1954; m 1885 James Jacobs b Dalton)

note: *Berkshire Eagle*, 7 Jan 1875, 2: Rev Saml Harrison to preach on life and character of abolitionist Gerrit Smith next Sunday; Harrison had been a pupil at the school in Peterboro that Smith supported, "and which was broken up by the financial crash of 1837"

note: 54th officers approved his appt as chaplain 22 Aug 1863 and he enlisted 8 Sept 1863; according to John A Andrew to Robert Gould Shaw, 8 July 1863, Harrison had been recommended by Pres Hopkins of Williams College and by others in western MA; he had been pastor of 2d Congo in Pittsfield; he resigned because of vertigo and genl disability and was discharged 14 Mar 1864

note: elected a vp of what became the Colored National League MA chapter ["Black Republicans," *Boston Globe*, 18 Sept 1883, 1]; attended the Tremont Temple service organized by black Bostonians and Cantabridgians honoring Wendell Phillips ["Phillips Eulogized," *Boston Globe*, 10 Apr 1884, 2]; Oct 1884 he was appointed asst honorary commissioner of dept of colored exhibits at coming New Orleans exhibition [*Berkshire Eagle*, 9 Oct 1884, 2]; was living in Pittsfield in 1885, by "Address of Former Officers of 54th Mass. Vols," dated in pen Nov 12 '85, in 54th Regt Records, reel 14, Civil War Papers, MHS; he spoke at the first annual reunion of Colored Vets Assn at Worcester 28 May 1886; to attend colored troops' reunion on 1 and 2 Aug in Boston 1887 and "participate in the exercises at Gov. Andrew's grave" [*Berkshire Eagle*, 7 Jul 1887, 2]

note: "Mr. Harrison's Long Pastorate," *Berkshire Eagle*, 31 Dec 1894, 6, from "Union" (no location indicated) states that Harrison came to Pittsfield in 1850 "during the time of the fugitive slave war . . . At that time he had as his guests many fugitive slaves, who found employment at the Ladies'

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seminary, now the Maplewood hotel, but who were subsequently driven north on account of the fugitive slave law"; had been pastor at Second Congo in Pittsfield 1850–63 and after war had preached in Newport RI 2 years, the Sanford St church "in this city" (probably Springfield MA) 4 years, and in Portland ME 18 months; returned to his Pittsfield pastorate 1872 [F. A. I., "Rev Samuel Harrison of Pittsfield a Veteran Colored Preacher," *Boston Globe*, 11 Aug 1897, 4]

note: "In Honor of Col. Shaw," *Berkshire Eagle*, 21 May 1897, 1, notes that Harrison will take part in exercises at unveiling of Shaw Memorial; "Was Chaplain of the 54th," *Boston Globe*, 29 May 1897, 8, notes that Harrison will arrive in Boston his morning from Pittsfield to take part in the unveiling exercises and would "occupy the pulpit of the Twelfth Baptist church, Phillips st, at the memorial exercise of the Shaw veterans" next day afternoon; "Veterans of the 54th Regiment," *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897, 4, notes that Harrison had arrived in Boston for the Shaw unveiling and would preach today at 12th Baptist and includes bio of him, including that he was chaplain from Sept 1863 to March 1864 and left because of failing health

note: his 28 Oct 1893 will named Geo B Harrison and Lydia A Jacobs his executors, left wife Sarah Jane half of his personal prop and use of 1/3 of real property; at her death her share to Geo B and Lydia Jacobs; no obit for him in *Boston Globe* or *Berkshire Eagle*; "Death of Rev Samuel Harrison," *Springfield Republican*, 12 Aug 1900, 4: he died yesterday at home on 3d St, Pittsfield, cites the same basic story as SR article of 19 May 1899 below

note: "Rev Samuel Harrison's Life," *Springfield Republican*, 19 May 1899, 10, citing an article by Addison Ballard in the *New York Observer* on Harrison's life, states that Harrison "was slave-born, although Philadelphia was his birthplace"; Harrison himself wrote, "I was about three years old when my mother took me to New York, where, on Liberty street, she lived with one of the families that owned my father, my mother, and myself. My father and mother were slaves, born in Savannah, Ga., and at the time of my birth, my mother being in Philadelphia, was her mistress's waiting maid. Her master's name was John Bolton. . . . Some time after my birth my mother returned to Savannah, and at that time, I think, emancipation papers were put into her hand; and I think, it is probable that all of Mr Bolton's slaves were then given their freedom. I heard my mother say that all were given their choice to remain in this country or emigrate to Africa. My mother returned North with the Bolton family, and lived with them in New York, on Liberty street. Since entering the ministry, I have corresponded with some members of the Bolton family. I attended school in New York until I was nine years old, when I was sent to Philadelphia to learn the trade of a shoemaker with an uncle, who was a minister." Harrison stayed working with his uncle for nine years, and then at age 17 he spent a few months at Gerritt Smith's "manual labor school in Peterboro" where he worked 4 hours a day ditching swamp land; then in 1836 went to Western Reserve college in Hudson OH, where for 2.5 years he worked his way partly at shoemaking and partly at sawing wood for Prof. LP Hickock at 6 cents an hour; in 1839 returned to Philadelphia; in spring 1840 married orphan Ellen Rhodes, "an acquaintance of his earlier years," then kept at shoemaking while he did temperance and Sunday school work and attended evening lectures and debating societies; then in 1847 moved to Newark NJ and was called in 1849 (Jan 1850 by obit) to do "missionary work among the colored people of Pittsfield, Mass" at \$275 a year; ordained 13 Aug 1850; in 1862 resigned pastorate to work for National Freedmen's Association, and in 1863 sent to SC by Andrew (see below); 1865 accepted Newport RI pastorate where he stayed about a year, then to Sanford St Church in Springfield for nearly 4 years, then in 1870 to Portland ME Congo church until Sept 1872, when he accepted recall to 2d Congo in Pittsfield; at death survived by second wife "Sarah Grooms of this city" and two children by first wife, George B and Lydia A Jacobs [most of the dates for above come from "Death of Rev Samuel Harrison," *Springfield Republican*, 12 Aug 1900, 4]

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note: “Rev Samuel Harrison’s Life” states that Harrison went at Andrew’s request in 1862 to “express sympathy of the commonwealth to the survivors of the 54th regiment of colored volunteers for their defeat at Fort Wagner” where they lost Shaw (date is wrong), and was on his way to Lenox to visit Shaw’s widow when Andrew interviewed him (presumably about the 55th chaplaincy but not stated in article)

note: Printed letter from Edward Bates, MA Atty Gen, Boston, to President of the United States, 13 May 1864, Civil War Papers, MHS re: case of Rev Saml Harrison, lately chaplain of 54th,” about which he had written on 24 March last, and re: US Atty Genl’s decision on law of this case, and calls attention to “the wrong done in this case” and that it’s president’s “constitutional obligation” to tell the secretary of war to tell Pay Dept officers of Army his view of the matter; also here in Andrew’s letter to president, seemingly appended to Bates’s, calling himself the proper representative of Harrison and all the NCOs and privates of the 54th and 55th; says he’s waited for the president to consider the case and now demands “the just, full, and immediate payment” to them as volunteers soldiers in the US Army; “Already these soldiers,—than whom none have been more distinguished for toilsome work in the trenches, fatigue duty in camp, and conspicuous valor and endurance in battle,—have waited during twelve months, and many of them yet longer, for their just and lawful pay. / “Many of those who marched in these regiments from this Commonwealth, have been worn out in service, or have fallen in battle on James Island, in the assault upon Fort Wagner, or in the affair of Olustee, yielding up their lives for the defence of their native country, in which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they never had received justice. / “Many also yet linger, bearing honorable wounds, but dependent upon public charity while unpaid by the government of the nation the humble wages of a soldier, and sick at heart as they contemplate their own humiliation. / “Of others, yet alive and remaining in the service, still fighting and wholly unpaid, the families have been driven to beggary and the almshouse. / “These regiments, sir, and others situated like these,—stung by grief, and almost crazed by pangs with which every brave and true man on earth must sympathize,—are trembling on the verge of military demoralization. Already one man of a South Carolina regiment, raised under the orders of Major-General HUNTER, with the same interpretation of the laws of Congress now given them by the Attorney-General of the United States, has suffered the penalty of death for the military offence of mutiny, by refusing further obedience to his officers, and declaring that, by its own breach of faith, the government of the United States had released him from his contract of enlistment as a soldier. The government which found no law to pay him, *except as a nondescript or a contraband*, nevertheless found law enough *to shoot him as a soldier*. / In behalf of the sufferings of the poor and needy; of the rights of brave men in arms for their country; of the statutes of Congress; and of the honor of the nation, I pray your excellency to interpose the rightful power of the Chief Executive Magistrate of the United States, who is bound by his oath ‘to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;’ and by its immediate exercise, to right these wrongs.”

note: printed invitations for the sixth and seventh annual reunions of the 54th officers call for photographs of a number of them, including chaplain Samuel Harrison; 1 May 1891 printed circular by Emilio seeks same for his regimental history [MHS]

note: Norwood P Hallowell to Henry Lee, 25 Feb 1897, folder 14, Civil War Papers, MHS, states, “There is no surviving chaplain of the 54th,” but Harrison was then still alive

note: For 1982 rededication of Shaw Memorial Ruth Edmunds Hill, great-granddaughter of Saml Harrison, contacted BOAF; Ariel Jacobs Dillard, granddau of Samuel, sent list of 15 relatives all from her Dillard side then living in Pittsfield, Amherst, Seattle, Weymouth, Ft Washington MD

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Hayes, George A
DOB: 1843 [greene], Nov 1839 1900c
POB: Fayetteville NC milrec, mrec
father: James Alexander Hayes
mother: Margaret / Sarah M McNish b 1810 NC
spouse: Sarah M Buell Dabney b May 1843 Canterbury CT
DOM: 21 April 1867 mrec
POM: Boston mrec
DOD: 13 Aug 1906
POD: Boston
bur: Mt Hope, Boston

cen: 1870 Charlestown/no occup w/ wife Sarah
1880 Wakefield/no occup "lost one arm" w/ wife, mother
1900 Boston/ pensioner rents in hh with wife, 60 Sawyer St

rank: priv Co F 54th

note: carpenter at enlistment 8 Apr 1863, signed with mark; 10 Feb 1865 loading cannon when it discharged and damaged his eyes and wounded right arm, eventually amputated at the shoulder; was ultimately totally blind; artificial arm made for him in Boston 8 Sept 1866 [Greene 130]; milrec Jan/Feb 1865 "absent sick in Post Hosp Morris Island since Feby 11 1865 wounded by premature explosion at Battery (?) Morris Is SC"; muster-out roll states wounded by "premature explosion of powder at Morris Is SC lost the left arm"; 8 Sept 1865 disability certificate states, "Patients states that he was wounded accidentally by the premature discharge of a cannon wile shelling Secessionville SC February 10th 1865"; below from surgeon "GS fracture of Rt arm & shoulder joint. wound nearly healed. Also GS injury of face with total loss of right eye & total loss of use of left eye; elects to be discharged. Disability total"; discharged 8 Sept 1865

note: 1880c shows him with wife Sarah b CT and mother Sarah M McNish ae 70 b NC

note: drec states his occup as carpenter, gives mid init, names father as Alexander of Fayetteville mother unknown, died of TB ae 66 and living at 8 Willow Park, Boston

Hayes, Nathan E
DOB: 1819
POB: Rutland VT
father: John
mother: Rhoda Quow b Rutland
spouse: Margaret b 1812 c50, 1806 c80
DOD: 10 April 1907
POD: Worcester MA
bur: Rutland VT

cen: 1840c Rutland VT/4 in hh
1850c Rutland/lab w/ wife, dau Rhoda
1860c Rutland/mill hand \$100 personal w/ wife, dau Harriet
1870c Rutland/teamster w/ wife

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1880 Rutland/teamster w/wife, servant b VT

dir: 1876 Rutland VT/teamster Clement & Sons (producers of Rutland Marble)
1891 Rutland/mill man VT Marble Co h road to Proctor

serv: priv Co H 54th

children: Rhoda b 1847, Harriet L b 1852 m 1868 Sylvester Orison Mero (see entry)

note: 1850c states his wife was born in Portugal, 1870 and 1880c give her pob as MA

note: teamster when he enlisted 10 Dec 1863 in Co H at Rutland; mustered out 16 June 1865, discharged for physical disability; daughter Rhoda may have been boarding in New Haven CT (ae 13 b VT) with family of Wm W Denon, also black, in 1860; dau Harriet m Sylvester O Mero, member of Co B 54th, enlisted ae 18 at Woodstock VT, farmer; he died 8 Mar 1919

note: sells his 7-room house and .75-acre lot with "plenty of fruit trees" in center Rutland 2 Nov 1866 [*Rutland Herald*, 7 Nov 1866, 3]; was a pall bearer at funeral of vet Alexander F Hemenway in Oct 1896 in Worcester [*Worcester Daily Spy*, 31 Oct 1896, 10]

note: dau Mrs S. O. Mero informant on his death cert; "Colored Veteran Dead," *Barre (VT) Daily Times*, 15 Apr 1907, 1: Nathan E Hayes, longtime res of Rutland d at Worcester 10 April, and remains brought by train and bur at Evergreen Cem; he was 90 and had lived in Rutland nearly all his life, a Civil War vet, leaves daughter Mrs MJ Kent of Killington Ave, Barre [also *Rutland Daily Herald*, 15 Apr 1907, 8]

note: his great-great-grandson "master" Eugene J Carpenter, places wreath on Shaw Memorial 18 July 1913 ["Boston, Mass.," *New York Age*, 24 Jul 1913, 7] and identified as Eugene J Carpenter, ae 7, in "Fort Wagner Not Forgotten," *Boston Globe*, 18 Jul 1913, 5

Hazzard, Henry
DOB: 19 Feb 1840 brec
POB: Shirley brec
father: Abraham b Shirley
mother: Louisa Boston or Cynthia A Messer drec b Shirley
DOD: 18 Aug 1907 drec
POD: Boylston
bur: Boylston

cen: 1850 Shirley/in pars' hh
1860 Boylston/no occup in hh bro Abraham T
1870 Boylston/works on farm, bds

serv: priv, corp, ser Co D 54th

note: drec states Co D 54th Regiment MA Vols Civil War; state drec lists him as a carpenter, d of TB

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note: a Floraze Hazard and Henry's brother Theodore Hazzard (d 1891) were both in 54th; in 1850c Henry is in hh of parents Abraham ae 45 lab and Louisa ae 34, while Theodore ae 15 is 3 hhs before in hh of white farmer Loammi Hartshorn

note: laborer at enlistment 7 Dec 1863 at Boston; enlistment record states he was wounded at Honey Hill 30 Nov 1865; apptd corp 3 Jan 1864 by general regimental order no 10; promoted to sergeant 18 Sept 1864, "due US Bounty \$25.00"; absent on detached service at "Brazo" since 26 July 1865 [?]

note: laborer at time of death, of pneumonia, single

***Hazzard, Lorenzo**

DOB: 1844 milrec

POB: Brookfield milrec

father: Joel b 1803 CT

mother: Dolly Wallace b 1810 MA

spouse: 1) Frances L Bostic b 1844 CT d 1899 2) Delia B Cisco Holly b 1862 Grafton

DOM: 1) 26 Nov 1867 2) 16 Nov 1899

POM: 1) Brookfield 2) Worcester

DOD: 4 Aug 1914

POD: Worcester

cen: 1850 Brookfield/in pars' hh
1860 Brookfield/in pars' hh
1870 Palmer/lab bdg in hotel
1880 Windsor CT/works hotel in hh w/ wife, 3 children
1910 Grafton/farmer away from home in hh w/ wife

rank: priv, sgt Co A 5th MA Cav

children: Eugene b 1867, Henry b 1874, Olive b 1868

note: farmer when he enlisted 31 Dec 1863 at Brookfield, mustered in 9 Jan 1864 at Readville, appointed sgt 1 July 1864, mustered out at Clarksville TX 31 Oct 1865

note: father Joel left by 3 Feb 1864, as guardians are appointed for Lorenzo; he and mother Dolly note that Lorenzo is "now in United States service" and Joel the father not now residing in this state so guardian needed

note: mechanic at time of first marriage

note: he is almost surely the Sgt Hazard in charge of the 5th Cavalry platoon at the Shaw Memorial unveiling; see "From Many States," *Boston Globe*, 1 June 1897, 6

note: drec states he was struck accidentally by truck and lived at Grafton, retired lab, married, b Brookfield, pars unknown

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Henderson, Edward
DOB: 1831 drec, 1839 milrec
POD: Nashville TN milrec, Louisiana drec
DOD: 25 July 1897
POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea
bur: Soliders' Home, Chelsea

serv: priv Co A 5th Cav

note: laborer at enlisted at Williamstown 18 Dec 1863; detached as RR labor 26 July 1865 at Brazos, "Santiago"; mustered out Clarksville TX 31 Oct 1865

note: first admitted to soldier's home 1895 and again in 1897; *Boston Journal* obit, short graph, states that "before the war he was a slave, and when the war broke out ran away and enlisted in the Union army, as a private in Company A, Fifth Massachusetts Calvary."

Hoose, Edward
DOB: 1845 mrec, Mar 1842 1900c
POB: Dalton MA mrec
father: Amos
mother Harriet
spouse: Emma Perkins
DOM: 10 May 1906
POM: Rutland VT
DOD: 20 January 1914
POD: Rutland VT
bur: Cheney Hill Cem, Rutland VT

cen: 1900 Rutland VT/farm lab owns, mar but no wife in hh, 2 white bdrs

serv: priv Co B 54th

note: living in Rutland and a farmer at time of marriage, and mrec shows him as white; 1855 Dalton cen shows him as mulatto ae 11; his findagrave entry states that his widow filed for pension in 1930

note: farmer signed with mark at enlistment 4 Dec 1863 at Pittsfield; discharged 20 Aug 1865

note: possibly related to Hannah Hoose Caesar, wife of Saml L Caesar (see entry), also from Dalton; her parents were Algernon b 1813 and Silva or Silvia b 1824; Algernon is son of Phillip Hoose, who d in Dalton 1844-45

note: Charles Hoose House, built 1846 and sold to him 1868, restored in Dalton; Charles was grandson of Philip, who came from Hudson Valley to Berkshire Co in early 1800s and may have been enslaved; in county in 1820 and in Dalton by 1830

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Horace, Iverson

DOB: 1844 milrec, drec, Oct 1841 c00

POB: Fayette Co TN mrec2, drec, Somerville TN son's drec

father: Reed Horace mrec2

mother: Charlotte mrec2

spouse: 1) Ida L Higgins b VA 2) Alice Williams b 1854 Loudoun Co VA

DOM: 1) 8 Nov 1870 2) 21 Aug 1899

POM: 1 & 2) Springfield

DOD: 30 January 1919

POD: Springfield

cen: 1880 Worcester/hotel cook w/ wife
1890 vet sched Worcester/"chronic diarrhea"
1900 Springfield/cook w/ wife, son
1910 Springfield/hotel cook alone in hh

dir: 1868 Springfield/col'd emp WH Montague, bds Bradford St
1875 Worcester/cook 256 Main bs 35 Liberty [Everson]
1880 Worcester/lab h 29 Abbott
1890 Worcester/cook 148 Front, h 51 Mason
1895 Worcester/ice cream h 58 Dewey
1897-98 Worcester/ice cream h 8 Newbury
1904 Springfield/cook h 84 Colton
1911 Springfield/h 35 Stockbridge
1913 Springfield/h 23 Gardner ave

serv: Co B 107 USCT

children: Arthur M 1877-78, Iverson L 1878-98, Raymond Howard 1891-1904, Frederick Everett 1895-1900

note: 1868d WH Montague an African American hairdresser; in 1904 wife living at 23 Cross and in 1911 at 717 Union in Springfield

note: he attends pageant in Springfield 1908 in which he is part of "negro float" depicting Ft Wagner battle

note: widow Alice informant of his death and lives 63 Park St while his residence is 255 Sharon St; she applies for pension 1 Dec 1919

Jackson, Thomas William

DOB: 1844, Mar 1843 c00

POB: Boston mrec1

father: Edward b 1816 Norfolk VA d 1887 New Bedford

mother: Sarah A Saunders b Norfolk, Sarah Dunn by WJ record

spouse: 1) Caledonia Butler Turner b 1840 New Bedford 2) Annie Belle Jones b 1889 Americus GA

DOM: 1) 1 Apr 1873 2) 12 Sept 1905

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POM: 1) New Bedford 2) Providence RI
DOD: 5 July 1927 milrec
POD: possibly Chelsea

cen: 1855 New Bedford/in pars' hh w/ 2 sibs
1870 New Bedford/barber in hh wife, 2 children
1890 New Bedford vet sched/ sgt Co C 5th Cav "dyspepsia"
1900 New Bedford/barber w/ wife 597 Maxfield
1910 New Bedford/barber own shop w/ wife 597 Maxfield
1920 New Bedford /teacher piano guitar camp w/ wife 597 Maxfield

dir: 1865 New Bedford/5th MA Cavalry bds 60 Cedar
1869 New Bedford/barber b 26 Chancery
1875 New Bedford/hairdresser 184 County, h 60 Cedar
1887 New Bedford/hairdresser 503 County h W Maxfield
1890 New Bedford/hairdresser & music teacher 501 County, h West Maxfield

serv: priv, sgt Co C 5th MA Cav

children: Ella b 1866, Ralph b 1869

note: 1865c he's in home of father, whose barber shop is also at 60 Cedar; June 1863 a Thomas Jackson (no W) listed in New Bedford draft record as 20, black, barber, married, in Co C 2d MA Regt (possibly in service to white officer?)

note: barber when he enlisted in Co C, MA 5th Cav 13 May 1864, promoted to sergeant and mustered out 31 Oct 1865 at Clarksville TX; music teacher at time of second marriage, and wife res Westport MA

note: built working model of steamer *Ajax* "during spare hours" in 1877 and displayed it at his barber shop, 184.5 County St in New Bedford [*Fall River Daily Evening News*, 9 Nov 1877, 2]

note: listed in 1865 record in Newton as mustered in 13 May 1864 in Co C 5th Cav, barber, \$325 state bountry, exp service 31 Oct 1865

note: attended 54th, 55, and 5th Cav reunion at Boston 1904 and is identified as "a well known musician of New Bedford" ["Colored Vets of Bay State," *Boston Herald*, 18 Aug 1904, 3]

***Jackson, William**

DOB: 16 Aug 1818
POB: Norfolk VA, VA c55, 60
father: Henry "Captain Jack" Jackson
mother: Keziah
spouse: Jane Adora Major
DOM: 23 May 1839
POM: Philadelphia
DOD: 19 May 1900

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POD: New Bedford

burial: Oak Grove, new section, New Bedford

cen: 1855 New Bedford/clergyman in ward 3
1860 New Bedford/clergyman b.
1865 New Bedford/CB (colored Baptist) preacher, w/ wife, 3 children
1870 New Bedford/clergyman \$1000/200 w/ wife, 3 children
1880 New Bedford/Baptist clergyman w/ wife, 3 children 116 Smith St

dir: 1856 New Bedford/pastor 2d Baptist Church, h 7 Cedar
1859 New Bedford/h 116 Smith
1867 New Bedford/pastor Salem Baptist N Sixth St, h 116 Smith
1871 New Bedford/Rev (Providence), h 116 Smith
1883 New Bedford/Rev (Newark NJ) h 116 Smith
1893 New Bedford/clergyman h 198 Smith
1899 New Bedford/Baptist clergyman h 198 Smith

serv: camp chaplain 54th, chaplain 55th

children: all b TN: Emma Louise b1838 or 1839 (m John Freedom), Mary Alice 15 Apr 1851, Edgar Levy 23 June 1843 (Edgar M., b 1855 PA, m Mary Ellen Hamer 1881)

note: genealogy of late descendant Julian Youngblood gives mother's and spouse's names as shown above

prob: #16509 New Bedford/will 7 May 1900 signed with mark and leaves dau Mary A. Jackson his home and 40 rods during her life, then to 2 other children (Edgar M. L. and Emma) and their heirs; leaves house and 40-rod lot west of his homestead to son Edgar and then to his son Edgar Wm; 40-rod lot east of homestead to granddaughters Bertha Marsh Jackson (dau. Edgar) and Flossie May Freedom (dau. Emma); will notes dau Emma (wife of John Freedom) already deeded lot; all land on south side of Smith st running east from corner of Chancery st; all remainder to 3 children

note: father a pilot of Norfolk port, and as a boy his obit says he spent time aboard steamers in that port; after Nat Turner rebellion 1831 he and parents moved to Philadelphia; at age 16 he served on board the US sloop of war *Vandalia* (an 18-gun sloop of war in US Navy during Second Seminole War and Civil War; launched in 1828, commissioned later that year, served in Brazil Squadron 1828-31 (returning to Norfolk Dec 1831); joined Baptist church 1837 and was ordained pastor of Oak St Baptist Church in Philly 16 Sept 1842; obit says he was jailed in Philadelphia for assisting in release of fugitive slave and had served churches in Newburgh NY, and Wilmington DE before coming to NB as pastor of Second Baptist Church in 1855 [but a Rev. Wm Jackson gave prayer at Feb 1852 meeting of colored citizens at 3d Christian Church in NB to protest American Colonization Society, and a Rev Mr Jackson at 1 Aug 1852 West Indian Emancipation Day celebration, NB; also history of 2d Baptist Church in *Mercury* 1854 notes that an Elder Jackson from Philadelphia served church for one year after Edmund Kelley left, ca 1848; his ordination 12 April 1855 at 2d Baptist, says *Mercury* of that date]; attended meeting protesting AME Bethel's refusal to allow mtgs of Vigilant Aid Soc [*Liberator* 14 Mar 1856]. With 95 others, he withdrew from 2d Baptist 1858 to form Salem Baptist Church, and *New Bedford Mercury*, which covers schism in detail, suggests it occurs over Jackson's mishandling of church funds, but church panel finds charge without foundation; served Salem Baptist until 8 June 1863, when he left to serve as chaplain 55th MA Regiment; had earlier helped recruiting efforts by speaking [emilio 12] and was

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at Readville acting as chaplain pro tem for the 54th on 23 Mar 1863 [adams8 n8]; was apptd at Camp Meigs 23 Mar 63 and as chaplain 55th 10 Jul 63; first black chaplain in Union Army; see adams and 25th Anniversary. . . *Salem Baptist Church* (NB, 1885); returned to New Bedford 30 May 1864 and served church again until 1 June 1870, when he resigned to go to a church in Providence

note: Jos Ricketson Jr to Geo Guerrier, 17 Jul 1863, about rumored “draft riot” in New Bedford states that Rev Wm Jackson had approached some of town’s leading citizens talking together near a bank and asked for revolver; each man gave him a dollar, and Jonathan Bourne went to get him more money; in less than 10 minutes, they had raised \$16 for him. Ricketson wrote, “Our first citizens giving readily, this is the feeling here and in Boston. We are now dependant [sic] on the Negro.” [Mulderink 2:158–59]

note: Greene has him enlisting 1863 and disch 14 Jan 1864, after which he became chaplain (?); received pension 10 Jan 1885; one soldier of the 55th wrote from Folly Island, 12 January 1864, published in *Weekly Anglo-African* 30 Jan 1864, to state, among other things, “Our chaplain, Rev. William Jackson of New Bedford, Mass., has, I understand, got into a difficulty and is about to resign,” apparently over a quarrel about the mail, as he was the mail officer; “I think that better course for him could not have been pursued, as he was never popular with the men, and for some time past they have been murmuring against him, as he never held service, and is considered of little worth amongst us—this last act arousing a feeling of bitter animosity. Mr. Jackson is, I doubt not, a valuable member of society, and an excellent minister of the Gospel in civic life; but is certainly unfit to be chaplain of a regiment.” Jackson resigned 14 January 1864, and John R Bowles replaced him 27 March [in Trudeau, ed., *Voices of the 55th*, 60, 60 n. 42]

note: has Gooding write to *Mercury* 11 Apr that “he did NOT apply, either in person or by letter to the governor, for the chaplaincy of the 54th; that the appointment was made at the suggestion of some friends of his in Boston; furthermore, that it was unnecessary for the Pastor of the ‘Bethel church’ to publish his resignation when he never held any position to resign.” 23 Mar 1863 Gov Andrew’s special order apptd Rev Wm Grimes and Jackson to act alternately as chaplains to Readville post; Grimes declined, saying that although he could fill in for Jackson at his church, Jackson wouldn’t be acceptable to Bethel; Grimes said he would only resign Bethel if full-time chaplaincy of 54th could be assured; Jackson served as post chaplain until 14 July, when he was named regimental chaplain of 55th [Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom*, 11 n 13]

note: family said to be active in UGRR [*Standard-Times*, 5 Feb 1997]; Jackson said to have spent last years as town crier on Martha’s Vineyard in one source, but this is not mentioned in his obituary

note: Wm, Jane, and Emma Jackson among 96 members of 2d Baptist who form Salem Baptist

note: made the first of three or four purchases of land at Smith Street and Chancery from Jonathan Smith et al 18 September 1856 for \$148 (BCD 31:562); first part of lot was roughly 139 x 45 feet square, or 20.49 rods total (rest of land transfers yet to be researched). Jackson and family lived at 198 Smith St, and he was there at time of his death. See probate record above

note: note: he is listed among those who attended the FH gathering of vets after Shaw Memorial unveiling but shown as chaplain of 5th MA Cavalry [“War Memories Revived,” *Boston Herald*, 1 Jun 1897, 7]

note: “Had an Eventful Career,” *Boston Herald*, 20 May 1900, 5, date marked New Bedford 19 May 1900, noted that he had died at home 198 Smith St, born Norfolk VA 81 years ago; in 1831 went to Philly with his parents, and when ae 16 served on board US sloop of war *Vandalia*; joined Baptist

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church 1837 and was ordained and installed as pastor of Oak St Baptist Church in Philadelphia 16 September 1842; in Philly arrested for responsibility in release of colored man under fugitive slave law, then went to pastorates in Newburgh NY and Wilmington DE, then to Second Baptist in NB 1855; when Salem Baptist organized there he became its pastor; was chaplain in 55th regiment and later served as pastor in Providence, “and on a visit to Boston, some time later, led a mob which broke into a court house and released a colored prisoner. He became identified with colored secret societies.”

Jackson, William H.

DOB: 1846

POB: Pittsburgh PA

father: James

mother: Sarah

spouse: 1) Mary Chamberlain b 1842 Port Royal VA 2) Madora Johnson b 1854 Norfolk VA

DOM: 1) 12 Dec 1882 2) 16 May 1893

POM: 1 & 2) Boston

DOD: November 1936

POD: Cambridge

cen: 1920 Boston/tailor own shop widowed
1930 Boston/widow no occup lodger

dir: 1885 Boston/tailor rear 347 Washington h at Cambridgeport
1907 Cambridge/tailor bds 117 Dudley
1912-15 Cambridge/tailor bds 10 Clarendon Ave
1925 Boston/tailor 9 Bosworth rm 3 res Dorchester

serv: 5th Cav

note: cannot find his service record; he is one of last two surviving members of Bell Post 134 and attends all the last services at the Shaw memorial through the 1930s

note: 1920c in hh Wm H Wilson, African American PO lab

note: “William H. Jackson,” *Boston Globe*, 30 November 1936, 15: funeral services for him, ae 90, Negro Union soldiers of Civil war and commander of Bell Post held yesterday; he was a native of Pittsburgh and for more than 40 years in clothing business in Province Court Boston, but retired for some years and living at 49 Griffin St Cambridge; leaves only Biddle in the post; “William H. Jackson,” *Boston Herald*, 27 Nov 1936, 13: says he was born in 1846 in Pittsburgh PA and served “with a cavalry regiment” and after the war was a tailor

James, Henry

DOB: 1840 milrec, 1850 c10, 1849 mrec

POB: Fairfax Co VA milrec, VA c10, DC c80, son's brec

father: Henry b Alexandria VA

mother: Selena b MD

spouse: Mary Waters b 1850 Baltimore

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DOM: 7 February 1874
POM: Boston
DOD: 30 Sept 1917
POD: Cambridge

cen: 1880 Cambridge/switchman w/wife, lodger
1900 Cambridge/porter w/ wife, 2 children
1910 Cambridge/RR porter w/ wife, son, 4 lodgers, granddau

dir: 1875 Cambridge/switchman UR Co, h 9 Lambert ave
1888 Cambridge/porter WESR Co, h 26 Charles River
1913 Cambridge/porter h 87 Howard

serv: priv Co F 54th

children: Alice b 1880, Henry Jr b 1881 Cambridge

note: enlisted at Foxborough 18 Dec 1863, laborer and signed enlistment with mark; was at Jan 1864 draft rendezvous at Long Island in Boston Harbor and at Morris Island 21 Jan 1864

note: laborer at time of marriage and son's birth; died at home 87 Howard St and shown as porter ae 35 yr 9 mos, the married, wife informant

note: "Honor Memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw," *Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1916, 10, notes that he was one of 3 vets of the 54th present at Columbus AME church anniversary of Fort Wagner battle, along with Furlong and Alexander H Johnson; he had been a private and lived in Cambridge, where he had worked on "the old Cambridge horse railroad" after the war and also watered horses from his tin bucket

***Jameson, James**

DOB: 1838
POB: Ithaca NY
father: unknown b VA
mother: unknown b NY
DOD: 16 July 1924?
POD: Bath NY?
bur: Oakwood Cem, Syracuse?

cen: 1865 Ithaca NY/barber in hh MD-b black barber Henry Moore and fam
1870 Ithaca/barber rming in hh billiard clerk Byron Gillett
1910 Syracuse NY/no occup roomer in Af Am rooming house
1905 Bath NY/inmate Soldiers & Sailors home
1920 Bath/inmate Soldiers & Sailors Home

dir: 1867 Ithaca NY/barber 47 E State h do
1869 Ithaca/barber 47 E State bds Forest City Hotel
1887 Syracuse NY/barber [Jamieson]
1893 Syracuse/barber [Jamieson]

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serv: priv Co H 54th

note: a James Jamison black with 4 in hh in 1840 Salina, Onondaga Co NY, census, with one son less than 10

note: barber of Ithaca at enlistment 29 Apr 1863, apptd corporal 1 May 1864 but “reduced to ranks” 5 Aug 1864; disch 20 Aug 1865

note: of Syracuse when he attended events of Shaw unveiling; he also attended and was photographed at 50th anniversary of Wagner in Boston 18 July 1913 and at 1917 GAR parade in Boston

note: “Along the Route with the Marching Veterans,” *Boston Globe*, 22 Aug 1917, 5, on occasion of big GAR parade and encampment, with photograph of seated Jameson: M Jameson of Syracuse NY, member of Company H: among many “little personal incidents along the way” was one being “the veteran who didn’t see the Governor or any of the dignitaries on the gala reviewing stand in front of the State House. He saw only something opposite the State House which meant more to him than the whole encampment. / Comrades tried to keep him in line as they smartened their step at the crest of the hill and turned their faces toward the Governor. But they couldn’t. He stopped short in his tracks. / ‘Thar’s my regiment!’ he cried, and his right hand came up to his hat brim. He saluted Col Robert Gould Shaw, and friendly volunteers from the sidelines led him out of the ranks. They thought he was overcome by the pull up the hill, or bewildered by the cheering. / But he wasn’t. He simply wanted to salute his comrades in bronze. And they led him to the base of the Shaw monument, where he came to attention again, gazing at the tablet until they brought him a chair. There he sat. The parade was over so far as he was concerned. He wanted to go no farther. . . . And no one will be able to explain satisfactorily to Jameson of the 54th Massachusetts just why there was a wooden staging obstructing the view of the Shaw monument, on yesterday of all days. The workmen said they had been sent ‘to clean the bronze.’”

note: “General Register of Inmates Admitted to the New York Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Home” I lists James Jameson, enl 13 May 1863 Co H 54th MA, of Ithaca, dis 20 Aug 1865, had hernia dating to July 1864, barber, lived at Salamanca NY before being admitted and had \$12 pension, admitted 21 Jan 1884 and “deserted” from home 17 Mar 1885, admitted again 5 May 1894 and disch 22 June 1898 and 29 Oct 1898 admitted again; contact Mrs Margaret Quinn, Fayette St, Syracuse

Jarvis, William H
DOB: 1842 c70, 26 Jan 1833 drec, gr
POB: MD c70, Baltimore drec, gr, obit
father: Wm H
mother: Harriet Smith
spouse: Lydia Virginia Craig b 1845 VA
DOD: 5 June 1902
POD: Lynn MA
bur: Pine Grove, Lynn

cen: 1870 Lynn/barber \$3k real w/ wife, son, 2 bdg black barbers
1880 Lynn/barber w/ wife

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serv: landsman Navy

children: Wm H b 1857 Wakefield MA d 1885 Lynn

note: enlisted 27 May 1862, landsman on SS *Levant*, discharged 27 May 1862; member Genl Lander Post 5 GAR in Lynn; messenger in State House 29 years; death record lists him as "governor's messenger"

note: on one of committees planning the 1887 reunion of 54th, 55th, 5th Cav in Boston

note: "William H. Jarvis Dead," *Boston Post*, 6 Jun 1902, 9: Jarvis ae 69 for 18 years executive messenger at the State House, died in Lynn at home of pneumonia and complications; b Baltimore, says he served in Civil War with the 8th MA; in 1873 he became a messenger in the MA Senate, where Senator Robinson became acquainted with him and caused his appointment as messenger for the Gov's Council; for 11 years he was in Senate chamber, but last 18 years he received visitors who wanted to see the governor; leaves a widow; beneath this, "Sorrow at State House," states he was born about 64 years ago in Baltimore and came North before the war and opened a barber shop in West Lynn; appointed messenger in Senate 1870 until 1884, when Gov Robinson apptd him executive messenger; his son grad Lynn High with high honors but died while a cadet at West Point; says he served with the 8th Regt in North Carolina and the Navy during the war; photo of him *Boston Post*, 7 Jun 1902, 11; his death record does not show race, but son shown as mulatto and census records show him as black/mulatto

***Johnson, Alexander Howard**

DOB: ca 1848 c, op, ca 1845-50 c55, 23 Apr 1846 findagrave

POB: MA c50, 55, 60, NB [op]

father: unknown

mother: Ann E. Perry or Hannah Niles mrec

spouse: Mary Ann Johnson, Worcester

DOM: 21 Feb 1870

POM: Worcester

DOD: 19 Mar 1930

POD: Worcester

bur: Hope Cem, Worcester

cen: 1850 New Bedford/in pars hh
1855 New Bedford/in Henry Johnson hh
1860 New Bedford/in in Henry Johnson hh
1880 Worcester
1900 Worcester/musician w/ wife laundresss 4 daus, rents
1910 Worcester/lab whitening w/ wife 3 daus, grandson, rents

dir: 1867 New Bedford/bds in father's hh 7 First
1869 New Bedford/NL
1871 Worcester/waiter Bay State house [no mid init; may not be he]
1878 Worcester/carpet cleaner 69 Central h do
1881 Worcester/carpet cleaner 69 Central h do
1887 Worcester/Johnson & Wilson whitewashers 69 Central h do

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1892 Worcester/whitewasher h 69 Central
1903 Worcester/whitewasher h 69 Central
1911 Worcester/whitewasher 21 Orchard h do
1918 Worcester/whitewasher 21 Orchard h do
1924 Worcester/whitewasher 21 Orchard h do
1928 Worcester/whitewasher 21 Orchard h do
1930 Worcester/h 21 Orchard
1931 Worcester/died Mar 19 1930 ae 83

rank: private (drummer) Co C 54th

children: Harriet N 1870 (m 1900 James E Landers), Alexander H Jr 1874–75, Josephine D 1875, Bertha G 1881, Addie E 1889

note: his stepfather was William Henry Johnson, fugitive b 1812 Richmond VA and is called Henry Johnson in early New Bedford years and Wm Henry later; 1860c stepfather a lawyer in hh with only Alexander and Priscilla Washington 39 and her son Frederick A 9; he and a Lucy Johnson ae 9 may also be in hh Stephen and Harriet Betts in NB

note: unattributed interview with Johnson: “Before the war he was a New Bedford boy and fond of playing the drum. When news came North that John Brown had been hung, a crowd turned out in New Bedford and a big collared man, wearing a red shirt, according to Johnson, stood out on the balcony of Liberty Hall and rolled the drum. ‘And I stood down in the street and rolled my little drum, too,’ said the major the other day.”

note: ae 16, single, seaman when he enlists Co C 54th 2 Mar 1863 and listed as a drummer on muster-in roll; a musician in regiment; discharged 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston SC; greene lists him as born 1847, ae 16, 5’2”, seaman when enlisted and serving as drummer; lost his musician’s sword and scabbard “by carelessness” and was charged \$192

note: Holly Izard, Worcester Historical Museum, says he is Alexander Howard Johnson, illegitimate son of Ann E Perry, dau of Peter Perry and first wife, Hannah Niles Smith Perry. Peter Perry Hawaiian, and wife Narragansett Indian. His mother takes as 2d husband Wm Henry Johnson (fugitive) in 1836, and this couple later adopts him (though Carl Cruz finds no adoption record in Bristol Co Registry of Probate for him). Worcester Historical Museum has his photograph, memorabilia, and documents from his Civil War service as drummer boy in Co C 54th. Worcester *Daily Telegram* article 1929 notes that he served at seige of Fort Wagner, Olustee, Honey Hill, Boykin’s Mills, James Island, Charleston, and was in Sherman’s army during its march to the sea. Johnson moved to Worcester about 1868, married, and is listed there as waiter, carpet cleaner, and whitewasher; he’s a carpet cleaner at birth of dau Josephine 1875

note: Shaw called him “the original drummer boy,” and he was with Shaw when he died and carried messages to other officers during battle [Greenough in *Tell It with Pride* 17]

note3: nb overseers of poor v1 p106: “Henry & Hannah Johnson (c) Ann E. born 1833 N. Bedfd, Harriet b 1838 NB, Caroline b 1845 NB, Alexander b 1848 NB Johnson is 40 June 1851. came to New Bedford in 1832 & has resided here since”; 1/2 coal Jan 1851

note4: organized the Johnson Colored Drum Corps in Worcester before Feb 1872; Salvatore, *We All Got History*, described him as an “accomplished drummer who once boasted, ‘I don’t take my hat off[f] for any man living that tap the Drum’” and played the drum he played at Ft Wagner

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note: he applied for an invalid pension 11 March 1889, which card gives his date of death; he is reported to have received pension in *Boston Globe*, 12 Jan 1891, 3 and is listed as of Worcester

note: “Veterans of the 54th Regiment,” *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897, 4, notes that he would be present at the Shaw Memorial unveiling and “will have his war drum with him” and be the guest of the RG Shaw Vet Assn; Johnson is quoted here to say of Shaw, “A better man never wore shoes, and everybody in the regiment called him ‘Father.’” Also includes his account of Wagner as published in the *Worcester Gazette*: “The offer came from Gen Strong to Col Shaw to have his regiment lead the charge. The colonel asked if we would follow him, and we said we would. So we went over to the beach on the island under the effort. Col Shaw said ‘Dad’—they always called me ‘Dad’—‘Roll a little.’ I did, and then he told us to lie flat down on the sand and to rush up the hill, with heads down, when the order came. We did what he told us, and soon the order came. / We started with a rush, Col Shaw in the lead, and the other regiments beside and behind us. When we were about half-way up Col Shaw called me and gave me a note to carry to the rear. That was the last note he ever sent. He was shot before long. He was the bravest man I ever saw. He rushed up the side of the hill—just, like going up Normal school hill—at the head of the regiment, shouting to them to follow him. Just as they got near the top the fort opened, and how they tore the ranks! / Col Shaw was just at the top of the parapet, in the lead, when he was shot and fell back into the crowd. Hundred of the men got caught in the ditch under the fort and were torn to pieces with the grape and canister. Those that got to the top were grabbed with a kind of boat-hook and pulled inside. We lost lots of men that way. Finally the regiment was so demoralized that we had to retreat, and the fort was not taken until two weeks after. Col Shaw was a great man, and no other man could have led the regiment as he did.”

note: he attended and had pic taken with other 54th survivors at 1913 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1913]

note: his picture is shown in “Honor Memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw,” *Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1916, 10, with other members of the RG Shaw Vets Assn, and Johnson is there identified as “leading figure in Shaw statue”; article notes some 150 “mostly colored” men and women honored Shaw at Columbus Ave AME church night before on 53d anniversary of Fort Wagner assault, and three survivors of same at the meeting, Major Alexander H Johnson, “a drummer boy that day and is the figure in advance of all in the Beacon-st bas relief. Sergt Furlong was obliged to shorten up the slings holding the boy’s drum because of his stature. But to day Major Johnson is 50 and the father of five children. And last night he thrilled his hearers by reproducing one of two snare drums the reveille of July 18, 1863, and picturing the sounds of the engagement.”

note: “Recall Fort Wagner,” *Boston Globe*, 15 July 1917, 37: Wednesday last celebration at the Shaw monument of the assault under auspices of Wm H Carney Camp 156, S of V; with vets of the old 54th, 55th, and 5th cavalry; Wesley Furlong to introduce heroes of Ft Wagner, and Maj Alexander H Johnson, drummer boy of the 54th, to do a drum solo; the Carney Camp stressed “the need of a veterans’ relief fund and calls on societies, churches and all sorts of organizations, as well as individuals, to subscribe in order that the last days of certain Civil War veterans in straightened circumstances may be made comfortable.”

note: in 1920 he stated, “I may be more than 70, but I can drum now with the best of them. If anybody doubts it, just let him listen when I’m coming along in a parade. He’ll hear my drum before he hears anything else, and some times before anything comes in sight.” See “Major Johnson Old Drummer Boy.”

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note: “Sham Battlefield on Common Begun,” *Boston Globe*, 8 Apr 1924, 11: Alexander H Johnson and all other vets of Worcester Post 10 of GAR came to take part; Johnson “is a colored man, and is pictured in the bas relief Shaw monument in Beacon st, a few hundred yards away, facing the State House. . . . As a visiting card, so to speak, he was carrying a fragment of the drumhead he beat as a boy in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, under Robert Gould Shaw, and inscribed with his name and the words ‘Fort Wagner, July 18, 1862’—before most of today’s veterans were born.”

note: “Maj. Alexander H. Johnson,” *Boston Herald*, 20 Mar 1930, 19, notes that Johnson, drummer boy in civil war, died at Worcester at home today as result of paralytic shock of last November; he was 83, born in New Bedford, and son of Henry and Hannah Niles Johnson; “Maj. Johnson, Civil War Veteran, Dies,” *Evening Gazette* (Worcester), 19 March 1930, 1: he died at his home 31 Orchard St this day ae 83, member of Col Ward H Ward Post 10 GAR; survived by five daughters Mrs Hattie Niles Sanders, Mrs Anna Thompson, Mrs Josephine E Rheddick, Mrs Nertha Brute, and Mrs Addie Monahan, all of Worcester

Johnson, Frederic

DOB: 1848

POB: Boston [no brec]

father: Robert b 1802 VA

mother: Clarissa S West b 1803 Pomfret CT d 18 Jul 1863

DOD: after Aug 1904

cen: 1855 Boston/barber in pars' hh
1860 Boston/mariner in pars' hh
1865 Boston/barber in father's hh w/ bro Henry, mariner

serv: priv, corp, sgt Co C 54th

note: grew up at 69 Joy St, father a waiter and caterer in Boston since at least 1836, brother Robert J helped recruit for 54th and was a sergeant in 55th Regiment, captured, and died at Florence SC 12 Feb 1865; Frederic and his brothers Henry West Johnson and William all enlisted in US Navy 1858–59, and Wm moved to MO after war; Henry W enlisted in 55th afterward; his mother died on the day of Fort Wagner siege

note: clerk at time of enlistment 11 Mar 1863; mustered in 30 Mar 1863; promoted to corporal 1 April 1863; became acting sergeant major 14 Sept 1863 in place of “Douglass on furlough”; detailed as recruiting officer since 15 Nov 1863, sent to Boston, and returned to company 5 June 1864; absent sick from 20 Dec 1863; on detached duty in ordnance dept in Dec 1864 and early 1865; detached as recruiting sergt 26 April 1865 at Charleston SC and returned to unit 22 June 1865; mustered out at Charleston 20 Aug 1865

note: took part in Aug 1904 reunion of 54th, 55th, and 5th Cav at Boston English High School and AME Zion church and sang with Carney, Furlong, and Wm A Birch as part of the “old Shaw quartet of the 54th” [“Colored Vets of Bay State,” *Boston Herald*, 18 August 1904, 3]

note: Emilio could not determine where he was in early 1890s, and unclear where he is at any point after 1865 except 1904 reunion article

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Johnson, Nathaniel H
DOB: 1838
POB: Sheffield
father: Guy
mother: Flora
spouse: Emeline (m by 1860)
DOD: 1 Mar 1905
POD: prob Goshen CT
bur: Center Cem, Torrington CT

cen: 1850 Sheffield/in pars' hh
1855 Sheffield /in pars' hh
1860 Sheffield /lab in hh w/ wife
1900 Goshen CT/mason and plasterer w/ son, son's family

serv: priv Co A 54th

children: Norman 1869

note: 1860 he and wife, b 1842, are enumerated after his parents

note: carpenter when he enlisted 16 Feb 1863 at Pittsfield and married; mustered out at Mt Pleasant SC 20 Aug 1865

note: 1900c he is living with son Norman (named for brother, also in Co A), brass mill caster, Norman's wife Dorothy b MA, and their 6 children

Johnson, Norman Hector
DOB: 1839
POB: Sheffield
father: Guy
mother: Flora
spouse: Salina Thorn b Tyringham
DOM: 21 Feb 1868
DOD: 19 Nov 1901 obit
POD: Great Barrington MA obit

cen: 1850 Sheffield/in pars' hh
1855 Sheffield/in pars' hh

serv: priv Co A 54th

note: Greene has his parents as Jared Hector Johnson and Melvina, which doesn't square with censuses; in 1850 he's in his parents' hh with brothers George, James C, Guy, and Nathaniel H (see entry)

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note: farmer when h enlisted 26 Feb 1863 but was rejected; drafted 15 Jul 1863 and assigned to Co A; discharged 20 Aug 1865 for disability (epilepsy)

note: "Great Barrington," *Berkshire County Eagle*, 7 July 1897, 12: "Norman Johnson, an aged colored resident of the town, is soon to receive a back pension of \$700, and a monthly allowance of s\$12."

note: "N.H. Johnson dead," *Berkshire County Eagle*, 20 Nov 1901, 11: "Norman Hector Johnson, ae 60, a colored resident of the town [Great Barrington column], died last evening after a few months' illness with a complication of diseases. He was a veteran of the Civil war, belonging to Co. A, 54th regiment, Massachusetts volunteers. He leaves a wife and two children." No drec found.

Jones, Gabriel
DOB: 1837 milrec
POB: Bedford Co TN milrec, Leominster drec
DOD: 2 Nov 1900
POD: Boston
bur: Mt Hope

cen: 1900 Chelsea/day lab at Soldiers' Home

serv: priv Co F 5th MA Cav

note: farmer when he enlisted at Rehoboth 31 Jan 1864; Dec 1864 assigned to care of sick horses; mustered out 31 Oct 1865 at Clarksville TX

note: entered Chelsea Home 5 April 1900 and was "on furlough" in Boston when he died; "Dream Caused Trouble," *Boston Herald*, 4 November 1900, 7: two black men who said they were GAR members called at police HQ and asked for medical examiner; they stated that Gabriel Jones, a colored man, 65 years old, who resided in the rear of 88 West Cedar Street, died, under suspicious circumstances in his room on Friday morning [2 Nov] and they thought he'd been poisoned; it was learned that Dr Prior had attended Jones for pneumonia and that he'd been granted a death cert from this cause; men who came to HQ said they dreamed one night that Jones was dead and the next night he told them he'd been poisoned; drec has him 63 yrs old and b Leominster, laborer

Jones, Henry E
DOB: 9 Jan 1844 brec
POB: Lee
father: Almon b 1808
mother: Mary J drec, Nancy M 50c, Mary brec
spouse: Lena M Groomer b 1849 Becket
DOM: 1 Jan 1866
POM: Dalton
DOD: 10 Feb 1924
POD: Dalton
bur: Main St Cem, Dalton

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cen: 1850 Pittsfield/in pars' hh w/ 5 sibs, 4 others
1870 Lanesborough/farm lab \$350/100 w/ wife, son Henry, Maria Groomer
1890 vet sched Lanesborough/chronic rheumatism w/ illeg
1900 Lanesborough/day lab owns w/ wife 3 sons
1910 Lanesborough/farm lab owns w/ wife, 3 sons
1920 Lanesborough/farm lab w/ wife, 3 sons, grandson

serv: priv Co A 54th

children: Henry Munroe 1867, George W 1881, Clarence W 1889

note: farmer at enlistment 3 Nov 1863; injured at James Island 4 July 1864

note: he is probably the author of "Grand March of the 54th Mass. Vols.," a song "dedicated to the lamented Col. Robert G. Shaw"; Boston Athenaeum has a copy hand-dated Morris Island SC 15 Ot 1864 and given by 54th Regt Lt Frederick E Rogers to his sister Anna K Rogers; both Rogers and Jones were in Company A

note: was living in Pittsfield at time of marriage and said he was born in Lee; wife res Dalton; 1920c son Henry a day work lab, George a private fam chauffeur, Clarence a taxi chauffeur

note: "Pension Awards are Secured," *Berkshire Eagle*, 11 Apr 1924, 32, notes that Mrs Lena M Jones of Lanesboro was allowed at \$30 per month pension as widow of Henry E Jones, who died 10 Feb 1924, as well as payment of the invalid accrued peniosn, due at date of his death

Jones, Samuel
DOB: June 1844
POB: Pittsfield
father: Chauncey M
mother: Almira Fields
spouse: Blanche S Hamilton b 1855
DOM: 20 Nov 1876 mrec
POM: Hinsdale mrec
DOD: 18 June 1938
POD: Pittsfield

cen: 1850 Pittsfield/in pars' hh
1870 Pittsfield/in town almshouse
1880 Pittsfield /lab w/ wife, 2 children, bdg mulatto servant
1900 Pittsfield /rents w/ wife, son Frank
1910 Pittsfield/w/ wife laundress, son, 2 lodgers [Saml S]
1930 Pittsfield/rents w/ wife, 2 bdrs

serv: priv Co I 54th

children: Frank b 1878, Eva b 1879

note: laborer when he enlisted 17 Dec 1863 at Pittsfield

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note: wife is daughter of Chas and Louise Hamilton of Pittsfield and sister of Paul Hamilton, also in 54th (see entry); he is laborer at time of marriage and living in Hinsdale

note: "GAR Turns Out in Force to Elect Edwin H. Lincoln to Every Office in Local Post," *Berkshire County Eagle*, 21 Oct 1936, 11: WW Rockwell Post GAR elects Edwin Hale Lincoln, one of only 2 members in post and elects himself to all posts; "The only other member of the post of Samuel S. Jones, blind, bedridden Negro veteran of 50 Union Street. He is 92."

Jones, William

DOB: April 1818 c00, 1828 drec, 1830 c80

POB: Sheffield MA

father: Almon drec

mother: Harriet Freeman drec

spouse: Mary A b 1819 MA

DOD: 19 July 1902 drec

POD: Sheffield

bur: Sheffield Center Cem

cen: 1870 Sheffield/works on farm \$400/100 w/ wife, 4 children

1880 Sheffield/farmer in hh wife

1900 Sheffield/farmer owns in hh wife, dau Urana, 2 children, 4 grandchildren

serv: priv Co B 54th

children: Frances b 8 Mar 1852 Salisbury CT, Irene and Urene (twins) b 12 Nov 1855 Salisbury (but recorded in Sheffield), William H 1857, Walter L b 26 Dec 1861 Sheffield

note: laborer when he enlisted 8 Dec 1863 at Sheffield

***Kellogg, Jeremiah N**

DOB: 1844

POB: Wilmington NC

father: William

mother: Charlotte

spouse: 1) Josephine Johnson 1847-69 2) Martha S Lucas b 1854 NC

DOM: 1) Sept 1866 2) 18 Aug 1874

POM: 1) Cambridge 2) New Hanover NC

DOD: 25 May 1932

POD: Cambridge

cen: 1850 Wilmington NC/in pars' hh w/ 5 siblings

1860 Cambridge/wheelwright in father's hh

1870 Cambridge/store clerk in hh Mary Brown black b VA

1880 Cambridge/store porter w/ wife, bdr 27 Washington St

1900 Cambridge/porter carpet store rents w/ wife 14 Harrison

1910 Cambridge/rents w/ wife 14 Harrison

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1920 Cambridge/owns w/ wife, tenant, 14 Harrison

1930 Cambridge/owns 14 Harrison St

dir: 1877–1901 Boston/porter 169 Washington bds or h Cambridgeport

serv: sgt Co A 5th MA Cav

note: father a wheelwright; Jeremiah came to Boston 1859, was 19 and a waiter when he enlisted 23 Dec 1863 at Brookline for 3 years, mustered in 9 Jan 1864, made corporal 1 Feb 1864, made sergeant 1 July 1864, and served before Petersburg; absent sick at Richmond since 9 Apr 1865; mustered out at Clarksville TX 31 Oct 1865; discharged Gallups Island Boston Dec 1865; “free on or before Apr. 19, 1861” on one muster roll

note: he was a waiter at first marriage; first wife Josephine was dau of Grafton and Elizabeth Johnson of New Bedford, who was living in Cambridge 1865 and died of TB at ae 22 in Cambridge; parents both b DC; he was of Cambridgeport at 2d marriage

note: was named among 5 men of color to serve NP Hallowell as staff at unveiling parade; was an annual speaker to Cambridge public schools on Flag Day and had a white beard and mustache

note: 1867 Kellogg won first prize, a silver medal, as the best drilled man in a competition staged by the Shaw Guard Co A, Second Battalion, created “to infuse a little more interest among the members”; since that time company’s drills well attended; evening before 47 of the company were in line at Armory in front of large crowd, and committee of 5 selected Kellogg [“Boston and Vicinity. Military Prize Drill,” *Boston Journal*, 11 May 1867, 4]; Kellogg was worthy master of Union Lodge No 2 of Boston when it took part in procession in Boston celebrating passage of the 15th Amendment; CL Remond selected president for the day and Hayden chair of committee of arrangements [“The Fifteenth Amendment. Celebration of Its Adoption by the Citizens of Boston,” *Boston Traveler*, 14 Apr 1870, 2]; he was one of 2 secretaries and the chief commanding officer of the Grant and Wilson club formed by Cambridge black voters 1872 [“Cambridge,” *Boston Traveler*, 14 Jun 1872, 4]; “William G. Butler Reelected,” *Boston Globe*, 18 Dec 1896, 9; Butler of West Medford elected Most Worshipful Grant Master of Prince Hall Lodge, and Kellogg named to the lodge’s grievance committee at this meeting; was member of Wm H Smart Post 30 GAR in Cambridge in 1915; “Only 10 Cambridge G.A.R. Men Parade,” *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1928, 11, Kellogg being one of them, in the annual parade to Cambridge Common and Cambridge Cemetery; in “tableaux” on Boston Common 1930

note: 1930c shows him ae 85, widowed, no occup

note: “Cambridge,” *Boston Globe*, 28 May 1932, 11: funeral services held this afternoon for Kellogg of 14 Harrison st at Ruth AME Zion church; Kellogg had been chaplain of Wm H Smart Post GAR, born NC 88 years ago, served in 5th MA Cav and rose to first sergeant, past deputy grand master of Price Hall Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; survived by 3 nephews and two nieces; had died 25 May after being sick five months

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King, Isaiah J.

DOB: ca 1848 c, mrec, 1846 milrec, Dec 1846 c00

POB: DC c55, 60, mrec, milrec

father: Isaiah c ca 1830 DC

mother: Elizabeth Hughes drec

spouse: Sarah H Brown b Feb 1849 New Bedford

DOM: 8 Sept 1873

POM: New Bedford

DOD: 12 Feb 1933

POD: New Bedford

cen: 1855 New Bedford/in pars' hh w/ sibs
1860 New Bedford/in mother's hh w/ sibs
1870 New Bedford/seaman in hh mother, sibs, John Oliver
1880 New Bedford/lab w/ wife, 4 children Maxfield St
1900 New Bedford/ butler, owns w wife, 4 children, 2 bdrs 67 Ash
1910 New Bedford/houseman private family w/ wife, daus, their fams, 67 Ash
1920 New Bedford/w/ wife and grandchildren 310 Ash
1930c New Bedford/owns in hh w/ Saunders grandchildren 311 Ash

dir: 1865 New Bedford/5th Mass. cavalry
1875 New Bedford/lab h 188 Kempton
1883 New Bedford/starcher 384 Acushnet Ave h W Maxfield
1896 New Bedford/lab h 174 Cedar
1904 New Bedford/insideman T M Stetson h 67 Ash
1915 New Bedford/choreman h 311 Ash
1932 New Bedford/h 311 Ash

crew: 1866/ ae 23 black res NB on bark *Hercules*

serv: priv Co D 5th Cav

children: Elizabeth H 185, Emma E F 1876, Annie Clara L b 1877(m Wm L Kydd 30 Sept 1908);
Isaiah 10 Mar 1879, Rosetta L 1882 (m Caesar Saunders 1880)

note: father Isaiah b ca 1830 DC was in 1855 NB census and by 1856 d listed as having gone to California; nb overseers of poor v2 6 Dec 1859: "Elizabeth King c, wife of Isaiah, who is in Calafornia, sent nothing this 4 years. 4 children Saml 13, Isaiah 11, Wm 10, Gilman 9. L Middle & Cedar order on Frederick Russell 1.50 1/4 coal"; mother remarries 8 July 1862 to ship carpenter John Oliver b VA and in hh with children Isaiah 21 seaman, Samuel 23 lab, Wm H 20 tailor, Gilman 19 barber, Frederick ae 5 b MA

note: 1855c sibs Saml, Wm, Gilman all b DC

note: wife was dau John H and Henrietta G Brown b New Bedford

note: laborer when he enlisted ae 18 in Co D 5th MA Cavalry 16 January 1864 at New Bedford, mustered in 29 Jan 1864, one card in file states he was "servt for Lt JB Cooks"; served on detachment duty as orderly at hq 12 May 1865, mustered out at Clarksville TX 31 Oct 1865 with \$300 owed him

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note: 1860c mother Elizabeth King in hh with children Saml, Isaiah, Wm, Gilman, and boarder b VA, all children b VA; 1900c hh inc wife, dau Emma EF 1876, Clara L 1877, Isaiah Jr 1879, Rosetta L 1882, bdrs John HD Brown b 1835 DC caulker widow and Louise A Elders 1843 DC servant widow; 1910 hh included wife, dau Rosetta L Saunders, son-in-law Caesar Saunders 30 weaver cotton mill, son Leroy K Saunders 5 mo, Chas H Drayton 34 b MA odd jobs, wife Emma F 34 MA, children Elton P 5, Aletha R Drayton 12, Lawrence F 8 mo; 1920 hh included wife and grandchildn Aletha R Drayton 12, LeRoy KS Drayton 11, Sarah H 9, Elizabeth H 8 all b MA father from Cape Verde; 1930c Wm L Kidd in hh just before 307 Ash St

note: photo of him with his GAR hat on placed on Ancestry by Gordon Manson

note: Yvonne Drayton of New Bedford a descendant

King, William H

DOB: ca 1845-50 c55, ca 1849 c, 1849 obit, Feb 1849 c00

POB: DC c55, 60, drec, obit

father: Isaiah

mother: Elizabeth Hughes drec

spouse: Emma J Jones b 1856 New Bedford mrec

DOM: 14 Oct 1875 mrec

POM: New Bedford mrec

DOD: 9 Apr 1901

POD: New Bedford

cen: 1855 New Bedford/ in pars' hh
1860 New Bedford/in mother's hh
1900 New Bedford/whitewasher w/ wfe, 2 children 305 Middle

serv: Navy

children: Mary E 1878, Wm Jr 1880

note: note: father Isaiah b ca 1830 DC was in 1855 NB census and by 1856 d listed as having gone to California; nb overseers of poor v2 6 Dec 1859: "Elizabeth King c, wife of Isaiah, who is in Calafornia, sent nothing this 4 years. 4 children Saml 13, Isaiah 11, Wm 10, Gilman 9. L Middle & Cedar order on Frederick Russell 1.50 1/4 coal"; mother remarries by 1870 to ship carpenter John Oliver b VA and in hh with children Isaiah 21 seaman, Samuel 23 lab, Wm H 20 tailor, Gilman 19 barber, Frederick ae 5 b MA

note: he is a steward at time of marriage; wife is dau Wm and Mary Jones and b New Bedford; ab at time of death

note: *Evening Standard* (New Bedford) 10 Apr 1901 obit Wm H. King, well known colored resident and member of GAR, died yesterday at St Luke's Hospital; born DC in 1849 and son of late Isaiah King; came to NB with parents when he was four years old; 15 Dec 1864 enlisted in US Navy and was ordered to US receiving ship *Ohio* at Charlestown, and later transferred to US gunboat *Hunchback*, serving on her until July 1865, when he was discharged; on return to NB he made a whaling voyage and then entered merchant service, sailing principally from English ports to

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East Indies; rose to rank of 2d officer; since 1875 lived ashore and “was engaged principally as a white washer and general jobber”; member AME Bethel Church; left widow and 3 children; was commander of R. G. Shaw post 146 and of Potomska Lodge GUOOF

Lee, Frank W
DOB: 1 Sept 1840 drec
POB: Winchester VA drec
DOD: 17 Feb 1911
POD: Chelsea Soldiers' Home
bur: Mt Hope, Boston

serv: priv, corp Co E 5th MA Cav

note: waiter at enlistment 3 Feb 1864 at Cambridge, single; apptd corp 1 Jun 1864; on RR detail at Brazos TX 26 July 1865 to Sept; discharged at Clarksville TX 31 Oct 1865

note: admitted to Chelsea home 22 Sept 1909

***Lee, George H**
DOB: 1842
POB: Geneva NY drec, milrec, New Bedford milrec
father: Thomas
spouse: Caty M Smith (b 1845 NB)
DOM: 26 May 1863
POM: New Bedford
DOD: 23 Feb 1900 milrec, drec
POD: Boston drec

cen: 1850 Seneca NY/ black ae 8 in hh black lab Thomas Lee 33 and Mary 21
1865 New Bedford/mulatto ae 22 b NY in hh John B Brown, others
1890 Wellesley vet sched/no notes

dir: 1869 & 1875 New Bedford/whitewasher h 155 Elm
1889 Wellesley/coachman emp Mrs HF Durant

rank: priv, sgt Co C 54th

note: no brec for him in New Bedford; a George H. Lee b 1842, ae 21 single hostler, enlists Co C 54th in New Bedford 22 or 26 Feb 1863; company descriptive book states he was “promoted sergt. Mar. 30. 63 Reduced to the ranks Dec. 5. 1863 by order of Maj. Appleton. Reinstated Mar 14. 1864 vice Layton reduced”; Nov & Dec 1863 muster roll states, “Reduced to ranks by order of Colonel Hollowell. Had been sergt since the formation of the company until December 5th.” Feb 1864 “detailed as hostler for head quarters”; March & April 1864 muster roll “reduced to the ranks dec. 5/63 by order of Col. E. N. Hollowell. Sergt. up to that time. Reinstated Sergt. March 14/64 by order of Maj. J. W. M. Appleton”; EN Hollowell, Morris Island, 6 Oct 1864, to Capt WLM Burger, asst adjt genl Dept of South, asking for furlough for Geo H Lee and 11 others on grounds that “these

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men have been without pay for more than fifteen months, and now they are paid, their presence is needed at home to provide for their families for the coming winter”; Oct & Nov 1864 he’s a sergeant “absent on furlough since Oct. 19 1864”; May & June 1865 muster roll states he is present but sick in quarters; discharged 20 Aug 1865 and living in Wellesley 1894 [emilio]; greene states he was born in NB 1842 and enlisted 26 Feb 1863 at Readville for 3 years; ae 21, 5’8/5”, hostler;

note: mrec lists him as soldier in 54th, and he marries 9 days after Lewis Fleetwood of same reg marries; ae 21 pars NL, wife Caty is dau of Wm H and Catherine Smith

note: these census listings are probably he: 1870c Boston Geo H Lee ae 28 porter in hh Thomas Lee 51 janitor and wife Lucinda 40 all b NY; 1880c Hyde Park a Geo H Lee ae 38 black coachman b NY in hh father Thomas lab b NY pars VA, wife M. L. 50 b NY pars VA; drec states he was a butler ae 55 b Geneva father Thomas

note: member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887; then living in Wellesley (but shown as Geo E Lee on list)

note: he is listed among those who attended the Faneuil Hall gathering of vets after Shaw Memorial unveiling [“War Memories Revived,” *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 7]

Lee, Harrison

DOB: 1842, Mar 1829 c00

POB: NC 1880, 1900c, Elizabeth NC milrec

DOD: 16 Apr 1907 drec

POD: New Bedford drec

bur: Rural, New Bedford (mil marker)

cen: 1880 New Bedford/lab ae 41 Cedar St
1900 New Bedford/day lab rents at 402 Kempton

dir: 1881 New Bedford/lab h 61 Cedar
1883 New Bedford/lab h 65 Cedar
1894 New Bedford/lab h 52 Howland
1903 Nw Bedford/lab h 402 Kempton

serv: priv Co D 54th

note: lab at enlistment 19 Aug 1863 at West Lebanon VT [*sic*]; muster roll states he was in 4th NH Reg 28 Oct 1863 and b Boston, laborer, and was substitute for “George Nixon of Hanover”; drafted for 3 years; 31 Oct he was transferred to 54th “in accordance with instructions from the War Department dated Sept 23, 1863” and in parentheses states “substitute”; returns of 54th note 28 Nov 1863 he is a “gain” and “conscript” at Morris Island; 18 Oct 1864 sick, sent to general hospital in Beaufort; Dec 1864–Feb 1865 left sick at Morris Island as of 26 Nov 1864; May–July 1865 in hospital at Charleston since 25 April 1865

note: regimental records have his pob as Elizabeth NC, but crossed out and Boston MA written in; majority of records show former pob

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note: headstone app lists his service dates as 19 Aug 1863–20 Aug 1865; applied for invalid pension 30 June 1880; drec lists no pob, parents; he is single, res Kempton St, occup laborer, d of “natural causes”

Mero, Edward H
DOB: 1844
POB: Woodstock VT
father: Charles E b 1820 NH
mother: Eliza Job b 1831 VT
spouse: Hester b 1847 Canada
DOD: 10 July 1911
POD: Princeton
bur: South Burying Ground, Princeton

cen: 1850 Lebanon NH/he & bro Albert W in hh Rosanna Mero
1860 Salem VT/in pars' hh
1870 Salem VT/barber w/ wife, 2 children
1910 Princeton MA/widower, rents

dir: 1880–1884 Providence RI/hairdresser
rank: priv Co B 54th

children: Leonard C 1867, Nelson E 1869

note: 1850c shows probable grandmother Rosanna Mero b 1788 CT (possibly Pomfret) with her son Charles E b 1820 farmer NH, Eliza (wife?) b VT; grandfather probably Isaiah; father might have died in Rhode Island 24 Jun 1885 ae 63; 1850c an Isaiah Mero ae 65 farmer b NH black in hh Margaret 65 b MA, children Edson 30 VT, Susan 20 VT

note: farmer at enlistment 30 Nov 1863 from MA served through 20 Aug 1865; shown as barber at time of death, marital status unknown, parents NL

Mero, Sylvester Orison
DOB: 6 Apr 1847 drec
POB: Woodstock VT drec, milrec
father: Hezekiah b 1800 Pomfret VT
mother: Harriet Page b 1805 VT
spouse: Harriet L Hayes (dau Nathan, in 54th)
DOM: 16 Jun 1868
POM: Woodstock VT
DOD: 8 March 1919
POD: Worcester

cen: 1860 Woodstock VT/in pars' hh
1870 Pomfret VT/farm lab w/ wife, dom serv, in hh white farmer
1880 Rutland VT/coachman w/ wife, 2 children

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1900 Worcester/janitor w/ wife, father-in-law Nathan Hayes ae 83
1910 Worcester/janitor office block rents w/ wife, two lodgers
1920 Worcester/widow and her sister Lucy Moore together in 3-fam 149 Belmont

dir: 1891 Worcester/coachman h 62 John
1901 Worcester/cutter 20 Salisbury h 10 Hooper
1919 Worcester/janitor 20 Salisbury h 149 Belmont
1921 Worcester/widow h 149 Belmont

rank: priv Co B 54th

children: Ida E 1873 (m 1890 Wm H Scott b 1872 Rutland), Herbert W 1876 (m2 1909 Ora H Spears Gibson) (both b Rutland and mar Worcester)

note: 1860 c shows father as day lab in hh with George 25 day lab, Chas 20 day lab, Sylvester 12, Thomas 9

note: farmer when he enlisted ae 18 in Company B 5 Jan 1864, mustered in same day

note: son Herbert patient at Worcester State Hospital 1930

note: he applied for pension Sept 1891, widow 19 Mar 1919; living at 149 Belmont in Worcester at death and working as janitor

***Mitchell, Charles L**

DOB: 10 Nov 1829

POB: Hartford CT

father: William A b Hartford CT

mother: Clara Green b Hartford CT

spouse: Nellie Brown b ca 1850 Dover NH d 1924

DOD: 13 Apr 1912

POD: Roxbury

bur: Pine Hill Cem, Dover NH

cen: 1850 Hartford CT/printer in parents' hh
1855 Boston/printer in hh John Oliver VA carp
1870 Boston/janitor hd hh with John Robinson, b New Bruns, & fam
1880 Boston/custom house clerk w/ wife, Wm H Dupree & wife
1910 24 Sherman St Boston/own income, owns, w/ wife

serv: sgt, 2d Lt Co F 55th

note: 1855c in same hh as Francis DeMortie and son Mark ae 26 bootmaker b VA also in John Oliver hh; 1910 he rents part of 24 Sherman St to brother-in-law Peter Bagnall, minister b VA

note: was an apprentice to abolitionist printer Wm Henry Burleigh in Hartford (Burleigh, 1812-71, invited there 1843 by CT Anti-Slavery Society to edit its *Christian Freeman* (later *Charter Oak* through ca 1849); and before entering army for 5-6 years employed at various printing offices in

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Boston, last of which was the *Liberator*, where he worked until war; was printer when he enlisted in 55th 14 July 1863 and promoted to corporal for good conduct 20 Aug 1863; acted as sgt major while in SC, later detailed as post printer; took part in Battle of Honey Hill, where nearly 1/3 of the force that took part was killed, and he lost his foot to cannon shot; promoted to 2d lieutenant; discharged with regiment 25 Oct 1865; returned to Boston after the war and lived in Ward 6; he was elected to state legislature 1866, and with EG Walker first man of color elected to that position; given a post in custom house at Boston, which he held for 43 years, was a pallbearer at Garrison's funeral; died in Roxbury in 1911 [WW Brown 297, *Crisis*]

note: 1880c he's at 190 Northampton St with wife b NH and Wm H Dupree PO supt b VA and his wife Lizzie 38 OH; wife is sister of Boston attorney Edward Everett Brown

note: *Berkshire County Eagle*, 8 Nov 1866, 2: "Two negroes are chosen as representatives to the Legislature.—Charles L. Mitchell, who is elected from the richest and most aristocratic ward of Boston, which also happens to have the most colored people in it,—and Edward G. Walker of Charlestown. These men are chosen, not as a joke or a satire, but in honest earnest, because they are fit for the position, and because they have rights which white men at last respect."

note: Chas L Mitchell was marshal of the procession of people of color at Sumner's funeral from the state house to King's Chapel and then to Mt Auburn; see among others "To-day's Obsequies," *Boston Globe*, 18 Mar 1874, 5, detailing program for procession of Sumner's body from State House to King's Chapel and then to Mt Auburn; article concludes with "The colored citizens who propose to join the procession at the funeral of Mr. Sumner, are requested to meet, dressed in dark clothes, with crape on the left arm, at the Twelfth Baptist Church, Phillips street, today, at 1 o'clock. Charles L. Mitchell is to be the marshal, with Richard S. Brown, James M. Trotter, John J. Smith, William H. Dupree, T. G. Williams, E. George Biddle, Samuel A. Hancock and John B. Bailey, as aids."

note: he was a pallbearer at Garrison's funeral along with Phillips, Oliver Johnson, Robert E Wallcutt, Saml May, Weld, Sewall and Hayden; his wife Nellie at head of a "colored quartet" sang ["The Liberated *Liberator*," *Boston Globe*, 29 May 1879, 6]

note: 1886 he was president of the Wendell Phillips Club, which honored F Douglass at a banquet on eve of his leaving for Europe; Douglass came arm in arm with Hayden and was received by Dupree, Geo E Hicks, E Everett Brown and HA Lewis of club' exec com; Hallowell attended, Dr Bowditch, Oliver Johnson, James N Buffum of Lynn, FJ Garrison, Ruffin, Walker

note: was treasurer of exec comm apptd Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion for colored veterans in 1887; was named among 5 men of color to serve NP Hallowell as staff at unveiling parade ("Each Has a War Record: Five Colored Men Who Will Serve on Col Hallowell's Staff," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1897)

note: "Colored Veteran was Loyal," *Boston Globe*, 28 June 1898, 12, notes that Mitchell was "dangerously ill" at MGH after his leg amputated, which had bothered him since he lost part of it at Honey Hill; when he came home from war the part he lost was "artificially supplied" and part saved was not a problem until one night his wife had her clothing catch fire as she was cleaning gloves with naphtha, and as he tried to save her he strained the leg; about a month ago he'd become interested in Co L of the 6th infantry MA volunteers and began to talk to old officers of 54th and 55th and 5th cavalry to raise funds to help their families and raised about \$200; he was there every afternoon when regiment was at South Framingham and he followed them on foot to the station,

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which worsened his leg, and so they felt it needed amputation “for fear of blood poisoning” [see also “Distress of Soldiers’ Wives,” *Boston Globe*, 8 Aug 1898, 5]

note: “Mr. Charles L. Mitchell,” *Colored American*, 20 Oct 1900, 6, with woodcut of him: notes his father was a church deacon in Hartford, and “the family is known as one of the best families of color in the state”; at 17 [1846] he apprenticed to Wm H Burleigh, publisher of *Charter Oak*, a Hartford “abolition paper”; two years later Burleigh sold to a Baldwin, who later edited and published the *Worcester Spy*, and Mitchell completed his apprenticeship under Baldwin; in 1853 he came to Boston and worked at Riverside Press in Cambridge, the *Liberator*, and other offices; “he was regarded by Mr. Garrison as one of the best compositors in the city”; enlisted as a private in the 55th 1 July 1863, made corporal soon after, and made sergeant 20 July 1864 and served as sergeant major for several months; in early fall 1864 he was detailed for duty as post printer at HQ Genl John P Hatch at Morris Island, but he asked Maj LB Perry if he might rejoin the 55th to take part in expedition that ended at Honey Hill, which was permitted; he was wounded at this battle “while charging a battery in aiding General Sherman in cutting through the railroad”; as he was carried away on a stretcher past his Lt col, he “rose up, saluted and cheered him, and bade him ‘go ahead.’ For this display of gallantry, which created much favorable comment in the national press at the time, he received from Governor Andrew, at the request of his superior officer, a second lieutenancy.” Served at siege of Charleston and then captured two “Napoleon guns” from rebels and James Island and turned them on the rebels; these guns were afterwards placed as trophies in the HQ of 55th; discharged 20 Oct 1865 and came back to Boston with what Wendell Phillips described as “that added grace, the halting which is the stateliest step of the soldier”; was appointed to Boston custom house and then promoted to clerk there; served 30 years at custom house; in 1866 he represented Ward 6 in state legislature; he then enlisted in the 6th MA infantry and was made captain of Company L “to help Cuba free herself of Spain’s yoke of slavery”; he married “several years ago” Nellie Brown of Dover NH, well known musician and music teacher; she sang before Genl Grant and also invented something called the phonetron, “a silver device for the use of those among her vocal pupils whose purity of tone is impaired because they cannot keep the tongue in place while singing”; she made her husband “the nominal inventor and patentee of his instrument,” which won a prize medal and diploma at 16th MA Charitable Mechanics’ Assn exhibition in 1887; they lived at 24 Sherman St at this writing

note: at his 25th wedding anniversary in 1902 these people were present—Booker T Washington and wife, NP Hallowell and wife, WL Garrison [Jr], Mr and Mrs John J Smith, Mrs PA Glover, Miss Georgie Glover, Mr and Mrs Edward E Brown, Mr and Mrs Frank T Field, Geo T Garrison, Mr and Mrs James R Wolf[f], Wm H Carney, Mrs BK Bruce, Dr and Mrs S Courtney, Mr and Mrs Joseph Lee, Miss Maria Baldwin, Louise H Baldwin, Frederick D Dickerson, Mr and Mrs Walter Samson, Archibald Grimke, Miss Grimke, Mr and Mrs Geo Glover, Mr and Mrs GC Harris, Mr and Mrs Wm Goddell, Mrs Willington Nash [“Wedded 25 Years,” *Boston Globe*, 7 Aug 1902, 6]

note: “After Service of 44 Years,” *Boston Globe*, 8 Oct 1909, 13: Capt Chas L Mitchell, ae 80, announced retirement as “veteran statistician at the Custom House”

note: article on him in *The Crisis*, July 1912, 118–19; photograph of him in Burt Green Wilder Collection at Cornell University

note: at death living at 24 Sherman St, a widower [?], and shown as statistical clerk US Customs; ae 82 yr 5 mo 3 days; his NH death record has him as Chas Louis Mitchell, d Boston 13 April 1912, married

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note: "Capt. C. L. Mitchell Dead," *Boston Globe*, 13 Apr 1912, 4, and 14 Apr 1912, 24: d ae 83; notes that when Spanish War broke out he raised men and money for Co L, 6th Regt MVM and aided in their care as they left and came back from front

note: "Mrs Nellie B Mitchell, Singer and Teacher, Dies," *Boston Globe*, 6 Jan 1924, 7: she was wife of Chas L Mitchell and died at home 32 Whiting St Roxbury; services to be at home and bur at Dover; she was a singer and teacher of voice, pianist and director of Woman's Relief Corps 68 of Roxbury; leaves sister Edna Brown Bagnall and bro Fred E Brown. She was b ca 1850. 1870c Dover NH she is Ellen E Brown ae 11 in hh father Charles J, barber ae 42 b NH, own prop, and mother Martha 46 NH, and children Chas 26, Eugene L 18, Edward E 11, Freddie 8, Edna E 6, and Elizabeth Runnells ae 68 mul b NH. 1920c Boston she is listed as voice culture teacher ae 72 pars b MA and NH at 24 Sherman with 2 lodgers and West Indian man and MA wife. Her findagrave entry says she was b 1845 in Dover and d 1924; parents Charles J Brown 1826–95 and Martha A Brown 1829–1902 and brother Edward Everett Brown 1858–1919 (her brother went to Dartmouth and BU Law; in 1899 went to Congress with a national antilynching bill which did not pass; he married Katherine Brown Glover 1869–1936 and is bur at Dover)

Monroe, Henry Augustus

DOB: 1845 Emilio, ca 1850 c65, 3 Sept 1849 brec, passport, obit, 00c

POB: MA c50, 55, New Bedford brec, passport, obit

father: Augustus W. Monroe b 1809 VA d 1886

mother: Sarah Ann Anthony b 1819 d 1906 RI

spouse: 1) Christianna A Wilson 2) Madaline Carter b 1871 GA d 1951

DOM: 1) 28 Dec 1868 2) 26 Sept 1889

POM: 1) Somerset Co MD 2) NYC

DOD: 16 July 1912

POD: Philadelphia

bur: Wilmington DE

cen: 1850 New Bedford/in pars' hh
1855 New Bedford/in pars' hh
1865 New Bedford/US Army listed in parents' hh
1870 Potato Neck MD/school teacher w/ wife in hh black oysterman Wm T Wilson
1890 vet sched NYC/res 139 W 48th St
1900 Philadelphia/clergyman, rents w/ wife, 2 children, 2 grandchildren
1910 Camden NJ/ME minister w/ wife, son Henry A ae 10 b PA

dir: 1865 New Bedford/drummer Co C 54th MA

1889 NYC/Rev h 67 W 35th St

serv: musician Co C 54th

children: Christian June 1881 MD, Frederick June 1885 DE

note: ae 18, single laborer when he enlisted Co C 54th 25 Feb 1863 and enrolled as musician; musician in service; disch 20 Aug 1865 and living in NYC 1894 [emilio]; not listed in Greene. Wilson, *Black Phalanx*, says he was the drummer boy of Co C 54th and quotes a poem he (but see below) wrote about battle at Boykin's Mill; returns for 54th note he was drummer and musician,

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Nov 1863 absent on 30-day furlough from Morris Island, returned from furlough 26 Nov, Dec 1864 and Jan 1865 was left sick at Morris Island

note: sought an invalid's pension 1 Sept 1904, and his widow a pension 30 July 1912

note: "exceptional student" in his all-white class in NB, got a doctorate of divinity and listed as Rev with DD on his grave marker; was a minister, teacher, customs inspector for port of Baltimore, and publisher of *Standard Bearer*, a newspaper devoted to African American issues [Greenough, *Tell It with Pride*, 19]; informant on death cert is Bella Sheppard, New Bedford, his married sister

note: he became pastor at St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, NYC, in 1887; his son published his memories of the 54th in a series of church bulletins and wrote a poem titled "Boykin's Mill" about the fight, published in *Black Phalanx* (Wilson states that he and not his son wrote it); prepared illustrated talk "Camp Fires of the Old 54th Mass. Rekindled by 'the Drummer-Boy of Co. C,'" which he advertised by broadside; Coddington states that he moved to MD after being mustered out and by ae 19 was teaching school for Freedmen's Bureau; at ae 25 Pres Grant appointed him inspector of customs at the port of Baltimore; at 27 became publisher of the *Standard Bearer*; in 1878, ae 29, became pastor of ME church in Fairmont MD and served in churches in MD, DE, NY, NJ, PA; active in GAR and commander of John Brown Post in MD

note: living at 139 W 48th St NYC when he applied for passport 24 June 1890

note: obit New Bedford *Evening Standard*, 22 July 1912 Rev. Henry Augustus Monroe, DD, native of NB, died in Philadelphia 16 July; was a son of Augustus W. and Sarah A. Monroe, born NB 3 Sept 1849, educated in public schools here, and at age 14 enlisted as drummer boy in Co C, 54th MA; after his honorable discharge became rep of Freedmen's Aid Society and took charge of education of colored people on MD Eastern Shore; then served in many churches and was presiding elder for 15 years of both Philadelphia and DE districts of AME church; earned DD at Wilberforce 20 years ago; left wife Madeline D; five children—Minnie Webb, whose husband CA Webb and she belong to Bethel AME; Mrs. Sadie B. Waters, Mrs. Christie D. Jones, Fred and Winfred Monroe; brother Frederick S. Monroe, a phonographer [?], and sister Mrs. Belle Shepherd

note: "Rev. Henry A. Monroe Dead: Special to the *New York Age*," *New York Age*, 18 July 1912, 2: he died at home in Philadelphia 16 July, prominent in ME church for 35 years, delegate to five general conferences and to Ecumenical Conference which met in London; members of Bd of Missions, presiding elder of the Philadelphia District of the Delaware Conference, and had pastorates in Greenville MD, Cambridge MD, Wilmington DE, St Mark's in NYC, Zion in Philadelphia, and retired in 1910 when he was at Camden NJ; while at St Marks church had to move twice because of membership growth; he was born New Bedford 1848, was in 54th and after war became a teacher in Fairmount MD; was inspector of customs in Baltimore before he entered ministry; married Christiana A Wilson of Upper Fairmount MD I 1869 and had 9 children, of whom 5 still living, including Mrs ME Webb of New Bedford; first wife d 1888 in NYC and he married Madeline Carter of Savannah GA who survives him

note: images of him at MHS; photo of him by J Paul Brown, Wilmington DE, posted by Harrymro 1 Apr 2012 on Ancestry; also has his rifle with a plaque on it (which he got from a "museum in Vermont"), several photos of him in uniform; also woodcut of him on illustrated broadside for his 54th lecture

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Moore, David Miles
DOB: 8 Apr 1848
POB: Ithaca NY
father: David (b Elmira NY)
mother: Elizabeth
spouse: Ardelle Rosemary b 1860 LA
DOM: 16 Dec 1875
POM: New Orleans LA
DOD: 30 May 1904
POD: Saratoga Springs NY

cen: 1850 Painted Post NY/in pars' hh
1880 New Orleans/lab in hh wife, 3 sons
1900 Saratoga NY/driver owns w/ wife

dir: 1904 Saratoga NY/driver h 135 Division

serv: drummer Co C 54th

children: Augustus J, Richard H/M, Arthur 1883, George 1891 LA, Elizabeth

note: wife is Adele in most listings

notes: enlisted 29 Apr 1863; after War served in Co E, 39 US Col'd Infantry in 1868; 1870 transferred to Co F of 25th US Infantry; in both cases a musician; discharged 30 Aug 1870 in TX; image of him at MHS, included in online Commonwealth Museum exhibit about 54th

More, Edward
DOB: Sept 1827 c00
POB: Fishkill NY milrec
father: Thomas
mother: Anna drec
spouse: Almira b 1834 NY
DOD: 1 May 1910
POD: Sheffield

cen: 1870 Sheffield/gardener \$200 real w/ wife, 5 children, 2 bdrs
1880 Sheffield/gardner w/ wife, 2 children
1900 Sheffield/owns, w/ wife

serv: priv Co B 54th

children: Lucy b 1858, Willie b 1860, Fanny 1863–1866, Geo b 1866–67, Lyman b 1869

note: lab at 7 Dec 1863 enlistment and living at Sheffield

note: children Fanny ae 14 and George ae 13 both servants in 1880c; George shown as laborer on drec; died of gangrene in left foot 3–4 mos, widowed at the time; informant Ellen Moore

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***Mullen, Isaac S**

DOB: 15 July 1841

POB: Stonington CT

father: George

mother: Abby

spouse: Mary Frances Whiting b 1841 Portsmouth VA d 20 Nov 1907

DOM: 15 April 1865

POM: Portsmouth VA

DOD: 1930

POD: Chelsea

bur: Mt Hope Cem, Boston

cen: 1850 Salem/in pars' hh w/ two Af Am bdrs
1860 Boston/mariner in hh Francis Beaver
1865 Boston/caterer in hh Francis Beaver
1870 Portsmouth VA/insp ships custom house w/ wife, son Wm, bdr, serv
1880 Boston/clerk customs w/ wife, sons, lodger
1900 Boston/clerk owns w/ wife, nephews & niece, 3 lodgers
1910 Boston/bkpr lodging in hh Philip J Allston, Af Am druggist
1920 Boston/lodger in hh Margaret A Allston 60 wid b VA black West Canton

dir: 1885 Boston/Custom House, h 16 Blossom
1890 Boston/district police 65 Bowdoin h 36 Irving
1895 Boston/district police Stae House h 25 Buckingham
1906 Boston/rms 227 W Canton
1916 Boston/rms 227 W Canton
1924 Boston/res 227 W Canton

serv: Navy

children: Clarence Isaac b/d 1877, William B 1865–81, George (all predeceased him)

note: moved with family to Salem as a boy; came to Boston 1851, schooled in Boston, apprenticed to Alfred Mudge and Son and enlisted 1859 on *USS Portsmouth* and went to Africa; returned 1862 and served 3 years on gunboat *Chocorua*, then on gunboat *Lillian*; discharged 1865 at Norfolk VA and became foreman at Portsmouth VA Navy Yard, then in 1868 clerk of the yards, then mail agent, then inspector of customs at Norfolk; moved to Boston and became clerk in custom house under Collector Beard but discharged by Collector Saltonstall; in 1897 was on district police and inspector of factories of MA

note: his Navy hospital ticket 1 Nov 1863 shows he was a landsman on the *USS Chocorua* and had nephritis

note: living at 85 Phillips St when son Clarence died 1877; 1877 he was commander of the Robert A Bell Post 134 [*Boston Journal*, 24 May 1877, 2]; "of Boston" when he made an address before the colored voters of Worcester in Oct 1879 [*Worcester Daily Spy*, 17 Oct 1879, 4]; he and James H Wolff spoke before the colored voters of Springfield same month [ad placed by Springfield Republican City Committee, *Springfield Republican*, 25 Oct 1879, 1], and he spoke often over the years at black *Republican*, Odd Fellows, and veterans' events; 1882 he was secretary of "indignation meeting" of black Bostonians protesting Rev A D Payne's removal from rail cars in FL ["Indignant Colored

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Citizens,” *Boston Herald*, 20 Apr 1882, 5]; 1885 he was promoted from custom house clerk at \$1200 to clerk at \$1500 same place [*Boston Herald*, 10 Oct 1885, 8] but was removed in April 1887 on grounds that he was negligent and incompetent, but people of color question it; Edwin G Walker stated he’d gone into custom house as a truckman and had been there for years and says it’s a scheme on part of white Republicans “to offset the appointment made by President Cleveland in the person of James M Trotter”; black atty James H Wolff added, “Mullen was displaced for the purpose of checking the popularity of Mr. Cleveland with the colored people” [“Mullen’s Removal,” *Boston Herald*, 9 Apr 1887, 6]; 1885 he spoke to the Af Am Odd Fellows at Lynn [“Odd Fellows’ Parade at Lynn” *Boston Herald*, 8 Sept 1885, 8] and same in 1886 at Worcester [*Worcester Daily Spy*, 27 Jan 1886, 4]; he was corresponding sec of the executive committee appointed at Worcester 1886 to organize a national reunion of colored veterans in 1887; “Colored Veterans,” *Boston Journal*, 2 Aug 1887, 1, notes he was one of committee of five, with Lewis H Douglass, Burrill Smith, Carney, and PW Beatty “to draft a plan for a permanent organization of colored veterans”; member of the Colored National League in 1889 (its 2d anniversary year); 1889 was first speaker at public meeting on death of Lewis Hayden at Charles St AME church and offered resolutions about him [“Hayden’s Demise,” *Boston Herald*, 9 Apr 1889, 5; “Lewis Hayden,” *Boston Journal*, 9 Apr 1889, 4]; 1880 president of the Wendell Phillips Club; 1897 he was named among 5 men of color to serve NP Hallowell as staff at unveiling parade, and he was on the platform with Hallowell, Dupree, Mitchell, Harrison, Swails, and 4 other white men at the FH dinner for vets after the unveiling and before Music Hall events

note: “A Good Record,” *Boston Herald*, 24 July 1888, 5, notes that Mullen had been appointed a district policeman, was born in Stonington CT 1841, educated at Phillips School in Salem, enlisted in US Navy 1859 on sloop of war *Portsmouth* and stationed off west coast of Africa; reenlisted 22 Jan 1862 on gunboat *Chocorua*, then on gunboat *Lillian* through 1865; 2 Jan 1865 appointed mail agent from Newport VA to Raleigh NC “but was compelled to resign on account of the Ku Klux Klan, and was afterward appointed clerk in the Norfolk Custom House”; was on Portsmouth VA City Council and 2d Lt in Langston Guard of Norfolk VA; came north as a messenger in Boston Custom House and removed 2 Apr 1887; now commander of Robert A Bell Post 134 GAR, in his third term, and on staff of MA GAR; “has had the honor of having held the highest position of a colored comrade, that of inspector for North Carolina and South Carolina and Virginia under Gen. Burnside”

note: wrote about being a member of crew of *USS Portsmouth* in *Boston Herald*, 15 Oct 1927, 14; drec from statewide index

note; MA State Police website states that Mullen was the first black appointed to the MA District Police Force, as MSP were called in 1800s; parents’ names listed here, and they moved to Salem by 1860, and his service on *Chocorua* was “running down ships enaged in smuggling slaves to the United States”; he was on other two gunboats during the blockade of James and York Rivers and later off Wilmington NC; he kept a log while on the *Portsmouth* (now at Strawberry Banke Museum); he played the bones for Lincoln in early 1862 when Lincoln visited the Union fleet off Hampton Roads VA, and Lincoln went on board the *Chocorua* (reported in *Springfield Republican*); he and wife and 3 sons living in Portsmouth VA 1870c and was custom house inspector; 1880c in Boston on Grove St; after losing his custom house job in Boston he was apptd 1888 to state district police and assigned to Suffolk Co; he was credited in 1895 with having seized “short lobsters” from Nova Scotia being shipped to Boston and NYC, which was illegal [“State Officer Mullen Confiscated a Large Quality Shipment from Nova Scotia,” *Boston Herald*, 20 Mar 1895]; he retired from district police 1899; he read the Gettysburg address on 31 May 1904 on Boston Common “in tribute to Robert Gould Shaw”; wife died 20 Nov 1907 [<https://www.facebook.com/>

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MassStatePolice/posts/isaac-s-mullen-1841-1930-first-black-member-of-the-massachusetts-district-police/2112989608785011/]

note: Civil War Talk website states his mother was a Mohegan Indian and father black; family moved to Salem 1857, and Isaac was a member of Morris Pell and Trowbridge's Boston Minstrel Troupe which performed at the Ethiopian Opera House on School St, Boston (doesn't say when)

Munroe, Peter F
DOB: ca 1846
POB: Littleton mrec
father: Stephen
mother: Mary Jane
spouse: Josephine Hazzard
DOM: 30 July 1871
POM: Harvard
DOD: 24 May 1930
POD: Portland ME

cen: 1865 Groton/soldier in hh parents, 9 sibs
1890 vet sched Pepperell/no notes
1910 Everett/stationery engineer owns w/ wife, dau, son 193 Ferry

dir: 1901 Everett/engineer h 193 Ferry
1926-32 Everett/janitor w/ wife h 193 Ferry

erv: priv 54th trans to 55th

children: Alice Maud 1880, William F 1887?

note: listed in Emilio as an "unassigned recruit" transferred to the 55th Reg 20 Aug 1864 at Concord, credited to 7th dist Lowell Ward 2, signed enlistment with mark, and mother signs her consent; 1865c shows brother Geo G 22 (Geo C Co C 54th) and Charles S 18 also as soldiers; farmer when he enlisted in 54th 20 Aug 1864, transferred to Co B 55th 23 Oct 1864, mustered out at Charleston 29 Aug 1865

note: living in Harvard and farming at time of marriage to Josephine Hazzard, daughter of Tower and Julian Hazzard of Littleton; death notice *Boston Globe*, 26 May 1930, 8, stated he was of 193 Ferry St, Everett, at time of death

note: took part in and was photographed at 50th anniversary Wagner battle, in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 May 1913]

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Netson, William J.

DOB: 1836 emilio, "at sea" c00

POB: Niagara NY milrec, West Indies natrec, Demerara Dutch Guiana obit

spouse: Emily A Carty b Oct 1845 d 13 Dec 1927

DOM: 1880 c00

POM: Providence RI

DOD: 19 Feb 1912 drec

POD: Norwich CT drec

bur: Maplewood, Norwich CT

cen: 1870 New Haven CT/farm lab w/ wife
1900 Norwich CT/bank janitor owns w/ wife, stepdau Roath av

dir: 1875 Norwich CT/lab h 43 Union
1882 Norwich CT/lab h N Grove
1889 Norwich/janitor Chelsea Savings Bank
1901 Norwich/janitor h Roath av cor Reynolds
1910 Norwich/janitor h 92 Hobart av
1911 Norwich/do to 1910d
1915-26 Norwich/Emily A wid Wm J h 92 Hobart av

rank: priv (musician) Cos E & K 54th

children: stepdau Amy L Oct 1886 CT

note: Greene 195 states he was lab at his enlistment was "at one time . . . a principal musician"; descriptive book has him in Co E "transferred Nov 1 1864 promoted principal musician in drum corps" and in Co K "reduced from principal musician and assigned to Co K June 12 1865"

note: a William Netson m 27 May 1866 Artemus Lewis in NYC no race indicated

note: 1900c states that father b West Indies and mother unknown and that he came to the US in 1850; wife pob MD in 1870c and West Indies 1900c; he was naturalized 19 Oct 1888 at Norwich CT

note: Wm J Netson Co E 54th (K crossed out) on pension index card was living in CT when he applied for pension 5 Sept 1890, and widow Emily A in CT when she applied 26 Feb 1912

note: Norwich dirs sometimes show him as Willard J; Hale CT cem inscriptions shows Wm J Netson Co K 54th Inf Mass Col Vols Civil War d 19 Feb 1912 ae 68

note: *Norwich (CT) Bulletin*, 20 Feb 1912, 5: Wm J Netson died at his Hobart av home after long illness with cancer, b Demerara South America Aug 1844 "from Arabic stock"; family started for US when he was six weeks old, mother died on board the ship and father went back to Demerara; seven years later came to NYC; Wm J lived in RI and MA; had twin brother Edward, who was "shot down in a battle and the drum major seized the flag and carried it to victory" (but not listed in Fold3, Emilio, or *Tell It with Pride*); involved in GAR, at one time taught and led the Norwich Silver Drum and Bugle Corp, a boys group; married at Providence and couple came to Norwich "31 years ago" (but he's in 1875 Norwich dir)

note: image at MHS

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Norman, Henry
DOB: 1843 milrec, Feb 1846 c00
POB: Concordville, Delaware CO PA
father: Henry b 1810 PA
mother: Charlotte b 1810 PA
spouse: Clara G Benson b 1851 Nova Scotia
DOM: 20 July 1871
POM: Lynn MA
DOD: 26 Mar 1933
POD: Roxbury
bur: Evergreen, Brighton

cen: 1850 Concord PA/in pars' hh [James H]
1880 Lynn/chiropracist w/ wife, 3 children
1890 vet sched Lynn/sgt Co F 54th
1900 Lynn/evangelist rents w/ wife, 7 children
1910 Lynn/chiropracist rents w/ 5 children, grandson
1920 Chelsea/evangelist alone in hh
1930 Boston/evangelist Baptist 69 Phillips (3 fam h)

dir: 1878 Lynn/chiropracist 4 Park Sq
1882 Lynn/chiropracist 4 Park Sq h 74 New Chatham
1890 Lynn/chiropracist 4 City Hall sq
1912 Lynn/evangelist h 224 Fayette w/ son Paul
1915 Lynn/evangelist h 67 Collins Ave

serv: priv, sgt Co F 54th

children: Mabel 1872, Ethel 1877, Florence 1879, Edith 1882 (m 1896 Chas H Lattimer, son of fugitive Geo W Lattimer and 2d wife Charlotte), Harry 1884, Helen 1888, Esther 1890, Paul 1893

note: farmer at enlistment 8 Apr 1863 and promoted to corporal by Shaw that day or 23 Apr; promoted to sgt 27 Jul 1865; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston

note : identified in mrec as chiropracist b Concord PA pars Harry & Charlotte; 1910c daus Edith Lattimer and Helen Norman both accresses in a traveling company, son Harry a shoemaker in stock fitting room, son Paul dry goods store errand boy

note: attended and spoke at 50th Wagner anniversary in Boston 18 July 1913 [Henry F]

note: "Henry Norman, Evangelist, Dies," *Boston Herald*, 25 March 1933, 11: identifies him as "Negro evangelist grandson of an Abyssinian king" and preached night for year in Pemberton Square in Boston; died at home ae 88 at 40 Humboldt avenue, Roxbury; "The giant Negro—he once almost fought John L. Sullivan—lived a life which saw him successively as civil war soldier, boxer, evangelist and author. His homely philosophy won him acclamation by a Harvard commencement orator, and his sincerity gained and held for him the distinction of being probably the only Pemberton square and Charles street mall speaker who was never heckled. He was known throughout New England for his summer evangelist's tours. In recent years, his preaching on the Charles street mall of Boston Common was invariably a signal for the drifting toward him of most of the listeners before the stepladders from which communism, Socialism and the various

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overnight other 'ism's' of the mall were being shouted." Grandfather fled to the US, "reputedly with considerable gold," after a "disturbance in Abyssinia. Born Concordville near Philadelphia and came to Boston ae 18 to enlist in the 54th; "at Fort Wagner, Col. Shaw fell at Norman's feet"; after the war he settled in Lynn and ran a boxing school, and at that time he was 6'2" and waigned 230 pounds; someone offered to pay his expenses to fight John L Sllivan, and he was training for it "when the champion drew the color line by refusing to meet Peter Jackson." About that time, Norman said, "some Christian people took an interest in me," he burned his boxing stuff and began preaching, which he kept up though less actively in past 5 years

Northup, David R
DOB: Sept 1841 c00
POB: Providence RI
father: Cato b Greenwich RI
mother: Alice B Henry b Warren RI
DOD: 29 Sept 1905
POD: Chelsea Soldiers' Home
bur: Forest Dale cem, Malden

cen: 1850 Providence/in pars' hh
1860 Providence RI/jobber in pars' hh [Daniel]
1880 Attleborough/farm lab bding in white hh
1900 Attleborough/whitewasher rents

dir: 1860 Providence RI/lab bds 4 Gaspee (father's house)
1902 & 1904 Chelsea/bds Soldiers' Home

serv: priv Co B 5th Cav

note: seaman when he enlisted 25 Jan 1864 in Barnstable as private Co B; "absent sick in hospital when Regt was mustered out"; March-April 1864 "in confinement and undergoing sentence"; May-June 1864 "paid for apprehension from desertion 30.00; he deserted 4 April 1864 at Providence and was apprehended the next day at Providence; was sick at Brazos 11 July 1865 into Sept 1865; mustered out 31 Oct 1865 at Boston

note: his father Cato was son of Rev War vet Ichabod Northup and lived in Providence 1832 until he died 1860; was a corporal in a black military company organized in Providence by Wm J Brown and others 1841

note: youngest of 7 children; possibly working as hostler in Pawtucket in 1870s

note: name is shown as Northrup and Northup (latter more common); living in Barnstable when admitted to Chelsea home 26 March 1901; his father b 1800 RI and usually shown as Northup; shown as seaman at time of death

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Palmer, Joseph A

DOB: 1838 milrec, 1840

POB: Milan OH

father: Jacob

mother: Martha

spouse: 1) Catharine L Wheeler b 1845 Nashua NH 2) Sallie J Tylor 3) Mary Allen Rodgers

DOM: 1) 6 Apr 1866 2) 15 June 1890 3) 3 Nov 1921

POM: 1) Boston 2) Cheyenne WY 3) DC

DOD: 31 May 1924

POD: Washington DC

bur: Arlington Nat Cem

cen: 1900 Cheyenne WY/barber w/ wife Sallie b TN, son Geo , 2 bdg barbers

serv: priv, sgt Co K 54th

notes: enlisted 5 May 1863 at Readville; shot at Ft Wagner and treated at Beaufort Hospital through 1 Sept 1863; after war lived at Cheyenne WY (a barber there), Baltimore, and DC; was a barber at time of first marriage

note: first wife died 1912 in Cheyenne WY; their marriage recorded in *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 Apr 1866

note: photographed at 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner in Boston 18 July 1913

note: "An Old Veteran," Washington Bee, 26 Sept 1914, 1: "Mr Joseph A. Palmer, an old veteran of the Civil War and one of the bravest that was in Company K, Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, called at the Bee office this week and related some interesting reminiscences of that great conflict. Mr. Palmer is well preserved and he is an interesting talker."

***Patterson, Samuel J**

DOB: 28 June 1844 drec, obit

POB: Berwick PA drec, obit

father: Anthony J b Bethlehem PA d 1894

mother: Elizabeth Snyder b 1808 NJ d 1883

spouse: 1) Henrietta Jane 1845-96 2) Sadie J Washington drec

DOM: 1) 5 Dec 1867 2) 31 May 1908

POM: 1) Wilkes-Barre PA 2) Pittsburgh PA

DOD: 23 March 1930

POD: Wilkes-Barre PA

bur: City Cem, Wilkes-Barre

cen: 1870 Wilkes-Barre PA/lab w/ wife, son Edward
1880 W-B/works in store, w/ wife, 6 children, two elderly white women
1910 W-B/file setter in hh w/ wife, son Samuel G
1920 W-B/ w/ wife

serv: priv Co C 5th MA Cav

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children: Edward 1865–, Lillie Overton 1868–1912, Alice Anna 1869–1901, Sarah Caroline 1870–72, Anthony Quinn b 1872, James Alexander 1873–1937, Catherine Melissa 1883–1950, Emily Helen 1886, Mary Eugen 1887, Ruth Eliza 1888–90, Samuel George 1891

note: enlisted 8 Jan 1864 at Boston, private 5th Cav, disch 31 Oct 1865 at Clarksville TX; had an invalid pension

note: he is the “SJ Patterson of Wilkes-Barre” who is at the unveiling events; lived at 117 Hickory St in W-B at time of death ae 85 yrs 9 mo 25 days

note: “Death Claims S. J. Patterson, G.A.R. Veteran,” *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader*, 24 Mar 1930, 2: ae 86 and “one of the valley’s best known negro residents” and members of Conyngham Post GAR, died last evening at 117 Hickory home; he was a prominent plumber and tile setter; he joined Fifth MA Cavalry 6 Jan 1864 as private, was at battle of Petersburg 15–29 June 1864 “and was detailed as an orderly for gallantry at the capitulation of Richmond on April 3, ‘65”; discharged Clarksville TX 3 Oct 1865; as a boy worked on the canal, and after war came to live at W-B; in 1880 began to repair bicycles and claimed to have been the first Af Am in W-B to ride one; for 20 years a plumber with BG Carpenter & Co, and was “one of the finest tile setters in this and Lackawanna counties, having followed his occupation for thirty years”; survived by wife Sadie, 3 daus (Mrs Samuel Walker, Binghamton; Mrs AJ Morris, and Mrs Emily Moore of Wilkes-Barre), sons HU, James A, and Samuel G, all of Wilkes-Barre, and 3 stepchildren (Jeannette and Harry Washington of Pittsburgh and John Washington of CA)

Peters, George G

DOB: 1844

POB: Lenox milrec, Hudson NY drec

father: Charles H b Poughkeepsie NY

mother: Henrietta Simes b Amenia NY

spouse: Sarah Fletcher b Pittsfield

DOM: 31 Jul 1866

POM: Chatham MY

DOD: 16 Mar 1899

POD: Northampton drec

bur: Oak Grove Cem, Springfield

cen: 1850 Lenox/in pars’ hh
1870 Lenox/farm lab w/ wife, 2 daus
1880 Lenox/lab w/ wife, dau Mary, mother Henrietta
1890 vet sched Northampton/no notes

dir: 1888 Northampton/lab h Chapel Hospital Hill
1890 Northampton/lab h 51 Chapel Hospital Hill
1899 Northampton/lab h 43 South

serv: priv Co A 54th

children: Hattie A b 1867, Mary A b 1868

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note: enlisted 27 Feb 1863, disch 20 Aug 1865 [Greene 207] and shown as Geo W Peters in *Tell It with Pride*; wife living in Pittsfield at time of his death; he was a laborer at time of death and no middle initial shown

***Phelps, Emery G**

DOB: ca 1845 c55, 28 Oct 1844 op, c00, Greene, 28 Sept 1843 drec

POB: NC c55, c00, c10, op, Hartford NC Greene, SC 70c, drec

father: Leonard op

mother: Martha Douglass op

spouse: Abby Jane Peck b 1846 MA

DOM: 3 Oct 1867

POM: New Bedford

DOD: 1 Oct 1912

POD: Worcester

bur: Hope Cemetery, Worcester

cen: 1855 New Bedford/in hh Wm Douglass ward 2
1865 New Bedford/in US Army in hh Nancy Douglass
1870 Worcester/truckman w/ wife, son
1900 Worcester/glazier w/ wife
1910 Worcester /w/ wife

dir: 1886 Worcester/glazier h 58 John
1910 Worcester/coachman h 5 Mason Court

serv: priv Co C 54th

children: Wilson E 1868

note: New Bedford op v1 p105: he is living with Elizabeth Douglass widow 16 Russell St with his sister Zenobia, born NC 1843, and Elizabeth's children Sarah Frances b NC 1849 and Meporim (?) Ann b NC 1845; see grandmother Nancy Douglass's [op] record; v2 24 Jan 1860: "Nancy Douglass, c, one grandson (Emery Phelps), age 15 last Oct 28th Emery is son of Leonard & Martha Phelps, both dead, never here. L sixth st & Market Square. 1/4 ton coal 1 ft wood"

note: *Republican Standard* (New Bedford), 28 Feb 1861, 1, notes that "a young colored man named Emory Phelps" had been arrested for forging checks for small sums, five in all, on David R. Greene & Co, Theodore Wilbur, Seth H. Ingalls, Henry Spooner, with "well executed" signatures; he had been arrested a few months earlier for breaking and entering Wordell Bros market and Samuel Gammons cigar shop, "but upon the representations of previous good characer, the indictments were placed on file"

note2: ae 18, single shoemaker when he enlists Co C 54th 25 Mar 1863; disch 20 Aug 1865 and living in Worcester 1894 [emilio]; greene states he was born in Hartford, NC, 28 Oct 1844, son of Leonard and Martha Phelps; enlisted 12 Feb 1863 and discharged 20 Sept 1865; 5'8", shoemaker; received invalid pension of \$17/month after testimony from Lieut Grace that he contracted rheumatism in line of duty at Morris Island, SC, and was detailed as clerk to attend sick call every morning; widow says he was a corporal when discharged

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note: wife Abby was niece and heir of Jemima Peck; see her prob rec; married and living in Worcester in 1879; 1910c she is doing laundry as day's work; Greene notes that she is still living in 1929, when her widow's pension was increased to \$50 a month

note: he is listed among those who attended the Faneuil Hall gathering of vets after Shaw Memorial unveiling ["War Memories Revived," *Boston Herald*, 1 Jun 1897, 7]

note: he was a glazier and married at the time of death

Piper, Charles H

DOB: 6 Feb 1839 milrec, Feb 1835 c00

POB: Great Barrington

father: Ira (b 1815 Dutchess Co NY d 1852 Grt Barrington)

mother: Lucinda A M (b 1822 MA)

spouse: 1) Eliza Hollenbeck Reed b 1838 NY 2) Helen Elizabeth Washington b 1849

DOM: 1) 10 Mar 1860 2) Aug 1892

POM: 1) Great Barrington

DOD: 30 March 1910

POD: Ghent NY

cen: 1850 Great Barrington/in pars' hh w/ 3 sibs
1900 Ghent NY/day lab rents w/ wife, 2 stepsons
1905 Ghent NY/pensioner in h w/ wife

serv: priv Co A 54th

note: farmer when he enlisted 15 July 1863 at Stockbridge; lungs and organs damaged while working at stables on Morris Island spring 1864 and contracted malaria; can find no drec for him in MA or record of 2d mar cited in Greene 210-11

note: first wife d Westfield 1892; second wife doing laundry work 1905c

note: his maternal grandfather was Pompey Phillips (1785-1880) and grandmother Jane A Van Alstyne 1792-1877, both b New York State and designated as "slaves" on Lucinda's drec and "born a slave" on his drec

note: findagrave has another Charles Piper, son of Hulda and Jacob Piper and enlisted 15 July 1864 at Stockbridge, mustered out with regiment; c60 in Stockbridge with father, a ditcher b NY, and Diantha Holenbeck 70 black b NY; d 1901 and bur Pittsfield

Potter, Charles Augustus

DOB: 2 Sept 1845

POB: Pittsfield

father: Charles A

mother: Harriet E Field b 1825 Pittsfield

spouse: Eunice Jane Wormsley b Lebanon CT 1848 d 1923

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DOM: 30 May 1867
POM: Pittsfield
DOD: 16 Jan 1916
POD: Pittsfield
bur: Pittsfield Cem

cen: 1850 Pittsfield/in mother's hh w/ sister
1860 Pittsfield/in mother's hh w/ her 2d husb James Williams
1865 Pittsfield/ "US army" in hh James Williams
1880 Pittsfield/lab w/ wife, 5 children
1900 Pittsfield/selling milk w/ wife, daus Florence, Elizabeth
1910 Pittsfield/lab odd jobs w/ wife, daus Florence, Elizabeth

dir: 1892 Pittsfield/watchman Gimlich & White
1897 Pittsfield/hostler h 119 Alder
1905 Pittsfield/pop corn vender 74 North h 119 Alder
1914 Pittsfield/pop corn vender 74 North h 88 Madison Av

serv: priv Co F 54th

children: Albert 1867, Louis M 1869, Mabel 1871, Charles Henry 1873, Florence 1879, Elizabeth 1887

note: in 1860 he is living with his mother and her second husband James Williams, whom she married in 1853; he was lab b Rhinebeck NY

note: several military records show him as Charles A Potter; 1897 son Henry a plumber; 1910c shows wife Unice and daus Florence M and Elizabeth as laundresses at home; 1914 dau Elizabeth and son Herbert bding at his home

note: lab at time of enlistment 8 Apr 1863; on duty daily as teamster Sept and Oct 1863 and on detached services to Quartermaster Dept as teamster Nov and Dec 1863 on Morris Island; "wounded severely in the right shoulder in affray in the streets of Charleston SC July 1865 Post Hospital since that date" and another doc states he was on patrol at the time he was injured on 10 July 1865; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston

note: "Well-Known Negro Dead: Charles Augustus Potter Was Civil War Veteran and Fought at Fort Wagner," *Springfield Republican*, 18 Jan 1916, 11: he was 70 and was not only a Civil War vet but a "veteran popcorn and peanut dealer of Pittsfield" who conducted business in a stand "in a little house on North street, between the First Baptist church and the New York store"; Potter was in Co F and was close to Shaw when Shaw fell at Wagner; "This battle was one of the many in which Mr Potter took part, but it was the one he loved to recall the best, for it demonstrated that the colored people would fight and made the regiment famous throughout the country"; he held all the offices in the WW Rockwell GAR post and had been a delegate to 3 GAR state encampments; he was acting wagon master at Morris and James Islands. "Mr Potter and his wife and Mr Duncan attended the 50th anniversary of the Fort Wagner assault at Boston on July 18, 1913." Wife was dau of Charles Wormsley of Pittsfield. Potter b Pittsfield "in a house which stood where the Berkshire brewery is now located. He spent most of his time in Pittsfield. At one time he was a cook on steamers plying the Great Lakes. Mr Potter served two years and six months in the army during the civil war" with 3 other Pittsfield men, Samuel Jones, Franklin Grover and Justin Duncan, and all took part in the Fort Wagner charge

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note: photographed among those 54th vets who took place in 18 July 1913 anniversary of Wagner in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913]

note: Dorothea Powell (1925–2006), first site manager at BOAF, was daughter of Winthrop E. and Dorothea L. Potter and great-granddaughter of CA Potter; she was born Dorothea Louise; her father was Winthrop Gilbert Potter b 3 June 1903 Pittsfield MA and worked for Monsanto Chemical by WW2; mother Dorothea L 24 b MA, has sisters Bernice E and Winifred, both younger, and father in law Ambrose J Canada living with the family in Woburn 1930; 1943 living at 32 Humboldt Ave in Roxbury; by 1967 her mother Dorothea L domestic living in Roxbury and widowed. In 1920 her father was a 16-year old farm lab living and working for farmer Frederick Kelley. Winthrop Gilbert's parents were Charles H, fireman b Pittsfield, and Ella L Logan of Jersey City NJ. Charles H Potter b 1873 Pittsfield to Charles A Potter lab b Pittsfield and Eunice J b Hartford CT

Her lineage:

- 1 Charles A Potter m 1867 Eunice Jane Wormsley (Lebanon CT)
- 2 His son Charles H b 1873 Pittsfield m Ella Logan (Jersey City NJ)
- 3 Chas H's son Winthrop Gilbert b 1903 Pittsfield m Dorothea L
- 4 Dorothea b 1925

note: Emma L Caesar of Pittsfield (1933–98) was first cousin of Dorothea, being daughter of Winthrop G Potter's older brother Clifford Henry Potter (b 1901, m Grace E Stephenson of Stephentown NY)

***Redding, Charles**

DOB: 1840 enl, 1830 mrec1, 1846 mrec2

POB: Boston

father: Charles

mother: Phebe b 1813 Duxbury d 1853 Boston

spouse: 1) Annie E O'Connell b 1854 Boston 3) Bella E Shurmer b 1853 Eng

DOM: 1) 20 Sept 1876 3) 6 Oct 1886

POM: Boston

DOD: 23 Nov 1902

POB: Boston

cen: 1850 Boston/ae 10 black in House of Industry, 12th ward

dir: 1877 Boston/steward h 41 Kirkland
1888 Boston/janitor 608 Washington h 55 Kendall
1899 Boston/janitor rooms rear 919 Washington

serv: Navy

note: a cook when he listed as a landsman in Navy at New Bedford 1 Jan 1862; served on the Guard/National Guard 1 April 1865–31 Mar 1867; a steward at time of m1 and shown as black b Boston; 3d wife may be white, and he's not shown as white on 1886 mrec but shown as janitor with same parents as O'Connell marriage; janitor at time of death res 42 Porter St, pars NL place of birth NL

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note: first wife recorded as white and d 1879; marriage to Shurmer listed as his third

note: "A Day in Camp: The First Brigade on the Field at Framingham," *Boston Globe*, 9 Jun 1886, 3: "Among the many colored servants that come to the brigade camp none are better known or have had more experience than Charles Redding, better known as 'Jack,' the body servant of General Nat Wales. Active and useful, though 57 years old, he is a necessity at brigade headquarters. . . . When the war broke out he went to Readville, to camp, and later on enlisted in the navy and served until the close, being on the *Kearsarge* when she sank the *Alabama*. After the war he was in the 'National Guard,' a store ship, and was discharged from the service in 1867. Since that time he has been in every militia camp, commencing with General Wales in 1876, and with him ever since. He now declares he won't go with anyone else. This year he was on duty as usual, but yesterday receiving a telegram of the death of his little one, he left at once for home." "Against the *Alabama*: *Kearsarge* Survivors Tell of the Great Fight," *Boston Globe*, 12 Feb 1894, 3, notes that Chas J Redding, "engineer at 608 Washington St, living at 212 Washington st," is one of 3 sailors and firemen who live in Boston and fought on the *Kearsarge* with 2 officers; Mary Winslow of Roxbury writes the *Boston Globe* that her late father Capt and later Rear Admiral Winslow "conducted the whole fight from its commencement to the end" and refers *Globe* to Redding at 608 Washington St, "one of the men," and another man for corroboration

note: 608 Washington St is Bryant and Stratton commercial school in 1885; see 1888 dir listing

note: he was chosen to "wave the union Jack" at Faneuil Hall celebration after the Shaw unveiling; see "Welcome and Benediction," *Boston Globe*, 24 May 1897, 12, and "The Great Event," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 31 May 1897, 1

note: "Charles Redding Dead," *Boston Globe*, 25 Nov 1902, 4: Charles Redding, "colored, prominent as one of the surviving members of the crew of the *USS Kearsarge* in the action with the *Alabama*," died Sunday at MGH ae 75; he'd been janitor at building on Washington St where Bryant & Stratton commercial school was for 25 years and was native of Boston; he was known as "Jack" and had lots of friends, and "no more thoroughly active Grand Army veteran and veteran fireman could be found than this man"

note: his father may be the Chas Redding b 1802 Trenton who married for 4th time in Boston 1851 Philena M Goodrich b 1822 New Bedford dau of Thomas Williams, her 2d m; this Chas Redding died ae 60 at Rainsford Island of dysentery ae 60 in 1855 b NJ; wife Phebe d 1853 ae 40 of delirium tremens

Reed, Charles Jr
DOB: April 1842
POB: Barnstable mrec
father: Charles F
mother: Mary J
spouse: Sarah Scott b 1842 Worcester
DOM: 13 Jan 1864
POM: Boston
DOD: 7 January 1902
POD: Webster

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cen: 1900 Webster/farm lab rents in hh with sister-in-law Sarah Reed b 1855 MA

serv: priv Co D 54th

note: farmer when he enlisted 2 Dec 1863 at Spencer MA, where he was then living; soldier when he marries; discharged at Charleston SC 20 Aug 1865; laborer at death and not shown as black, pob unknown on drec

Ripley, RJ

note: a Rev RJ Ripley was living in Jamaica in 1901 and was a missionary among Chinese and Syrians on Jamaica, when he was rector of Kingston Parish Church there; trustee St Ann Benefit Building Society in Jamaica 1897 & 1901; gave money to Marcus Garvey for the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Jamaica in 1905

note: photographed with other 54th vets at 50th anniversary of Wagner battle 18 July 1913 [*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913]

Robinson, William H

DOB: 1842 55, 65c

POB: Boston 55 cen, Lynn

mother: Mary A Ishmael b 1821 Boston

DOD: 1 June 1898

POD: Lynn

bur: Lynn

cen: 1855 Lynn/in hh widowed mother, sibs, grandmother Ishmael
1860 Lynn/lab in hh mother, grandmother, sister Amelia
1865 Lynn/occup illeg in hh mother, grandmother
1870 Lynn/cleans clothing in hh sister Amelia J, C Ishmael

dir: 1856 Lynn/h foot Pinkham w/ C Ishmael, mother
1869 Lynn/lab bds 13 Pinkham w/ mother
1871 Lynn/lab bds 18 Pinkham w/ mother

serv: priv Co E 54th

note: barber at enlistment 1 Apr 1863; with mother Mary Ann b 1821 Boston in hh widow Catherine Ishmael black b Reading MA in Lynn 1855, 1865c, 1870c and in 1869 and 1871d Lynn as laborer being at mother's house; cannot be found after 1871; Catherine Ishmael d 5 Aug 1870 ae 84 in Lynn, b Reading father b Africa

note: his mother d 1891 and shown as maiden name Ishmael and widow of Wm H Robinson ae 70 b Boston pars Peter Reymon of West Indies and Catherine of Wakefield

APPENDIX C

Rome, George Raymond
DOB: 1834, Oct 1835 1900c
POB: Providence RI
father: Nathaniel b 1802 RI
mother Deborah b 1806 RI
spouse: Betsey Darling Johnson b June 1843 RI
DOD: 14 Dec 1900
POD: Worcester
bur: Hope Cem, Worcester

cen: 1850 N Kingston RI/in hh parents w/ 2 sibs
1880 Worcester/teamster, wife, 6 children, mother
1900 Worcester/retired, owns, w wife

serv: priv Co C 55th

children: Luella S b 1860 (m Potter), Albert 1861, Herbert 1864, Annie E 1870, Emma 1872, Alice 1874

note: farmer when he enlisted 3 Sept 1863 at Worcester, bounty paid \$33.33 and owed \$66.67; enlisted in 54th but among overflow and mustered in to 55th by 23 Oct 1864; mustered out 29 Aug 1865; pension awarded by Nov 1890 [*Boston Herald*, 3 Nov 1890, 1]

note: 1900c in hh w wife and 4 adult children (2 employed, Alice a dressmaker, Albert a machinist) and granddau Olive W Potter b 1887; d rec shows him as mulatto and an Indian b Providence and a janitor

Ross, James
DOB: 1835 drec, Greene
POB: Norfolk VA, Hampton VA drec, Gloucester Co VA mrecs
father: prob Willis
mother: prob Letitia
spouse: 2) Mary Castelle b Coxsackie NY 3) Mattie Myers b MI
DOM: 2) 12 Oct 1865 3) 24 Oct 1888
POM: 2) Boston 3) Boston
DOD: 8 December 1898 drec
POD: Boston drec
bur: soldiers lot, Mt Hope, Boston

cen: 1870 Boston/lab w/ wife Mary bdg hh Jas Carter black cooper

dir: 1882 Boston/engineer 103 W Canton h 24 Fabin [possibly not he]
1895 Boston/engineer h 34 Ivanhoe

serv: priv Co B 54th

note: laborer at enlistment 11 Dec 1863 at Charlestown; lab at time of 2d m and engineer at time of 3d m

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note: drec says he's a coal dealer living at 34 Ivanhoe St; "Interred at Mt. Hope," *Boston Herald*, 12 Dec 1898, 4: funeral of James Ross, "a man well known in colored club circles of this city," took place at Charles St AME church, remains escorted to church by Sumner Post 334 GUOOF, Robert Bell Post 134 GAR and others, with Edward Bell and Nicholas Clayton from Bell Post as pallbearers; "Was a Well-Known Colored Man," *Boston Globe*, 9 Dec 1898, 12: James Ross, civil war vet and well known colored man of this city, died at home 34 Ivanhoe St of heart disease; "he was born a slave in Hampton, Va., about 63 years ago. When about 20 years old he ran away, and after much difficulty reached Boston. He made his home in Lincoln, Mass, where in 1863 he enlisted in Co B, 54th Massachusetts infantry. He was mustered out in August, 1865, on Boston Common. A wife survives him."

note: was living at 34 Ivanhoe St at this death; third wife Mattie Simmons Ross b MI died ae 33 18 May 1899, widow of James, father Fred Simmons, occup domestic; her 15 Apr 1899 will left to dau Bertha Louise Ross all her personal property, including furniture, money at Provident Inst for Savings in Boston, her real est including 3 lots in Lexington; appointed Julia Williams, Boston, and Charlotte E Francis, Boston, as executors; 1899 she was still living at 34 Ivanhoe

Roy, Lindsey L
DOB: 10 Oct 1843
POB: Fredericksburg VA
father: Simon
mother: Polly
spouse: 2) Elizabeth Johnson b 1841 Augusta GA
DOM: 2) 22 July 1886
POM: 2) Boston
DOD: 7 February 1905
POD: Chelsea MA
bur: Woodlawn, Everett

dir: 1899 Chelsea/cook h 148 Chester Ave

serv: priv Co A 54th

note: "waterman" when he enlisted 16 Dec 1863 at Boston; present at Honey Hill; disch 29 Aug 1865; pension app states that he served in US Navy Dec 1865 to June 1871 on the *USS Ohio*, *Kearsarge*, and *Saranac* [greene 231]; US Naval Enlistment Rendezous records show him enlisted for 3 years at Boston on 1 Feb 1868 and had an "old fracture l leg"

note: both he and second wife married previously; mrec for Lindsey Roy ae 27 blacksmith b Fredericksburg VA pars Lindsey and Lucy m Lavinia Stevens ae 26 b Eastern Shore MD at Cambridge in 1872; no drec for Lavinia Roy in MA

note: he was a cook at time of 2d mar; widow lived at 92 Highland St at his death ae 64 according to greene, but I find no drec for him

APPENDIX C

Scott, George Henry
DOB: 1845
POB: Rutland VT Greene, "Portland VT" drec
father: William b Chittenden VT
mother: Adaline Longley b Chittenden VT
spouse: Lory C Storms
DOM: 18 Sept 1866
POM: Rutland VT
DOD: 16 Nov 1912 Greene, 17 Aug 1898 drec
POD: Worcester
bur: Hope Cem, Worcester

cen: 1850 Rutland VT/in pars' hh

dir: 1875 Worcester/lab 20 Salisbury h 7 Lily
1883 Worcester/lab 20 Salisbury h Prescott
1890 & 1891 Worcester/janitor 20 Salisbury h 105 Belmont
1894 Worcester/at 165 Belmont bldg \$1k 8400 sf lot \$600
1897 Worcester/watchman 20 Salisbury h 165 Belmont

ser: priv Co B 54th

children: Mabel, William, Sadie (m __Gunn), Nathaniel

note: enlisted 11 Dec 1863 and discharged at Charleston 20 Jan 1865

note: Greene 233 states he worked for Whitcomb Envelope Co at Worcester and had 4 children, 2 youngest (Sadie and Nathaniel) living in Worcester at his death, but his dod probably wrong in Greene; directories 1875, 1877 show him as laborer at 20 Salisbury St (Whitcomb Envelope Co), janitor there 1893, watchman there 1897

note: drec states he died of malarial poisoning and paralysis

***Seamon, Thomas**

DOB: 1837 drec
POB: Norfolk VA drec
father: Augustus
mother: Ellen
spouse: 1) Nancy J Springfield b 1844 Norfolk VA 2) Rosemary V Curran b 1869 IA
DOM: 1) 12 Sept 1863 2) 12 Sept 1895
POM: 1) Boston 2) Boston
DOD: 5 June 1897
POD: Boston

cen: 1880 Brookline/cook in hh innholder Chas W Perkins

dir: 1860/cook h 19 Garden

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serv: Navy

children: Thomas Jr b/d 19 Feb 1865

note: enlisted at Boston 2 May 1860 for two years as landsman on the *Mississippi*; shown as Negro b Norfolk VA waiter ae 23; mustered in 8 August 1863; he was on the vessel *Richmond* 1862 and 1863, enlisted again 21 July 1864 for 3 years, landsman

note: "Naval Veteran at Rest," *Boston Globe*, 7 Jun 1897, 2: Seamon, member of Bell Post and Peter Salem Garrison died 5 Jun 1897 (Saturday) of heart disease; "as one of the 25 colored Massachusetts naval veterans who participated in the procession attendant on the unveiling of the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial on Boston common last Monday."

note: waiter at 1863 marriage and cook at 1895 marriage; laborer living at 69 West Dedham St when he died, parents NL

*Simonds, James S

DOB: 1850? drec

POB: PA? drec

DOD: 27 Dec 1912 drec

POD: Philadelphia drec

serv: 55th

note: he is listed among those who attended the Faneuil Hall gathering of vets after Shaw Memorial unveiling and is identified as the youngest soldier in the regiment present, just 51 years old, but I find no record of him among 55th soldiers in civil war soldiers and sailors database ["War Memories Revived," *Boston Herald*, 1 Jun 1897, 7]

note: rec for a James S Simons shows him as a porter, son of Solomon Simons and Sarah Dorsey

Simpson, Louis Legraph [Legard]

DOB: 1841

POB: Hingham

father: Geo W b 1807 Hingham

mother: Eliza Freeman b 1812 Pembroke

spouse: Maria Dean Johnson b 1832 or 1844 Bridgewater

DOM: 23 Feb 1861

POM: Hingham

DOD: 30 September 1918

POD: Bridgewater

cen: 1855 Hingham/in pars' hh

1860 Hingham/shoemaker in pars' hh w/ 7 sibs

1865 Hingham/"in the Army" w/ wife, 2 children in James K Tuttle hh

1880 Bridgewater/shoe bottomer w/ wife, 7 children

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1900 Bridgewater/day lab w/ wife, 4 children, grandson
1910 Bridgewater/gardener private family, rents w/ wife, 4 sons

serv: priv Co G 54th

children: Lulu (later Ruth M) b 1861, Isabell W b 1862, Benjamin L 1856, Loretta A 1858, Prescott L 1873, Geo M 1876, Alden H 1878 or 1880, Wendell H 1880 or 1882, Carlton B 1883

note: shoemaker at time of marriage and time of enlistment; wounded 30 Nov 1864 at Honey Hill [*Liberator*, 16 Dec 1864, 3]; mustered out at Worcester 25 May 1865

note: in 1900 delegate from Bridgewater GAR Post 205 to the state GAR encampment [*Boston Globe*, 13 Feb 1900, 5]; present and photographed at 50th Wagner anniversary in Boston 18 July 1913; listed as gardener on drec

Sisco, Richard
DOB: 14 Dec 1843
POB: Catskill NY
father: Joseph b 1800 NJ
mother: Claura b 1810 Greene Co NY
spouse: Josephine Cormity b 1848 Athens NY
DOM: 26 Nov 1866
POM: Catskill NY
DOD: 6 March 1921
POD: Catskill NY

cen: 1855 Catskill NY/in pars' hh w/ sibs John, Jacob
1870 Catskill/farmer w/ wife, dau Celia
1880 Catskill/w/ wife, son James R
1915 Catskill/farm lab lodging
1920 Catskill/farm lab widower bdg in black hh

dir: 1894 Boston/lab rms 1 Grove Place
1895 Chelsea/porter h 159 Arlington
1899 Boston/bds 62 Phillips

serv: priv Co A 54th

children: Sarah, Francis b 1869, Orcelia b 1871, James b 1877

note: he and brother John H farmers at 10 Mar 1863 enlistment

note: Green 237 states that in 1894 he was working as a cook on boat running between NYC and Catskill

note: he is "of Boston" 1897: "Men Chosen to Carry Flags," *Boston Globe*, 20 Apr 1897, 2, notes that Burrill Smith "and others of the rank and file of the 54th Massachusetts volunteers called meeting at which 11 survivors met at 15 Court St "to make arrangements for unveiling the Robert Gould

APPENDIX C

Shaw monument on May 31. It was noted that the Shaw memorial general committee be asked to furnish carriages for the blind and disabled members of the regiment. It was noted that Sergt. William H. Carney of New Bedford and comrade Richard Scisco [*sic*] of Boston be the choice of the meeting to carry the flags in the provisions battalion, which is to be commanded by Col N. P. Hallowell” but Sisco is not mentioned as carrying a flag in reports after the event

Sisco, Stephen Henry

DOB: 22 Jan 1841

POB: Mendon

father: Francis R b 1810 Smithfield RI

mother: Lucy Norton b Needham MA

spouse: Mary Williams Adkins b 1837 Newbern NC

DOM: 23 Jan 1890

POM: Milford

DOD: 21 Mar 1905

POD: Mendon

cen: 1855 Mendon/in pars' hh w/ 3 sibs
1865 Mendon/soldier listed in pars' hh
1900 Mendon/farm lab bding in white farmer's hh

serv: priv Co G 54th

note: farmer at enlistment 5 Dec 1863, fought at Honey Hill, discharged 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston

Smith, Albert C

note: member of Peter Salem Garrison RANU [“Gave a Military Ball,” *Boston Globe*, 25 Feb 1896, 7] and has photo taken in front of Shaw 18 July 1916; an Albert Smith spoke at 50th anniversary Ft Wagner at FH 1913 (but no middle initial noted); identified as bugler in Shaw Veterans Association and photographed in front of Shaw 1916 (*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1916, 10); 1917 places wreath on memorial [“Survivors of the Fort Wagner Charge,” *Boston Globe*, 18 July 1917, 14]; member of the Regular Army and Navy Union Peter Salem Garrison 16 and was its officer of the day Jan 1921 [*Boston Globe*, 4 Jan 1921, 9]

note: 1880c Boston an Albert C Smith black b 1847 one of 7 Af Am servants in hh stockbroker Thomas H Johnston; can find nothing else about him

***Smith, Burrill Jr**

DOB: 1845-46

POB: Boston milrec, Greene

father: Burrill b ca 1814 Norfolk VA d 8 Nov 1878 Cambridge

mother: Charlotte Francis 1814-60

spouse: 1) Alice Freeman 2) Ellen Shaw

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DOM: 1) 18 Sept 1866 2) 12 Aug 1889

POM: 1) Boston 2) Boston

DOD: 16 Mar 1900 drec

POD: Boston drec

bur: Mt Hope Cem, Mattapan

cen: 1850 Boston/in pars' hh
1855 Boston/in pars' hh
1860 Boston/in hh father, sister, and Jane Buchanan (fugitive)
1865 Boston/porter in hh father and stepmother
1880 Cambridge/porter w/ wife, dau Harriet, stepmother, half-bro Chas

dir: 1869 Boston/at PO res 168 Cambridge St
1875 Boston/Custom House, h at Cambridgeport
1890-95 Boston/lab h 4 James place

serv: priv, corp, serg Co A 54th

children: Harriet 1867 (m 29 Apr 1888 or 1889 Henry Thomas Gunderway and apparently div by 1898), Frederic D 1868-70

note: first wife d July 1880; second wife was white, had been married before, and was a seamstress

note: no brec for him in MA; his father Burrill (son of Daniel or Burrill and Phebe, both of Norfolk VA) was in Boston by 1842 and listed among people of color in dir as mariner living at h West Cedar corner May; he was married to Charlotte Francis 28 Feb 1842 in Boston by Samuel Snowden (in vr and *Liberator*, 11 Mar 1842, 3); father is identified as having been "eighteen years a slave" when he was admitted to an interview with a supposed fugitive ("A Slave Case in Boston," *American Traveller*, 14 Nov 1857, 5), being case of black fugitive woman named Betty to come before the Supreme Judicial Court as she was being restrained by a couple in Lawrence who had stopped there for six weeks while traveling and were supposed to be from TN; heard by Lemuel Shaw, and John A Andrew presented a writ of habeas corpus issued by police court in Lawrence. Burrill Smith Sr the father says he was born in Boston when he m2 1862 Caroline Freeman of Scituate ae 24 pars John and Caroline; Boston Vigilance Committee records show father was reimbursed \$1.72 on 10 March 1859 for boarding "Jenny Buchanan," fugitive, and \$6.00 in July 1850 for boarding Joseph Davis and Henry Dorsey. Father Burill b 1811-15 either in VA (c50) or MA (c55) and a laborer living in Boston's ward 6 in 1850 and 1855; 1850d shows him at 39 Southac St, while 1860d shows him as porter living at 168 Cambridge St. 1870c he as a 54-year-old porter living in Ward Six with a Caroline ae 30 and Charles ae 7 in 2-fam house. 1874 he is elected a VP of the Sumner Republican Club of Ward 6 [*Boston Globe*, 8 Oct 1874, 8]

note: in late May 1859 Harriet Tubman stayed at the home of Burrill Smith Sr, 168 Cambridge Street, when she made a contribution to John Brown, same time that Lewis Hayden contributed to same; see Edward J. Renehan Jr., *The Secret Six: The True Tale of the Men Who Conspired with John Brown* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 187-88. Tubman's exact location is established in a letter from Franklin Sanborn to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Boston, 30 May 1859, Higginson Papers, Boston Public Library: "You ought to see Harriet Tubman, the woman who brought away 50 slaves in 8 journeys made to Maryland; but perhaps you have seen her. She is the heroine of the day. She came here Friday night and is at 168 Cambridge Street." Burrill Smith is shown at 168 Cambridge Street in the 1860 Boston directory

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note: clerk at 12 Feb 1863 enlistment, single; company returns card July 1863 wounded at Ft Wagner in left leg and sent to general hospital at Hilton Head 19 July; Aug 1863 absent sick wounded and at hospital at Beaufort; returned to duty 27 Sept 1863 and promoted to corporal 2 Oct 1863, then to sergeant 20 or 28 Feb 1864 and then to first sergeant 8 Apr 1864 when Fletcher reduced in rank. Served from 12 Feb 1863 to 20 Aug 1864 and was living at 4 James Place in Boston in 1890 [see Greene 239–40]

note: In 1868 he was adjutant to Lewis Gaul in the 2d Battalion of Infantry and preparing for an encampment in Hull ["The Muster of the First Brigade," *Boston Herald*, 4 Aug 1868, 1]; "The Rights of Colored Citizens," *Boston Globe*, 22 Nov 1873, 8: Young Men's Colored Republican Assn had meting at Joy St church the day before and chose JB Smith of Cambridge as delegate at large and Burrill Smith, Richard S Brown, and James L [sic] Trotter to represent city at National Convention of Colored Men 1 Dec 1873 at DC. *Boston Traveler*, 11 September 1874, 2: "Burrill Smith, Esq., a prominent resident at the West End, and well known on State street, has been made the recipient of a beautiful marble bust of the late Hon. Charles Sumner. It was the gift of a few State-street friends, and was received by him with expressions of heartfelt gratitude" (whether this is Sr or Jr is unclear). Burrill Jr is of Cambridge when he is chosen delegate to state convention of colored men 28 Mar 1876 in Boston ["State Convention of Colored Men," *Boston Globe*, 22 Mar 1876, 5]; identified as Jr in "Colored Men in Council," *Globe*, 29 Mar 1876, 2; he was on committee of arrangements for annual 54th reunion in 1886 ["Volunteers Listening to Speeches," *Boston Globe*, 5 Mar 1886, 2] and attended the first annual reunion of the Colored Veterans Association (composed of 54th, 55th, and 5th Cav vets) at Worcester 28 May 1886, at which Col NP Hallowell was present ["Soldiers at Worcester," *Boston Globe*, 28 May 1886, 1] and was secretary of the executive committee apptd a Worcester to organize a national reunion of all vets of these regiments, to be held 1–2 Aug 1887 in Boston ["Colored Veterans," *Boston Globe*, 26 May 1887, 1] and pushed for organization of a permanent colored vets group at 1–2 Aug 1887 convention in Boston ["Colored 'Vets,'" *Boston Globe*, 2 Aug 1887, 8]; he was in the Shaw Guards vet group and decorated Sumner's grave and gave address at EN Hallowell's grave in the group's annual Mem day wreath laying ["Shaw Guard Veterans," *Boston Globe*, 6 Jun 1886, 7; "Shaw Veteran Association," *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1886, 5] and he spoke at the RG Shaw Vet Assn decoration of Attucks grave and those of Shaw, EN Hallowell, Sumner, GL Ruffin and Zachariah Taylor in 1894 ["Departed Heroes," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1894, 10]; he was vice commander and then commander of the Robert A Bell Post #134 GAR in 1890s and among those who are guests at the Shaw Vets Association celebration of Shaw 12 Oct 1896 ["In Memory of Col Shaw," *Globe*, 13 October 1896, 5]; "Men Chosen to Carry Flags," *Boston Globe*, 20 April 1897, 2, notes that Burrill Smith "and others of the rank and file of the 54th Massachusetts volunteers called meeting at which 11 survivors met at 15 Court St "to make arrangements for unveiling the Robert Gould Shaw monument on May 31. It was noted that the Shaw memorial general committee be asked to furnish carriages for the blind and disabled members of the regiment. It was noted that Sergt. William H. Carney of New Bedford and comrade Richard Scisco [sic] of Boston be the choice of the meeting to carry the flags in the provisions battalion, which is to be commanded by Col N. P. Hallowell"; "In Memory of Col Shaw: Survivors of Colored War Regiments Form an Organization," *Boston Globe*, 12 Oct 1897, 2: to make 60th anniversary of birth of RGS, "about 30 of the survivors of the 54th and 55th regiments infantry, and the 5th cavalry, Massachusetts colored volunteers," met night before at the GUOOF build on N Russell St, where hung an "old souvenir poster, in a large oak frame, the first of the kind issued during the war calling colored men in all the free states to come to Massachusetts to enlist at Readville" and Smith was elected chair and then president of the new vets' organization; "Reunion of Colored Vets," *Globe*, 15 August 1904, 4: notes that reunion of 54th, 55th and 5th was to be held at English High and later in the day at the Shaw Memorial and notes that Burrill Smith was the first man of color to enlist, on 12 Feb 1863

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note: 1880c shows his wife as Alice and daughter as Harriet 13, and also in hh was stepmother Caroline S Smith ae 39 seamstress and half-brother Chas S Smith 17 porter. He was a pension agent at time of death, of TB he'd had for 6 months, and was 54 years old; his father is shown here as b Norfolk VA and mother as Charlotte Frances b Boston

note: "From Many States," *Boston Globe*, 1 Jun 1897, 6, notes that Burrill Smith and 3 other men of color were officers of the sections of "colored men" in the unveiling parade that followed the officers, who were in one platoon

note: "Burrill Smith," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 19 Mar 1900, 8, notes that he died 16 March ae 54 and was among the first to enlist at Boston and "was chosen by Col. R. G. Shaw as his orderly," was past commander of Bell Post 134 and had served on GAR MA staff; "Veterans at His Bier," *Boston Herald*, 19 Mar 1900, 5: his funeral was at St Paul's Baptist Church at Tremont and Camden Streets and was attended by members of the Robert G Shaw Veterans Assn, the Ladies Relief Corps of same and Ladies' Auxiliary of same, and Post 134 of GAR; Smith was a founder of both Shaw and GAR *Post*, obit states, and he was to be buried in army and navy lot at Mt Hope

note: Greene 239 states he died of pulmonary TB and lived at the time at 36 Newcomb St, Roxbury; at death he was listed as pension agent

Smith, Charles A
DOB: 1844
POB: Montrose PA
father: Wm b 1817 MD
mother: Betsey b 1825 TN
spouse: 1) Sarah J b 1843 NY 2) Frances R b 1851 NY
DOM: 1) ? 2) 1883
DOD: bef 11 Nov 1924
POD: Auburn NY
bur: Fort Hill, Auburn

cen: 1850 Montrose PA/ae 6 in hh parents, sister
1860 Montrose/ae 15 lab in hh pars, 5 sibs
1870 Montrose/lab \$300 real b PA w/ wife, son Wm T
1880 Elmira NY/minister w/ wife, son Wm B, niece
1900 Auburn NY/minister w/ wife
1905 Auburn NY/minister w/ wife
1910 Auburn NY/own income rents w/ wife
1920 Auburn NY/clergyman w/ wife

dir: 1892 Oneida NY/pastor Zion AME church h 8 Fitch

serv: private Co C 54th

children: William B b 1868 PA

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note: laborer at time of enlistment; 1870 he is enumerated 3 hhs above parents' hh; Emilio states he was living in Oneida NY at time he published his regimental history; grave marker gives dates as 1845-1924; 1910 his wife runs a home bakery in Auburn

note: 1904 he makes remarks at Boston reunion of 54th, 55th, and 5th and is identified incorrectly as from Auburn NH ["Colored Vets of Bay State," *Boston Herald*, 18 August 1904, 3]

note: "Harriet Tubman Needs Federation Money," *New York Age*, 8 Feb 1912, 1: dispute over "practicability of giving \$25 monthly to Harriet Tubman, who is an inmate of the Tubman House at Auburn, N.Y." After investigation was determined that she received \$20 a month in pension from the government, and notes that Rev Charles A Smith was chaplain of the Tubman Home and a vet of the 54th; "Auburn, N.Y.," *New York Age*, 6 May 1922, 3: notes that Smith gave an address at the 100th anniversary of the birth of US Grant at Zion Church 27 April and notes Smith a member of the "famous 54th Massachusetts Infantry"; he was pastor of Tubman's church per Kate Clifford Larson e-mail

note: image taken with medal in civilian clothes ca 1880 [MHS]; he attended and had pic taken with other 54th survivors at 1913 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 19 July 1913]

Stackhouse, John

DOB: 1833 milrec, 1820 drec

POB: Nashville TN milrec, drec, FL c65

father: Julius drec, John W mrec

mother: Charlotte Goodwin drec

spouse: Mary E C 60c, Caroline Morris Jeffers mrec b 1836 Eng

DOM: 1 Oct 1863

POM: Lynn

DOD: 22 Apr 1899

POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea

bur: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea

cen: 1865 Boston/lab USA w/ wife

serv: priv Co F 54th

note: laborer at enlistment 20 Dec 1863 at Lynn, from draft rendezvous; joined company at Morris Island 21 Jan 1864, mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston, no mention of wound anywhere in milrec

note: NL Lynn dir 1894

note: admitted 17 July 1895 to disabled vets home in Togus, Kennebec ME and discharged at his request 26 Sept 1895, was then married and living in Lynn, laborer, and had sabre wound in left hand from 20 Feb 1864 at Olustee(?) FL; admitted to Chelsea home 30 Oct 1898

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Stevens, George

DOB: 1845 Greene, 1850 c80, May 1848 Camden Co NC mrec, gr, 1900c

POB: Shiloh NH Greene, Chilo NC drec

father: Joseph

mother: Martha b 1828 NC d 7 Feb 1896 Beverly

spouse: Susan F Cox b 1859 Kingston NC d 1929

DOM: 28 July 1877

POM: Beverly

DOD: 24 Mar 1906

POD: Beverly

bur: Central Cem, Beverly

cen: 1880 Beverly/hostler in hh w/ wife, dau Harriet
1900 Beverly/w/ wife, son Wm H

dir: 1877 Beverly/hostler bds Martha Stevens h rear School nr Wellman
1884 Beverly/hostler h Back St
1904 Beverly /hostler 26 Fayette h 6 River

serv: priv Co H 55th

children: Harriet J 1878, Wm Henry 1879–1940, George (Fletcher C c00) 1886, Jessie F 1888, Ella M (m Stowe) 1892–1958, Edith R 1896

note: lab when he enlisted 22 July 1864 at Beverly, signed with mark, and his mother Patsy signed consent in case of minor with her mark; 1890 vet sched shows he served from 22 July 1864 to 29 Aug 1865

note: 1880d his mother Martha is a cook living with son Wm H; 1904 dir in his hh 6 River are adult children Harriet J an asst Salem Normal School, son Wm H helper 77 Cabot, Fletcher hostler

note: drec for both him and mother states “formerly a slave,” pobs of parents “unknown,” and occup hostler; then living at 6 River St, Beverly, and married; no obit for him in online MA papers

***Swails, Stephen Atkins**

DOB: 23 Feb 1832

POB: Columbia PA

father: Peter

mother: Joanna Atkins

spouse: 1) Sarah Thompson 2) Susan Arpinal or Aspinall b Charleston SC

DOM: 2) 8 April 1866

DOD: 17 May 1900

POD: Kingstree SC

bur: Charleston SC

cen: 1860 Cooperstown NY/waiter b PA in hotel
1865 Elmira NY/military w/ wife, 2 children bdg in hh Jesse Swails (brother)
1900 King SC/widow w/ son Florian and family

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dir: 1861 Elmira NY/NL
1863 Elmira/boatman h 25 Jay (mother's hh)
1866 Elmira/NL

rank: adjutant and first lt, 54th

children: Stephen Jr, Irene, Stephen Jr [2], Florine

note: 1866d his mother is at 25 Jay and a Jesse Swails (col'd) lab at 12 Jay; only Jesse listed in 1869 and 1871 Elmira dirs

note: 1860c Elmira shows his parents Peter ae 60 boatman \$600/600 b MD and Joanna ae 48 MD in hh with son Jesse 23 waiter b PA; 1865 Stephen shown as 33? b PA with wife Sarah 29 b Otsego Co NY and children Stephen A 1 yr 10 mo b Otsego Co and Susan? 3 mo b Chemung Co. in hh of his brother Jesse ae 31 and his wife ae 27 and their children Wm Swailes ae 10 b Steuben Co and Adella? Swails ae 7 b Steuben; Jesse registered for draft 1863 ae 27 waiter b PA res Corning; Jesse a porter living at 14 Pratt 1871, waiter Frasier House 1876, steward Frasier House 1878 (when Adelia is a domestic and Johanna widow of Peter is listed as well) [Jessie listed in Binghamton 1864d]; mother Joanna was a washerwoman in Elmira 1880c and still alive in 1892 by state census ae 80 living in Elmira and 610 Jay St 1893 & 1894d Elmira (she is listed in Elmira dirs from 1863 through at least 1894; she died 25 Jan 1899, and obit on findagrave states that she died at ae 87, was widow of Peter Swales [*sic*] and was born in VA; lived in Elmira since 1855 and survived by 4 children—SA Swalls, in gov position in DC; Mrs JW Jones and Mrs MC Lush of Elmira, and Mrs WH Mendell of Buffalo; husband Peter d 29 May 1862

note: lived for some time and worked as a boatman in Elmira NY and was among the first to enlist in 54th, on 8 April 1863; made first sergeant of Co F 23 April 1863 and after Wagner appointed acting sgt-major of 54th 12 Nov 1863; promoted to 2d lt 26 Mar 1864 though application to muster as such refused by War Dept and finally mused 17 Jan 1865; first lieutenant 28 April 1865

note: served at Wagner, Olustee (wounded in right temple and face slightly disfigured), Camden (wounded 11 Apr 1865), Honey Hill, Boykin's Mill; his family said to have been reduced to poverty and sent to poorhouse while he was in service, but Chemung County HS has no poorhouse records; commissioned 2d lt 11 Mar 1864, first lt 28 April 1865, discharged 20 Aug 1865; was state senator in SC 10 years and pres of senate for six years; attended Republican National Convention 1868, 1872, 1876 and member Electoral College; edited *Williamsburg Republican* newspaper in Kingstree SC and mayor there 1868–79; after Reconstruction he was forced out of politics, and FW Maurice, editor of *Kingstree Star*, warned him not to come back to town and took his seat in state senate; after a white mob tried to kill him (Wikipedia) he resigned and got a job in DC with US PO and Treasury Dept; member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887 and then living in SC; living in DC 1897

note: was named among 5 men of color to serve NP Hallowell as staff at unveiling parade

note: in 1900 his widow Susan A b 1840 SC living with son Florian G b 1869 wheelwright and fam in Kingstree, SC (cen enum 8 June) [Florian had wife Zenobia, dau Marguerite 1898, sibs Marie J 1874 and Stephen A 1879]

note: his Wikipedia entry states he was first black soldier to be promoted to commissioned rank “as evidenced by the US War Department’s initial refusal of that promotion due to his African descent”; at beginning of Civil War lived and worked as waiter in Cooperstown NY and had

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common-law wife Sarah Thompson and several children; after war settled in SC and then DC; after war worked as Freedmen's Bureau agent

note: his address was 6th Aud. office, Treasury Dept, DC in 1885, by "Address of Former Officers of 54th Mass. Vols," dated in pen Nov 12 '85, in Civil War Records, reel 14, MHS

note: Diane Janowski, "Elmira Man in 'Glory' Unit," *Star-Gazette* (Elmira NY), 15 Jan 2017, AE notes that Swails family lived at 610 Jay St and were free from MD; father Peter and sons Geo and Stephen were boatmen on the Chemung Canal; mother was Johanna, and oldest daughter Rachel married John W. Jones (the fugitive assistant, who kept names of 800 he helped); says he was shown in Elmira dirs from 1856 to 1863, and notes his son Stephen A, born "before the war," lived in Elmira and was a hotel keeper until he moved to Olean in 1887; Stephen Sr married in SC and had 3 other children

note: in 54th MA Reg photographs, MHS; marker in front of his house in Kingstree, Wmsburg Co SC installed in 1998; for more on him see Berlin, *Freedom*, 342-45; Redkey, "Brave Black Volunteers," in Blatt et al., eds., *Hope and Glory*, 27; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment*; and Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 89-90; and "Family Starving While He Fought," *Boston Globe*, 29 May 1897, 12, and 30 May 1897, 9.

Thompson, Freeman

DOB: 1827 milrec, 1819 drec

POB: W Springfield milrec, Agawam drec

father: Joseph?

mother: Sarah T?

spouse: 1) Mary Adaline Jackson 1839-67 3) Josephine Jones b 1839 Lee

DOM: 1) 6 Sept 1855 3) 25 Feb 1869

POM: 1) Middlefield 3) Becket

DOD: 28 Feb 1898

POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea

bur: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea

cen: 1860 Middlefield/farm lab \$75 personal w/ wife, son
1870 Blandford/farm lab w/ Josephine Jones ae 22

serv: priv Co I 54th

children: Lysander Alexander 1859-1906, Henrietta 1861

note: married ae 34 when he registered for draft June 1863; farmer when he enlisted 15 Dec 1863 at Hinsdale MA, joined camp 2 Jan 1864; mustered out at Charleston 20 Aug 1865 farmer b W Springfield at m3

note: nothing known of second marriage; may have married a fourth time, but shown as 2d, 26 Oct 1881 to Mary Noe ae 38 b Canada res Springfield, m at Springfield; he's shown as 52, so dob 1829 and pars shown as George and Sarah

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note: living in Westfield when admitted to Chelsea home 20 Jan 1898; his drec has his parents as Alfred and Lucinda Rathbone and b Springfield

Townsend, James Matthew
DOB: 18 Aug 1843 drec, 18 Aug 1841 websites
POB: Gallipolis OH
father: Wm b VA
mother: Mary Ann Woodson b VA
spouse: Cornelia A Settle 1843–1923
DOM: Dec 1871
DOD: 17 June 1913
POD: Richmond IN
bur: Earlham Cem, Richmond IN

serv: corp Co I 54th

children: Grace E (m Fowler) 1889–1918, another daughter

note: Greenough, *Tell It with Pride*, 13, quoted in Coddington: farmer when he enlisted 29 Apr 1863 at Readville; he was a private in Co I who had photo taken in MA with his gun and stated that he was convinced “that the war would result in the emancipation of his race”; discharged 20 Aug 1865 at Mt Pleasant SC

note: attended school in Oxford OH and began preaching in ME church early in life; after the war went to Oberlin College for two years, was principal of black schools in Evansville IN 2 years, ordained deacon 1871; pastorates in Terre Haute, Indianapolis, and Richmond; 1876 elected asst sec AME National Conference and 1878 named mission secretary of same (which involved European travel), 1881 delegate to ecumenical conference in London; moved to Richmond and in 1885 became first black representative elected to IN General Assembly and introduced law to ban all racial distinction in state law (which did not pass) but did manage to pass a bill banning discrimination in public places; served only one term; 1883 awarded a doctor of divinity degree from Wilberforce University, where he was also a trustee; 1889 apptd by Pres B Harrison to be recorded at General Land Office in DC and served until 1892; returned to Richmond and was pastor of its Bethel AME church for 2 years; 1893 pastor at Quinn Chapel in Chicago; 1901 pastor at Bethel AME in Indianapolis; “outspoken opponent of lynching” [Greenough, *Tell It with Pride*, 19]; clergyman on drec; photo of him in clerical garb on <http://www.mrlinfo.org/history/biography/townsendj.htm>

note: see “Prominent Colored Minister is Dead,” *Richmond Palladium*, 18 June 1913, 1

image: Greg French has a photograph of him, reproduced in *Tell It with Pride*

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Tuthill, Augustus

DOB: 30 July 1835 drec

POB: Hingham drec

father: John T mrec1, George mrec 2

mother: Harriet N Davis b Braintree

spouse: 1) Mary E P Lewis b 1837 Dracut 2) Elizabeth A Lew b 1846 Dracut 3) Sarah

DOM: 1) 23 Sept 1858 2) 1 May 1866

POM: 1 & 2) Lowell

DOD: 31 May 1911

POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea

bur: Forest Dale, Malden

cen: 1860 Lowell/barber \$150 personal w/ wife in hh black barber Theo W Lewis
1865 Lowell/army in hh Theo W Lewis
1870 Charlestown/barber w/ wife Elizabeth , dau
1880 Cambridge/barber w/ wife Sarah, bro in law Albert Baker
1910 Boston/own income 15 Blossom Ct

dir: 1887 Cambridge/hairdresser 87 Mt Auburn rms do
1890 Boston/hairdresser

serv: priv Co M 5th MA Cav

children: Fred A 1868, Theresa A b 1870

note: barber at time he enlisted 31 Aug 1864 at Concord; joined company 27 Oct 1864; mustered out City Point VA 14 May 185

note: he is of Waltham at m2 1866; "readmitted" to Chelsea home 26 May 1911 and of Boston at that time; barber on drec, widowed, was there 5 days before death and "came from Tewksbury"

Vinson, Joseph

DOB: 1820 milrec

POB: Williamstown milrec

father: Jake mrec

mother: Sally or Polly Williams mrec

spouse: 3) Sarah A Burnett Gardner b 1816 Staten Island

POM: 3) 15 Dec 1863

DOM 3) Williamstown

DOD: 1 Feb 1900

POD: Williamstown

cen: 1860 Petersburg NY/farm lab w/ wife
1870 Chelsea/lab \$500 personal w/ wife
1880 Stephentown NY/farmer in hh mar dau Caroline Stephenson

serv: priv Co I 54th

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note: sometimes shown as Vincent; 1860c wife is Elizabeth b 1833 NY and he's living in same town as abolitionist Gerrit Smith

note: farmer at enlistment 14 Dec 1863 in "Barrington VT" (married the next day) and mustered in at Brattleboro 24 Dec 1863; joined the Co 22 April 1864 at Jacksonville from the unattached recruits; transferred to Co I March or April 1864; disch 15 Sept 1865 at NYC, wounded at Honey Hill (not in milrec, though there is a "casualty sheet" for him); sick in hospital at Charleston July 1865; mustered out at NYC 15 Sept 186

Walker, Emanuel E
DOB: 1840, Mar 1840 c00
POB: Petersburg VA

cen: 1880 Boston/servant in hh naval apothecary John Cowan [shown as white]
1900 Cambridge/janitor at 39 Elm, rents, alone in hh
1920 Boston/janitor office building rents

dir: 1885 Boston/janitor 44 Hanover h 164 Cambridge
1890 Boston/janitor 38 & 40 Hanover rms 164 Cambridge
1904 Boston/janitor 44 Hanover h 16 Dartmouth place
1911 Boston/h 9 Dartmouth place

serv: Navy

note: he served on the *Cimarron* 1 April 1863–30 June 1864 and then on *Sangamon* 1 Oct 1864–1 July 1865 [by civil war soldiers and sailors database]

note: "Now Have Some Colors," *Boston Globe*, 19 Apr 1894, 3: Emanuel Walker, member of Peter Salem Garrison 70 RANU contributed a Union Jack to garrison and Geo von L Meyer contributed American flag; in 1896 he was also in Bell Post; "Battle of Fort Wagner," *Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1896, 8: noted that 33d anniversary observed by Shaw Vet Assn with a field day in Hyde Park where everyone could see Camp Meigs; Emanuel Walker was on committee of arrangements with 8 others

note: "New Commander," *Boston Globe*, 8 Apr 1906, 13: notes that at annual meeting of RG Shaw Vet Assn Emanuel Walker, formerly of Navy, was named commander; he said, "I never had but two employers in my life; one was the U.S. government and the other was the late Robert Codman, for whose estate I am still working—and I am 69 years old." Says Walker is "a little, almost tiny, colored man"; he was born enslaved on estate of Col Cox of Cox Bridge VA, ran away just before civil war to NYC but was afraid of kidnappers; "a requisition was sent ashore from the Minnesota for servants," and Walker volunteered; when he was discharged from Navy at end of war he re-enlisted and went all over the world; he ended up as a medical steward in Charlestown Navy Yard, where he was appointed by Sec of Navy for 6 years; 27 years ago he took job for Codman and had charged of the Codman building at 44 Hanover St and still works there; lived in South End, never married, and supported his mother, who died at age 73

note: "Boston to Honor Its Thousands of Heroic Dead," *Boston Sunday Herald*, 30 May 1915, 1: Emanuel Walker to command the Shaw Vet Assn for Memorial Day events; "Honor Memory of Col Robert Gould Shaw," *Boston Globe*, 19 Jul 1916: ; Commander Emanuel E. Walker of RG Shaw Vets'

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Assn not in the 54th but was in the Navy and was present, born 81 years ago not far from Richmond VA; photographed with others at Shaw Mem; he is commander of Shaw Veterans Association in 1920 [*Boston Herald*, 30 May 1920, 39]; not listed in 1918 or 1925 Boston dir and no drec or obit for him yet found

Waterman, Ira

DOB: 1844 Greene, Mar 1845

POB: Salisbury CT

father: Henry

spouse: Anne Marie Anthony b 1848 Sheffield d 1908

DOD: 3 Sept 1941

POD: Springfield MA

bur: Oak Grove, Springfield

cen: 1850 Sheffield/in hh Saml and Lucy Porter, Af Am
1860 Sheffield/in hh white farmer Henry Woolfe
1870 Sheffield/works at farming w/ wife, son John
1880 Litchfield CT/ lab, hh of 11
1910 Hartford CT/shop steam fitter w/ housekeeper Amelia GL Peters
1930 Springfield/steamfitter widowed w/ dau-in-law Bessie
1940 Springfield/lodger ae 96 in hh David E Kellum and wife

dir: 1922 Springfield/janitor h 120 Bridge
1923 Springfield/lab h 30 Emery
1929 Springfield/h 178 Sharon
1933 Springfield/h 178 Sharon

serv: priv Co I 54th

children: (first 3 b Sheffield) George 1868–70, John 1869–1924, Eugene F 1870–1932, Frederick 1872, Mary L 1874, Alison G/Albert 1875, Nellie b 1878 New Hartford CT d 1902 Springfield, Harry 1877–1964, Frank 1879, Gertie 1880

note: he was a minor over the age of 14 and living in Sheffield when a guardian appointed for him in 5 Jan 1864

note: before war lived in South Gardner MA; farmer when he enlisted at Sheffield MA 12 Dec 1863; disch 20 Aug 1865

note: “Civil War Vet Held as Probation Violator,” *Springfield Republican*, 26 Apr 1938, 3: “Ira Waterman, 94-year-old Civil War veteran, shattered his own all-time record of being the oldest prisoner to occupy a cell at police headquarters, when he again yesterday occupied another cell adjacent to the one he spent a night in last January”; arrested for violating probation after parents of girls living near his Essex St home complained; he was under 6-mo suspended sentence for “lewdness involving small girls” in January but refused to go to a soldiers’ home, so arrangements made for him to live with a family in Hartford in exchange for suspended sentence; he told police he gets a \$110 monthly pension and must now explain to judge why he did not stay in Hartford

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note: "Ira Waterman Dies, Civil War Veteran," *Boston Globe*, 1 Sept 1941, 26: Springfield dateline; he was 97 and one of Springfield's few Civil War vets, died at home; he was working on farm in Sheffield when he enlisted at ae 19 and once saw Lincoln at an NYC war rally; served 18 months; survived by sons Harry B of Springfield, Frank of Keene NH, William of Springfield, and Ira Jr of Chicago. "Ira Waterman Dies at His Home," *Springfield Republican*, 1 Sept 1941, 2, with pic of him as old man; he lived on 10th St in Springfield and had lived in Springfield for 21 years; not wounded in battle during war, he was shot accidentally in Charleston while packing muskets on a rail car; his death left only one Civil War vet still alive in Springfield; worked in city as a paperhanger

note: 1922d Springfield son Alison G, chef, son Wm lab both at father's house; dau-in-law Bessie is hotel cook 1930c and wife of son Allison G Waterman, who lives at father's home 178 Sharon 1929; son Alison G moved to Hartford Ct 1933 after wife Bessie d Sept 1933

Webber, Amos

DOB: 25 Apr 1826

POB: Attleborough, Bucks County PA Greene, Philadelphia drec

father: Samuel Webber

mother: Fannie Johnson

spouse: Lizzie Sterling Douglass b 1830-31 NJ or Philadelphia d 14 Sept 1904

DOM: 24 Mar 1852

POM: Philadelphia

DOD: 24 Mar 1904 drec

POD: Worcester drec

bur: Hope Cem, Worcester

cen: 1860 Philadelphia/porter \$400 real w/ wife
1865 Worcester/machinist w/ wife Elizabeth
1880 Worcester/messenger w/ wife

dir: 1862 Worcester/at Grove mill bds 7 Liberty
1866 Worcester/in the army h 60 ½ Union
1883 Worcester/messenger 94 Grove h 25 Liberty
1897 Worcester/messenger 94 Grove h 25 Liberty
1901 Worcester/h 28 Liberty

serv: "2M Sgt" Co D, 5th MA Cav

children: Harry J b Jan 1853-58

note: parents both free and born in Philadelphia; worked as servant and handyman in Philadelphia hh of merchant and investor Charles S Wurts; wife born Burlington Co NJ 1829 and migrated to Philadelphia in late teens and by 1853 working for wallpaper mfr Hart, Montgomery & Co by 1853; began keeping his "Thermometer Book" on 8 Dec 1854, which functioned as a diary (at Baker Library, Harvard Bus School; not kept at all in 1860s); on 1 Oct 1859 he left for Canada and arrived there ten days later but returned five days before John Brown's raid 16 Oct 1859, a full-page account of which he included in his journals; some time after Oct 1860 moved to Worcester and lived there 44 years; was a factory janitor and messenger and coachman for factory owners; member of Worcester GAR Post 10; 1886 was marshall of MA Colored Vets Assn branch local

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parade; was on the exec comm appointed at Worcester 1886 to plan a national reunion of colored veterans for 1887

note: he enlisted after 12 Mar 1863 meeting to recruit for 54th in Worcester, but he left Readville before the regiment went south for unknown reason and was never charged with desertion [Salvatore 119]; enlisted in Fifth MA Cavalry 31 Dec 1863 [Salvatore 121]; came back to Worcester in November 1865 and returned to work at Washburn and Moen (wire works)

note: he had attended the Philadelphia arraignment of 5 black porters involved in the Jane Johnson rescue in 1855, all of whom were later cleared at trial, and Webber recorded Passamore Williamson's release from jail after 100 days in his journals; see Nick Salvatore, *We All Got History: The Memory Books of Amos Webber* (U Illinois Press, 2006), 75-76

note: retired, married, and living at 28 Liberty St at death; his findagrave rec says he worked in 1862 (his first Worcester dir listing) at the Grove Mill, being the Washburn & Moen wire mill on Grove St and lived at 7 Liberty St

Webster, John M
DOB: 1840, 1846 milrec
POB: Madison NJ
father: Wm O
mother Lucy A
spouse: 2) Jane L Newton (Jennie L) b 1856 Nova Scotia
DOM: 2) 31 Oct 1872
POM: 2) Boston
DOD: 16 Aug 1921
POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea
bur: Woodlawn, Everett (Navy marker)

cen: 1880 Cambridge/waiter w/ wife, 4 children
1920 Revere/janitor w/ wife

dir: 1889 Boston/waiter Young's Hotel h at Cambridge
1902 Revere/janitor GAR Hall h 148 Waverly
1906 Revere/janitor GAR Hall rms do
1911 Revere/janitor GAR Mem Hall 552 Beach h do
1919 Revere/janitor 552 Beach rms do

serv: Navy *USS Constitution* 31 Dec 1865-1 May 1866

children: Lydia 1873 RI, David 1874 RI, Lucy 1876 RI, Charles 1877 MA

note: waiter when he enlisted at Newport RI 23 Oct 1864, ae 18; living in Newport RI and working as waiter at time of second marriage; identity of first wife unknown

note: took part in and was photographed with 54th vets at 50th anniversary of Ft Wagner siege 18 July 1913 in Boston [*Boston Globe*, 9 July 1913]

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note: "Revere," *Boston Globe*, 18 Aug 1921, 7: John M. Webster, ae 80, "the negro janitor at the Grand Army Hall and familiarly known as 'Daniel' Webster," died yesterday at Soldiers' Home in Chelsea, where he'd been for one week; he served in Navy during Civil War; leaves his wife Jennie, who lives in Boston

note: possibly same buy, but can't document it: "War Memories Revived," *Boston Herald*, 1 June 1897, 7, notes of FH meeting after Shaw unveiling, "There were two individuals present at the banquet who were not in the war, two to whom the story is a new one. They were the diminutive colored twins of Comrade Webster of post 134 of Boston. This post is composed of naval veterans, of which the father of the boys is a member," and the boys dressed as seamen

note: wife is a servant in home of Elizabeth Daley in Revere in 1900 and son Charles a servant in home of Elsie Morris in Winthrop same year, dau Lucy servant in home of physician J Stewart Morris in Revere

***Welch, Frank Mark**

DOB: 22 Oct 1841, Oct 1842 00c

POB: Philadelphia

spouse: 1) Kate b 1846 NY 2) Susan b 1842 CT 3) Mrs Hattie Tinney d 1936

DOM: 3) 14 Oct 1897

POM: 3) DC

DOD: 10 Feb 1907

POD: DC

bur: Arlington Nat Cem

cen: 1870 New Haven CT/barber w/ wife, bdg Af Am barber
1880 Bridgeport CT/letter carrier w/ wife, dau Maderia, son Frank
1900 DC/day lab rents w/ wife, 2 stepchildren, 2 bdrs, 2 lodgers

rank: 1st lieut Co F 54th

note: barber from W Meriden CT when he enlisted 12 May 1863; promoted to sergeant, first sergeant, 2d lieut 28 April 1865 mustered 3 June, first lieut 20 June 1865 mustered 22 July; discharged 20 Aug 1865; wounded at Wagner; later served as 2d lieut 14th US Heavy Artillery

note: member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887 and then living in Bridgeport CT; a delegate of RG Shaw Commandery No 4 Union Vets Union to national encampment at Lakeside OH 19 Aug 1890 [*Evening Star* [DC], 7 Aug 1890, 5] and elected assistant chaplain general of Commandery Nov 1890; living in DC when Emilio's regimental history published 1894; 3d marriage listed under "colored" marriage licenses *Evening Star*, 14 Oct 1897, 7

note: 1891 worked in record and pension division, office of Supt State War and Navy Dept Bldg in DC; 1893-1903 he was working in the patent office bureau of education in DC at \$480 a year

note: Findagrave has 3 photos of him all in uniform but one clearly as an older man

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note: he is listed among members of the 54th at FH gathering after the unveiling [“War Memories Revived,” *Boston Herald*, 1 Jun 1897, 7]

note: death noted in *Evening Star*, 11 Feb 1907, 5 and notes he died at home after two weeks’ illness, and his wife published a remembrance of him in same 10 Feb 1908, 7, which notes he was first Lt in MA 54th

*Wilkins, James H

DOB: 1842, 29 Aug 1847 drec

POB: Tarboro NC

DOD: 18 Mar 1900

POD: New Haven CT

bur: Evergreen Cem, New Haven

dir: 1869 New Haven CT/painter rms 58 Webster
1873 New Haven/painter h 61 Easton
1883 New Haven/office 106 Church 5 55 Dixwell
1891 New Haven/bus dir under brokers
1894 New Haven/bus dir under realtors
1897 New Haven/bus dir under brokers
1898 New Haven/broker 106 Church, 5 55 Dixwell ave

serv: serg Co D 54th

note: painter when he enlisted 28 Mar 1863 at Readville, “promoted to be Corp Mar 30/63 (elsewhere “by order of Col Shaw”) to fill original vacancy—promoted Sgt Oct 24/64; musteed out at Charleston 20 Aug 1865

note: he was captain of the Wooster Guard of New Haven in 1870, when it marched at Hartford [“15th Amendment Celebration,” *Hartford Courant*, 5 Aug 1870, 2]; was Lt colonel in the Union Veterans Union 1880 [*Morning Journal-Courier* (New Haven), 11 Oct 1880, 4]; in 1884 the James H Wilkins Escort was changed to the James H Wilkins Old Guard, and Wilkins elected an honorary member [“The JH Wilkins Escort,” *Morning Journal-Courier*, 11 Oct 1884, 2]

note: he was a commission and real est broker in New Haven and ran small display ads in numerous directories 1890s

note: “Capt. James H. Wilkins Dead,” *Boston Globe*, 19 Mar 1900, 12: Capt James H Wilkins, well known through CT, died at Grace Hospital in New Haven CT ae 57, leaves wife and daughter, had cancer; native of NC and says here he was in the 51st [*sic*] MA volunteers is claimed to have been the first colored man to join a New England Regiment and at close of war was a color bearer; he also organized “the first colored military company in New England, which was known as the Wilkins guard” and was located in New Haven; he was a messenger and doorkeeper for past few sessions of Genl Assmby and apptd watchman at county jail a few months before. Also in *Hartford Courant*, 19 Mar 1900, 1, and *Naugatuck Daily News*, 19 Mar 1900

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*Willey, Peter

DOB: ca 1839 obit, 1842 drec, 1844 muster roll
POB: MD obit, Suffolk VA milrec, VA mrec, drec
father: Samuel Lancaster drec
mother: Mary Parker drec
spouse: Maria Byrnes (b London Eng 1848; white)
DOM: 3 July 1869
POM: Boston
DOD: 9 Jan 1898
POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea
bur: Forest Dale, Malden

cen: 1880 Watertown/wks wool pulling shop w/ wife, 2 white bdrs

dir: 1889 Boston/jobber h 6 Belknap Place

serv: priv Co NL 54th

note: laborer ae 31 when he enlisted (signed with mark) at Rutland VT 7 Mar 1865, res Rutland; "the above named recruit is entitled to US bounty" (bounty of \$100 listed as paid above and \$200 due) on muster and descriptive roll; casualty sheet in his file but cause of casualty NL; discharged at New Haven CT 12 May 1865

note: mrec1 shows neither as of color and other shows him as black, and he was living in Watertown at that time; he has a military headstone at Forest Dale in soldiers' home lot (sect 24, grave 374)

note: "One of Col. R. G. Shaw's Men," *Boston Globe*, 10 Jan 1898, 4: Peter Willey died yesterday at soldiers home in Chelsea, born a slave "59 years ago" in MD and at beginning of war ran away into PA; when Andrew issued call for troops he was among first outside MA to respond; came to Boston with "a large number of colored men from southern Pennsylvania" and enlisted March 1863 in the 54th; he took part in every one of the 54th's engagements and was uninjured in all including Wagner; "When the Shaw memorial was unveiled last May he was among those of the colored volunteers who formed the guard of honor" and was a member of the Bell Post; had been at soldiers home "for some years"

note: *Tell It with Pride*, 180, states he was "not present" at Fort Wagner or not yet mustered in before 18 July 1863, which his obit contradicts but his muster rolls do not; a private ae 21 from Suffolk VA, and muster roll for 54th states he was living in Peru VT when he enlisted 7 March 1865 at Rutland VT, was in New Haven CT March and April 1865, discharged by order of War Dept 3 May 1865 on 12 May 1865 at New Haven

Williams, Lewis

DOB: 15 Apr 1845 findagrave
POB: Allegheny Co VA milrec, c10, Mexico drec, OH c70, c80, c00, Cincinnati mrec
father: George
mother: Julia Henry
spouse: Jeanette Pier Barbadoes b 13 Sept 1836 Boston

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DOM: 23 Nov 1868
POM: Milford
DOD: 7 Oct 1914
POD: Soldiers' Home, Chelsea
bur: Woodlawn, Everett

cen: 1870 Boston/barber w/ wife, mother-in-law, sister-in-law
1880 Boston/barber w/ wife, 2 children, bdr [Lewis H]
1900 Boston/waiter & trucking? w/ sons, siser in law
1910 Boston/w/ wife, sister-in-law Rebecca Barbadoes, son Eugene

serv: priv Co F 5th MA Cav

children: Lewis Eugene 1871, James Frederick 1874

note: farmer at enlistment 27 May 1864 at Boston; discharged 31 Oct 1864 at Clarksville TX

note: wife Jenette Pier Barbadoes dau of James G and Rebecca Barbadoes of Boston, and sister Rebecca b 27 Feb 1831; 1880c Rebecca Barbadoes ae 38 dressmaker b MA boarder in his home

note: readmitted to Chelsea Home 6 Nov 1912 from Boston

Williams, Wharton A

DOB: 1839 emilio, op66; 6 Apr 1838 pension, mother's op; 6 Apr 1843 findgrave
POB: NY c50, op66, Ithaca NY Greene, Utica NY mrec, milrec, pension, mother's op
father: Charles H b 1802 DC
mother: Phoebe Hill b 1800 CT
spouse: Henrietta Douglass b ca 1839 Hertford NC
DOM: 6 June 1861 mrec
POM: New Bedford mrec
DOD: 20 Jun 1912
POD: New Bedford
bur: Rural, New Bedford

cen: 1850 Nantucket/in pars' hh with siblings
1860 New Bedford/barber in pars' hh [Wheaton]
1880 Elizabeth NJ/lab in pars' hh w/ wife, 2 children
1890 vet sched New Bedford/served 2 yrs 2 mo gunshot in left hand, at 53 Middle with
vets Wm Downey and John Munroe
1905 Brooklyn NY/coachman w/ wife Emma [Warton]
1910 Togus ME/widowed at Eastern Branch Nat Home of Disabled Vol Soldiers

dir: 1871 New Bedford/coachman h 107 Middle
1899 New Bedford/coachman h 317 Middle

serv: corp, sgt Co C 54th

children: Charles b 1863 MA, Clarence b 1870 MA

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note: Emilio lists him as a teamster from New Bedford (but b Utica NY) in Co C, 54th Regt, enlisted 24 Feb 1863, became sergeant (Gooding calls him a "band sergeant"), wounded in left hand 20 Feb 1864 Olustee, discharged 20 Aug 1865; lived Worcester 1894; Greene has him ae 24, 6'11", teamster, wounded at Olustee 20 Feb 1864 in left hand; Mulderink diss says he lived in NY, NB, NJ, and ME between 1873 and death

note: returns of Co C 54th: "May 1863. Absent. Detached for Band of 54 Regt. Mass. Vol. Inf. / promoted sergt. May 13 1863/ June 1863 On duty in charge of Band / Feb to May 1864 absent sick in Hosp. Beaufort, Wounded in battle of Olustee Fla. Feb 20/64 ("in left hand slightly") (muster-out roll says right hand) / July 1865 Absent on furlong at North since July 2/65"l discharged 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston and owed money

note: New Bedford op v4 12 Sept 1864: "Henrietta Williams c, wife of Wharton, see Nov 20 1861. her age 23. Born in [N. York crossed out] North Carolina to [state?] 1849. Husband in the 54th Regiment. 1 child - 26 Park St. 2 ft wood"; v4 11 Jan 1866: "Henrietta Williams col'd age 26 born in NC came to state 1849 daughter of Harrison Douglass whose settlement was in NB & wife of Wharton A, age 26, born in NY lived here 15 years enlisted in the 54th regt served about 3 years was wounded in the hand has been sick with diarrhea not able to work much 1 child Charles H. age 4. She has 1 brother John H age 13 who lives with her son of Harrison Douglass live 91 Kempton 1/4 ton coal"

note3: New Bedford op for mother, v2 24 Jan 1860: "Phebe Williams c, wife of Charles, who is in California 8 years, sends nothing, Charles & family came here from New York 15 years ago. She is from Connecticut, 2 children at home. Griselda 14, Alice 7. L Elm & 2. 1/4 ton coal. Came here 15 years ago, from New York, lived here about one year, then moved to Nantucket & lived 5 or 6 years, then back to New Bedford"; v3 26 Feb 1861: "Phebe Williams c, age 49, wife of Charles, he went to California 10 years ago, sent nothing in 4 years. his age about 56, born dont know where, came here from Utica N.Y. in 1844 in May. married there. she belongs there. 2 children with her, viz. Warton 22 next April 6th born in Utica. Griselder 15 last Oct 11th born in Utica, & one grand child Alice Denight, child of her daughter Amanda, (deceased) Alice is aged 9 next Oct, born in Utica or Buffalo dont know which. dont know where the father of Alice is, heard that he was dead Amanda in Utica, Loring 33 in Calafornia, he lived in New Bedford 1 year, George 29, in Australia, never lived here. Charlotte 27 in Boston, wife of Frank Hawkins, Hellen 25 in Boston wife of Robt Johnson of Boston married there. 91 Kempton wants food & fuel order on SW McFarlin 1.50 1/4 ton coal. says they moved to New Bedford in May 1844, moved to Nantucket Aug. lived there 6 years then to New Bedford & lived since. Wm Collins, Rear of No 16 Cannon St made inquiry, & am informed that they are both miserable Drunks, keep a Brothel of the worst kind See 23d."

note: 1894 Togus, Kennebec ME disabled volunteers home has record for Warton [*sic*] A Williams but has him in Co D at top of page; b NYS ae 54, occup coachman and living in Jersey City NJ after discharge, widower, enlisted 24 Feb 1863 at New Bedford in Co C, discharged 20 Aug 65, has chronic rheumatism, lumbago and curvature of spine; admitted 26 July 1894 and left 13 Jan 1898 at his request, admitted again 1 May 1898 and remained there through 16 Aug 1910

note: he was a teamer at time of marriage and widowed coachman at time of death, then living 300 Middle St; d of stomach cancer with exhaustion contributing, informant Helen M Munroe of same address

APPENDIX C

*Wolff, James H

DOB: 1842 c10, 1848 drec

POB: Holderness NH drec, Border Spring MS mrec, Mississippi 00c

father: Abraham

mother: Eliza

spouse: Mercy A Birmingham b 1858 Pelham NH

DOM: 21 Jan 1880

POM: Boston

DOD: 3 May 1913 drec

POD: Boston drec

cen: 1900 Boston/lawyer rents w/ wife, 3 children
1910 Boston/lawyer owns w/ fam, 1 lodger

dir: 1878 Boston/lawyer, bds 15 Grove
1880 Boston/clerk Adjutant General's office, h West Medford
1882 Boston/clerk Adjutant General's office, State House
1883 Boston/lawyer 17 Pemberton sq, h 190 Northampton
1895 Boston/Wolfe & Brown 1 Bean h 6 Adams, Allston
1905 Boston/Wolf & Brown attys 1 Beacon h 36 Bayard Allston
1910 Boston/attorney 1 Beacon h 36 Bayard Allston

serv: landsman US Navy

children: all b MA: James Graham 1882, Albert Gooch 1885, Effie S 1892

note: Daniels, In *Freedom's Birthplace*, 455, states that Wolff was born in Holderness in 1847, but see below; educated at Kimball Union Academy and at NH College, then studied law at office DW Gooch and Harvard Law; 1890 vet sched has his term of service as 4 Dec 1864–17 June 1865, res Allston, injury to left hand

note: member of exec comm apptd at Worcester 1886 to plan national reunion of colored veterans for 1887

note: "Duty of the Government," *Colored American*, 25 Nov 1899, 1, a profile of Edward Everett Brown, black Boston atty, states that in or about 1884 he opened a law office in Boston with Wolff, "the present Judge Advocate of the G.A.R. of Mass., and a few years afterward formed the first colored law firm in Massachusetts, the firm being known as Walker, Wolff & Brown. After a number of years of successful practice, Mr. Walker withdrew from the firm, but Messrs. Wolff and Brown still continue as partners." Daniels 217 notes that Wolff was elected head of MA Commandery of the GAR in 1906, whose membership was overwhelmingly white, and in 1910 mayor John F Fitzgerald appointed him to deliver Boston's 4 July oration

note: "G.A.R. Head Buried with Post Honors," *Boston Journal*, 7 May 1913,: his funeral took place yesterday at Francis Washburn Post 92 GAR Hall in Brighton; he was past dept commander of MA GAR; *Springfield Republican*, 11 May 1913, 11, stated he was "the only Negro made commander of the Grand Army of the Republic in a northern department," to which he was voted in 1905–6, and both before and after was judge-advocate to other commanders of MA GAR; the *Worcester Gazette* notes he was mixed African, white, and native American; I find no obit in online MA newspapers

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note: Anthony W. Neal, "James Harris Wolff: Civil War Veteran, Prominent Boston Attorney," *Bay State Banner*, 14 Jan 2015: states he was born 4 Aug 1847 in Border Springs MS, son of Abraham and Eliza Wolff, and raised on a farm in Holderness NH; worked at store in village and clerk at PO and went to Kimball Union Academy in Meriden NH; enlisted 4 Dec 1862 as landsman and served on *USS Minnesota* and *USS Maratanza* and was in the West Gulf and North Atlantic blockading squadrons and there took place in balled at Moble Bay and Fort Fisher NC; discharged 17 Jun 1865 at Portsmouth VA, then went to NH College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (then in Hanover), left after two years and went to Boston to study with Dartmouth grad Daniel Wheelwright Gooch, went to Harvard Law, admitted to Suffolk Bar 26 Jun 1875; taught in Darien GA for a year, then practiced law in Baltimore; 1878 came back to Boston; 1880–82 Gov Long apppted him was clerk at adjutant general's office at State House, but when Democrat BF Butler became governor Jan 1883 he abolished Wolff's position; gave a speech "A Thorough Organization of the Negro Vote as a Factor in Political Victory" at dinner for GL Ruffin at Young's Hotel, given by GW Williams; 1883 opens law office at 17 Pemberton Square; prosecutes test case of discrimination in public accommodations 1885; 1886 he, Edwin Garrison Walker, and Edward Everett Brown est firm of Walker, Wolff & Brown at School Street, said to be the first Af Am law firm in MA, and after Walker leaves Wolff and Brown continue in practice together; 1891 chair of South End Equal Rights Association, pres of Wendell Phillips Club, member Crispus Attucks Club; 1899 becomes judge advocate general of MA GAR; 1901 named to same position for national GAR, 1905 elected by 500–15 vote as commander MA GAR; moved 1903 to 36 Bayard St in Allston/Brighton; he died at MGH 3 May 1913

Wright, John L.

DOB: ca 1815 c, op64, 1824 milrec, greene, 1825 c65, Aug 1822 c00

POB: VA c60, 70, op64, drec, Norfolk VA mrec, Greene, Lancaster PA milrec, MD c80

father: James mrecs

mother: Susan mrecs

spouse: 2) Frances A Wilkins b VA 3) Caroline E Casey Jackson (b Prov RI 1837 d 1925)

DOM: 2) 16 Nov 1859 3) 18 Dec 1879

POM: 2) New Bedford 3) New Bedford

DOD: 13 Oct 1904 drec

POD: New Bedford

bur: Oak Grove, New Bedford

cen: 1860 New Bedford/lab w/ 2d wife and her 7 children

1865 New Bedford/Army

1870 New Bedford/lab \$1k real w/ wife, 4 daus

1880 New Bedford/lab

1900 New Bedford/256 Chancery St

serv: priv Co C 54th

children: (from first m?) Nancy b 1851 VA m Hezekiah Webb; (stepchildren from 2d wife): Mary L 1843 VA, Caroline b 1847 VA, Columbia A 1844 VA, Wm E 1848 or 1854 VA (in Army 1865), Catharine A 1850 VA, Sarah E 1853 VA, Fanny 1854 MA, Susan 1861 MA; 3) Eva b 1880

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prob: left heirs widow Caroline E and daus Nancy (m. Webb), Matilda (m. Swan), Fanny (m. Vanlieu), Eva E; personal estate \$25; real estate 256 Chancery \$900; wife puts up \$122.46 to pay debts and keep real est after debts paid

note: 1860c shown as John R Wright ae 45 VA, wife Frances 40 VA, her children all with Wilkins surname—Mary E 17, Caroline 13, Columbia A 12, Catherine 10, Sarah E 9, Fanny 8, Willie E 6; 1880 hh has John L, 3d wife Caroline E 43 (her 2d m), dau Eva E Wright 7 mo; stepchildren Charlotte A, Wm S, and Albert S Jackson, Charlottes's dau Gracie, Albert's dau Caroline V; 1900 hh has wife Caroline, their dau Eva b 1880 servant, boarder Albert A Jackson 1870 MA shoemaker

note: b 1824 by enlistment record (ae 39), married laborer, enlists Co C 54th 28 Feb 1863 at New Bedford; Sept 1863 detailed to quartermaster dept at Folly Island SC; Jan and Feb 1864 detailed as colonel's orderly; disch 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston, SC; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston; lived at 3 Chancery after war; Mulderink diss states John L. Wright applied 1881 and got pension May 1890, through to his death Dec 1904; widow Caroline E. Wright, who was also the widow of another black Civil War vet; had a hernia in 1881 and said it was due to "forced marches with heavy knapsack, and hard labor in digging trenches & building breast-works," but Greene 300 states that the examining surgeon disagreed with this diagnosis; by 1889 he had lost sight in left eye. He worked as a driller for the city since 1871; first wife Fannie died in July 1878 and in Dec 1879 he married Caroline, his third wife and second legal one; he was then 55 and she was 42, the widow of William S. Jackson, who died in service as member of Fifth MA Cavalry, an all-black unit; Wm Jackson had been born in St. Thomas, BWI, and died in TX during the war, leaving his 28-year-old widow and children; Caroline got \$8 monthly pension until 1879 when she married John Wright; when Wright died Jan 1905, her pension payments resumed

note: Aug 1864 op record for Fanny Wright says she is his wife but that "we have always called her Fanny Wilkins, not knowing that she was married to John Wright," then in 54th reg; when they married 1859 it was 2d m for both; she b VA but parents NL

note: Mulderink diss notes that his wife Caroline deposed in order to get pension application 1905: "My said husband was first married while he lived in the south as a slave to woman named Sarah Thistres [?] before the war. He run away from Slavery before the war, and left his wife in the South. His masters name was Swon, and he went by that name while he was a slave. After he run away from slavery he came north and took the name of John L. Wright. His slave wife came north after the war and was married to a man named Valentine . . . in slavery. She did not die until long after he was married to me." [309 n25]; Nancy Webb identified in mulderink diss as one of former slave children of John L. Wright, "Stethy Swons" in slavery. In deposition for his pension benefits she identified herself as Nancy Webb, wife of Hezekiah Webb; living in NB and was 56 when she deposed that she was a laundress and said, "I am the daughter [of] Stethy Swons and Sarah Wiggins Swons. My father and mother were slaves in Virginia where I was born. I am informed that he run away to the north two or three years before the war broke out. He left my mother and three children in Virginia. He came through Philadelphia, Pa on his way north and then to New Bedford Mass. where he [illeg] made his home. He changed his name to John L. Wright after he came here. He was married to Fanny Wilkins after he came here and he lived with her until she died. . . . After my father run away from Slavery, my mother remained in Va. at Keep Creek Va until after the close of the war. Then she went to Newark N.J." She said she moved to NB in search of father [309 n25]

note: Nancy Webb is shown as Nancy Swan in 1870 cen, in hh Geo and Rebecca Fletcher; she at ae 26 married Hezekiah Webb ae 25, lab, b Portsmouth VA, pars Elijah & Elizabeth; she shows pob as Deep Creek VA and parents as John L Wright and Sarah A

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note: Still, *UGRR*, 85–86 relates case of Stebney Swan, who came with 4 others from Portsmouth, VA, ae 34 at the time (but Still gives no date), owned by oysterman Joseph Carter; escaped with others in Capt. Robert Lee's skiff; Lee arrested, tried, convicted, sent to Richmond prison for 25 years, and died there just before Union forces took Richmond; this might be same man based on dau's statement that he came through Philadelphia

note: drec shows him as laborer b in VA with (?) after it, informant Caroline F Wright, 256 Chancery st

Young, Edmund

note: identified as one of 3 Af Am Civil War vets who marched to Shaw Memorial 1928, but nothing definitive known about him

Young, Hamilton

DOB: 1834, Aug 1832 c00

POB: Montrose PA Greene, MD drec, cens

father: Alex Ambrose b MD drec

mother: unknown drec

spouse: Mary b June 1837 PA

DOD: 4 May 1908

POD: Montrose PA

cen: 1860 Bridgewater PA/farm lab in hh wh farmer Henry Searle
1880 Montrose PA/lab & teamster
1900 Montrose/day lab in hh wife, dau, nephew

serv: priv Co C 54th

children: Alexander 1852, James Alford 1858, Aaron 1872, Herbert 1873, Mary Eugenia 1877 PA

note: surname sometimes shown as Youngs; farmer when he enlisted 21 Mar 1863 at Readville, and his milrec gives pob at Montrose PA; he was a cook in regt June 1863 to June 1864; in July 1865 a corporal in the regimental police; stated he was free before 19 April 1861; disch 20 Aug at Charleston

Appendix D

Joshua Bowen Smith

DOB: 1813 c50
POB: Coatesville PA drec, unknown c50, VA c60, DC c65
spouse: Emeline I. Sprague
DOM: 7 March 1850 [*Liberator*]
POM: Burlington VT [*Liberator*]
DOD: 5 Jul 1879
POD: Cambridge MA
bur: Mt Auburn Cem, Cambridge

dir: 1831 Boston/ NL in people of color section
1839 Boston/NL in people of color section
1840 Boston/NL in people of color section
1842 Boston/NL in people of color section but clothing dealer 16 Brattle in bus dir
1845 Boston/clothes 16 Brattle, house Southac
1846 Boston/clothes 16 Brattle, house Southac
1847 Boston/caterer 16 Brattle, house Butolph corner Southac
1855 Boston/caterer 16 Brattle, h 37 Norfolk Cambridgeport
1857 Cambridge/caterer Brattle h rear Norfolk
1859 Cambridge/caterer Brattle h rear 38 Norfolk
1860 Boston/caterer 16 Brattle, h 37 Norfolk Cambridgeport
1863 Boston/caterer 18 Howard, house 37 Norfolk at Cambridgeport
1868 Boston/caterer 13 Bulfinch, house do
1869 Boston/caterer 13 Bulfinch, h 37 Norfolk Cambridgeport
1873 Boston/caterer 10 Bulfinch, house do
1877 Boston/caterer 10 Bulfinch h at Cambridgeport
1878 Boston/caterer 10 Bulfinch, h do
1880c Cambridge/Mrs Joshua B Smith h 37 Norfolk

cen: 1850 Cambridge/in hh with wife, J. Milton Clarke & wife
1855 Cambridge/in hh w/ wife, dau
1860Cambridge/caterer \$6k/1k w/ wife, dau
1865Cambridge/in hh w/ wife
1870Cambridge/in hh w/ wife

children: Ella J b 1852 (no drec in MA)

prob: 1879/11 Sept, his real estate appraised at \$4016.62 and personal estate at \$2150.00; \$24,691 in claims against his estate

note: *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*: little known of Smith's childhood other than that wealthy Quaker sent him to public school (never documented); moved to Boston 1836 and got work as headwaiter at Mt. Washington House; while serving at table of Robert Gould Shaw he met Charles Sumner, who became his lifelong friend. In Oct 1867 Smith became first black member of St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasonry of Massachusetts, later serving as junior warden of Adelphi

APPENDIX D

Lodge of South Boston. He represented Cambridge as senator in state legislature 1873–74 and is said to have been only person of color from MA to attend a national convention to that time

note: Cambridge African American history website states his father was English and his mother “probably of both Native American and African descent;” “Joshua grew up in a Quaker household in Philadelphia, but came to Boston in 1836 and found work serving tables at the Mount Washington House, a South Boston hotel”; also states that Smith worked in the family of “Robert Gould Shaw Sr.,” (but no African American in his hh 1820, 1830, 1840) where he met William Lloyd Garrison, George Luther Stearns, Theodore Parker, and Sumner; he worked with African American caterer H. R. Thacker and then opened his own establishment in 1849

note: His marriage noted in *Liberator*, 29 Mar 1850, 3; he died 5 Jul 1879 in Cambridge ae 65 years 8 mo of stomach cancer, identified as caterer b Coatsville [sic] PA pars unknown; his grave marker at Mt Auburn is an obelisk with his name & dates 1813–1879

note: wife b 1830 NY c50; drec shows her as white, address as 79 Norfolk St, Cambridge, 20 Aug 1903, ae 74 yrs, 11 mo, 28 days (so born 24 Aug 1828) and lists her parents as John Sprague and Lydia D. Beecher, both born NY

note: from Francis Jackson, Boston Vigilance Committee Treasurer’s Accounts: JB Smith reimbursed \$7.50 for fare of fugitive Joseph Russell (or Russett) to Canada 3 May 1851, \$10 for fare of Mrs Calling to Canada 5 Dec 1851, \$20 for fare of John Williams to Canada 1 Nov 1852, \$10 for passages of Joseph Ashe wife to Canada 11 Apr 1855; he gave \$30 to vigilance committee 8 Jun 1854 (few contributions were larger) and was one of apparently only two people of color of 20 who contributed funds for Johnson H Walker’s artificial leg in Jul–Nov 1858, the other being Walker himself

note: moved from Boston to 79 Norfolk Street, Cambridgeport, in 1850 with fugitive John Milton Clarke (1820–1902), who later moved to a house diagonally in back of Smith’s on Florence Place; he and Clarke had lived in 1849 in home of African American clothing dealer John P. Coburn at the corner of Southac and Irving streets in African American West End of Boston; Clarke had escaped from Kentucky 1842 and settled with brother Lewis in Cambridge by fall 1843; Boston publisher David H. Ela issued *Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke* in 1845, and Boston publisher Bela Marsh published *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke* in 1846

note: A Joshua Smith belonging to US ae 47 shown as a cabin passenger from Halifax Nova Scotia to Boston arriving 5 Dec 1859, possibly on business related to fugitives, but Francis Jackson does not include a payment to him at or near this time in vigilance committee treasurer’s accounts

note: Teamoh, *Life and Death of Shaw*, 11, states that Smith was employed in the family of Robert Gould Shaw’s grandfather, which appears to be incorrect; that Smith was “an escaped slave, who afterward turned out to be one of the most remarkable Negroes in Massachusetts, and to whose later efforts, the beautiful Memorial to Col. Shaw and his men of the 54th became possible” and referred to Smith as Robert Gould Shaw’s boyhood “slave-man” (see newspaper notices below for Teamoh’s earlier statement)

note: Charles Sumner Papers, Houghton Library (microfilm at Lamont Library), Harvard University, has correspondence between Sumner and Smith

note: Kathryn Greenthal, “Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial,” in Martin Blatt, Thomas J. Brown, and Donald Yacovone, eds., *Hope and Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the Fifty-*

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Fourth Massachusetts Regiment (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press with Massachusetts Historical Society, 2001), 118, thinks Smith might have suggested Martin Milmore for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on Boston Common, which in bas-relief panel representing The Return from the War shows portrait of both Sumner and Smith

note: "Joshua B. Smith," *Wayside Gleanings for Leisure Moments* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, University Press, printed for private circulation, 1882), 90–91: unattributed, but written the day after his death, states, "Mr. Smith was not only among the best-known of Bostonians, but he had become in some sense a historical character, from the fact that he was accepted by Mr. Sumner, Mr. Garrison, and others of the anti-slavery advocates of New England, as the leading representative of his race in the era that preceded emancipation. Mr. Sumner especially had accorded him a distinction of friendship which long connected his name with that of this philanthropist and statesmen. / "It was plain, from Mr. Smith's appearance, that he was not of unmixed African blood. One account states that he had none, being the son of an Englishman and an Indian women. He always spoke of himself, however, as of the colored race." Then the usual recitation of biographical facts, and notes he went from Shaw household to the employ of "Mr. Thacker, the leading colored caterer of that time" and then began his own business; "He was celebrated for his success in preparing dinners and providing for parties. For years he had no rival in Boston in this line." Adds, "He was fond of recalling how, when Daniel Webster was receiving, at his home at Marshfield, the English minister, Mr. Crampton, the great Expounder sent to him to come down and cater for his illustrious guest. It was just after Webster's famous speech of March 7, 1850, and Mr. Smith, fresh from its perusal, sent a note to Marshfield, saying that he 'could not cater for the man who made the 7th of March speech.' The Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis once gave a grand dinner to some forty gentlemen, mostly from the South. It was shortly after the Elgin banquet on the Common, already alluded to. One of Mr. Curtis's guests said: 'I understand that banquet on the Common was got up by a colored man.' At once one of the Southerners remarked contemptuously, 'No nigger ever had brains enough to superintend that dinner.' Mr. Curtis, who sat at the head of the table as host, made a pretext for sending Caterer Smith out of the room, and as he closed the door behind him said: 'Gentlemen, that banquet was gotten up by that man who just left the room, and whatever any man in this room can do, that man is able to do, so far as natural ability goes.' Adds, "He made a good deal of money, but his liberality of disposition prevented his accumulating the fortune that should have been his," and he lost a lot by never pressing payment of debts and loaning money as well as being liberal to charities "to his own race and to others"; served 3 years in state legislature. "No colored man in Boston has had anything like the same number of friends among the white race, or has won distinction approaching his with the public."

note: David S. Shields, *The Culinaricians: Lives and Careers from the First Age of American Fine Dining* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 143–49: states that Smith "reigned as the first-call caterer in Boston" from 1842 to 1879; "nearly every civic banquet, town anniversary, convention, political rally, and Harvard class day that featured a cold collation, buffet, or sit-down supper employed Smith. A genius at kitchen craft, this African American cook and steward won general recognition as the supreme practitioner of pastry cooking in New England." Cites refusal to serve Webster, his 12th Regiment supply etc, friend of Garrison and Sumner, and adds that "details of his ancestry remain obscure," but he is known to have been a mulatto orphaned in PA at ae 14, and a Quaker widow in Philadelphia took care of him ("he repressed her name in every autobiographical memoir at the request of her daughter whom Smith assisted when she fell into poverty"), educated him; at ae 21 became servant of John C Craig and toured the South with him, then came to MA and was "immediately" hired as headwater at Mt Washington House in South Boston. Francis Shaw, a patron of hotel, hired him to run his household "at a salary that made a waiter's wages seem paltry" (how is this known?); he was steward of that household as RGS

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was growing up; later he left Shaw hh to serve as an assistant to “A. Thacker, Boston’s foremost black caterer in the late 1830s” (*sic*; should be H. L. W. Thacker, who is not listed as a caterer in directories until 1865) and in 1842 he set up business in his own name; “he presided at nearly every great event occurring in the vicinity of Boston during the mid-nineteenth century.” Presents menus from a handful of these, the earliest being March 1849 ball at inauguration of Zachary Taylor (see newspaper notices below); at the bicentennial of Malden in the same year he prepared a banquet for 2000 people, and on 4 July 1850 he served 65 different dishes at Boston’s banquet at Faneuil Hall, which included oysters prepared 5 ways; 6 different roast and game dishes; 11 cold dishes including poultry, chicken and lobster salads, pickled salmon; 17 “confectionary” items including Charlotte Russe, meringues and macaroons, four cakes, fruit both fresh and preserved; and 2 ice creams; he had a staff of at least ten and contracted with waiters for events; his most elaborate menus was for the centennial of the Battle of Lexington. He says after Sumner bequeathed the Tintoretto to Smith, “Smith hung it in his great [??] house at 37 Norfolk Street in Cambridge near a marble bust of the senator that he had commissioned.” Cites Sumner to have stated, “Had Smith my own intellectual advantages I know of no man who could have surpassed him, and I never feel the evil of slavery more keenly than when I see its power to limit the opportunities of a man like him.” This writer adds without documentation, “Since Smith had known slavery only from observation, a more apt statement would have substituted racism for slavery.” States that a fire in 1875 destroyed much of his home, including \$10k of supplies connected with his business, and he afterwards submitted a bill of \$17k to legislature for the 12th MA provisioning, and he says debate in legislature was partly centered on his tardiness in submitting the bill. “Finally, in March 1879, the legislature handed the matter over to Governor Andrew for action.” (incorrect, as Andrew was not only not governor but also dead) and debt remained unpaid at time of his death

note: Dorothy B Porter in DANB states that documents relating to JB Smith are at Boston Public Library; photograph of him at MHS

note: Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man*, 327 n. 2 notes that JB Smith was among those who stayed at Sumner’s DC house on Sumner’s invitation

newspaper and other notices re: presence in Boston and political activity:

- *Boston Post* has several listings of him among those for whom letters are at PO from 29 Feb 1840
- *Liberator*, 3 April 1840, he was named to committee to draft resolutions expressing support of Garrison and the MA Anti-Slavery Society and to rebut a “gross libel” of black Bostonians that had appeared in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, 13 Mar 1840 [see also Nell 72]
- “Mirror of Liberty,” *Liberator*, 11 June 1841, 2, cites his presence at a meeting of support for David Ruggles’s *Mirror of Liberty*, and he is among four “who severally related instances that had occurred within their knowledge of the escape of many a fugitive from the southern prison-house, but who were now in full possession of their liberty under the banner of Queen Victoria”; he offers resolution to appoint a committee of twelve to solicit subscriptions from “every family in Boston” for it [see also Nell 98–99]
- “Meeting of Colored Citizens of Boston,” *Liberator*, 3 Jun 1842, 3, states that before this 28 May 1842 meeting at the “infant school room,” JB Smith, Nell and Benjamin Weeden were appointed to a committee (that being the New England Freedom Association) “to obtain legal information in relation to the bearing of the late decision of the Supreme Court upon fugitives,” and the meeting resolved not to “permit ourselves nor brethren to be transferred to the southern prison-house”; fugitive introduced at this meeting tells story of his escape and is given a “purse . . . to enable him to reach Victoria’s domains, to enjoy the

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- liberty denied him in republican America.” Committee notes Supreme Court had decided that Congress cannot force state officers to participate in fugitive arrests and will petition next legislature to ban officers and citizens from aiding slaveholders who seek to seize and return fugitives and to repeal the 1793 Fugitive Slave Law [see also Nell, 111]
- Jun 1844 he was among the signers of a petition to the Boston School Committee asking “the immediate and entire abolition of the Colored Schools in Boston” on the grounds that headmaster/teacher Abner Forbes of the Smith School was “brutal and contemptuous” to students [Nell 132–34]
 - “Meeting for David Ruggles,” *Liberator*, 31 Aug 1844, 3: he was on committee to arrange a levee for David Ruggles, apparently to support him in his blindness, and the group acknowledges Ruggles’s instrumentality “in securing the liberty of 600 human beings” [Nell 140–41]
 - “Meeting of Colored Citizens,” *Liberator*, 31 Jan 1845, 19: one of 9 men of color who called for a meeting to protest shabby treatment of Samuel Hoar and Henry Hubbard in Charleston and New Orleans, where they’d gone re: unlawful imprisonment of colored seamen; meeting at Belknap Street Baptist church 3 Feb 1845
 - *Liberator*, 10 Jul 1845, 5–6, and 7 Aug 1846, 5: he was a member of the Torrey Monument Association, a group of black Bostonians who met at Zion Chapel and wanted to build a monument at Mt Auburn Cemetery to him because he had helped fugitives escape slavery; “while we live, his name shall never die”; the association combined its “levee” in 1846 with the 1 Aug celebration, and Smith spoke at this meeting [Nell 145–46]
 - *Liberator*, 12 Dec 1845, 3: JB Smith listed as vice president of New England Freedom Association, all men of color, whose object was “to extend a helping hand to all who may bid adieu to whips and chains, and by the welcome light of the North Star, reach a haven where they can be protected from the gasp of the man-stealer,” not to pay slaveholders for “the property they may claim in a human being,” and “to succor those who claim property in themselves” [Nell 146–47]
 - appointed relief agent 24 Sept 1847 for the Boston Committee of Vigilance to attend to “all cases of relief of fugitives needing board &c & employment here” [John W. Browne, “Committee of Vigilance. Agent’s Record,” transcription published in Irving H. Bartlett, “Abolitionists, Fugitives, and Imposters in Boston, 1846–47,” *New England Quarterly* 55, 1 (March 1982): 107–8]
 - later in 1847 he is involved in specific case of fugitives sent to Caribbean: abolitionist publisher Robert F. Wallcut to the New York Vigilance Committee’s Sydney Howard Gay, 31 August 1847: “I am not of the Vigilance Committee, and was not consulted about the plan of disposing of the boys. Joshua B. Smith did not act without advice in adopting the notion of a voyage to St. Domingo. Ellis G. Loring, F. Jackson, J. G. King & J. W. Browne I believe all of them concurred in thinking it was the best arrangement that could be made for them. . . . Mr Loring thought they would not be safe in the U. States,—and his opinion probably had much weight.” [Sydney Howard Gay Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Butler Library, Columbia University]
 - 1849 on committee of arrangements for meeting to present Garrison with a silver pitcher as “the champion of Universal Emancipation” and a farewell to Wm Wells Brown, about to leave for Europe; committee is all or mostly black, and he was one of 6 vps of the meeting [“Presentation and Farewell Meeting,” *Liberator*, 13 Jul 1849, 2, and *Liberator*, 27 Jul 1849, 2; Nell 235–36]
 - “Declaration of Sentiments of the Colored Citizens of Boston on the Fugitive Slave Bill,” *Liberator*, 11 Oct 1850, 2: rally at Belknap St Church 4 Oct, and JBS is not an officer (Hayden is president) but speaks; “Joshua B. Smith hoped no one in that meeting preach *peace*, for, as Patrick Henry said, ‘*there is no peace.*’ He narrated with much feeling the increased consternation of his much-loved friend—a fugitive slave. Since the passage of

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this infernal bill, a near relative of his claimant had been repeatedly seen skulking about his place of business, evidently anticipating the hour of successful seizure, but he had done his utmost to dispel the agitation of his friend, bidding him at the outset show himself a man. *If liberty is not worth fighting for, it is not worth having.* He advised every fugitive to arm himself with a revolver—if he could not buy one otherwise, to sell his coat for that purpose. As for himself, and he thus exhorted others, he should be kind and courteous to all, even the slave-dealer, until the moment of an attack upon his liberty. He would not be taken ALIVE, but upon the slave-catcher’s head be the consequences. When he could not live here in Boston, a FREEMAN, in the language of Socrates, *‘He had lived long enough.’* Mr. Smith, in conclusion, made a demonstration of one mode of defence [*sic*], which those who best know him say would be exemplified to the *hilt.*” [see also Nell 273–74]

- *Liberator*, 18 October 1850, 3, indicates that Smith was one of 50-man “Committee of Vigilance and Safety” created “to take all measures which they shall deem expedient to protect the colored people of this city in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties.” John A Andrew also on this committee, along with Nell, Hayden, Hilton, Francis Jackson, JI Bowditch, SE Sewell, John M Spear, Robert Morris Jr, Parker, Samuel May Jr; at least 6 of committee are black. Smith and Hayden are on the committee’s executive committee, and he, Hayden, and Nell were 3 of 4 on the relief committee
- Theodore Parker in journal, 25 Oct 1850: ““Returning home from Plymouth late in the afternoon of the 25th, found [Dr. S. G.] Howe had been at our house, to warn me of slave-hunters in town; found the Legal Comm. had been in attendance most of the day. A slave hunter is here in Boston, named Hughes and warrants are out for the arrest of Ellen Craft and her husband! Saw J. B. Smith who says that writs are out also for the arrest of two other men working at Parker’s Restaurant in Court Sq.; that five or six fellows came there at dinner time, stood on the steps, looked in but didn’t enter. After dinner they went in and inquired for their fugitives. No such persons there—looked round & went off. Smith says Craft is armed & Ellen secreted.” [John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston* (New York: D Appleton & Company, 1864), 2: 95]
- He is one of 5 vps of meeting to arrange welcome for George Thompson [“Welcome Meeting to George Thompson, Esq., M.P. Tendered by the Colored Citizens of Boston,” *Liberator*, 29 Nov 1850, 1] and on same committee to arrange his farewell soiree [Farewell Soiree to George Thompson, M. P.” *Liberator*, 6 Jun 1851, 2]
- gives \$5 to the Chaplin Fund (Chaplin imprisoned for helping fugitives escape from DC) [*Liberator*, 13 Dec 1850, 3]
- At the Jan 1851 *Liberator* soiree chair of event Edmund Quincy toasts Smith’s health in part because he “refused to provide an entertainment for Daniel Webster and his retainers, [loud applause and three cheers] but has with such good will and taste provided this birth-right entertainment for the *Liberator* and his friends. May he long live to do good service in the cause of freedom, and to inspire his hunted brethren with courage and determination to resist the pursuit of the slave-catchers, and the wily machinations of their Boston agents. [Great applause.]” Then Smith spoke and stated in part, “Soon after my first appearance in Boston, I attended a meeting in Faneuil Hall, where James T. Austin rose and spoke, and thanked heaven that freedom of speech was guaranteed on our soil. With that introduction, he went on and made one of the most cruel and heartless speeches against the cause of liberty that I have ever heard. Then, for the first time, I saw Wendell Phillips. He sprang upon the stage when Austin had finished, and with his eagle eye fixed upon him, shouted, ‘Thou recreant American!’ The audience hissed him, as of course they would in 1837; and they cried, ‘Take it back! take it back!’ But he would not; he held his ground and maintained his cause.” [“*Liberator* Soiree at the Cochituate Hall,” *Liberator*, 7 Feb 1851, 2] Almost certainly describes the unscheduled statements of Austin, state

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attorney general 1832–43, at Faneuil Hall 8 Dec 1837 comparing the actions of the Alton IL mob who murdered printer Elijah Lovejoy to actions of Boston Tea Party protesters, which inspired Phillips's reply; see *Liberator*, 29 December 1837, 2; Louis Ruchames, "Wendell Phillips' Lovejoy Address," *New England Quarterly* 47, 1 (March 1974): 108–17]

- "Massachusetts Legislature," *Daily Atlas* (Boston), 6 Mar 1851, 2: William C. Nell and others, apparently including JB Smith, present petition before MA House to ask appropriation of \$1500 to erect a monument in State St to Crispus Attucks, "the first revolutionary martyr"; *Christian Watchman*, 27 Mar 1851, 3, notes that the legislature's militia committee reported against the Nell petition for \$1500 for Attucks memorial
- In May 1851 warrants issued for several fugitives including Joseph Russell, whom the Boston *Commonwealth* claimed had lived in Boston more than twenty years; a laborer bearing that name was listed in city directories in the 1840s living on Belknap Street in the north slope African American community. On 3 May the Boston Vigilance Committee gave Joshua Bowen Smith \$7.50 to pay Russell's fare to Canada; see note above for this and other vigilance committee reimbursements to Smith
- William Lloyd Garrison to J. B. Smith, 23 Mar 1855: "I send the bearer of this to you, in order that you may inquire into his case, which, if genuine, comes within the objects of the Vigilance Committee," he wrote to Smith in 1855. "Who 'H. Cole,' of Hartford, (who writes the enclosed letter,) is, I do not know. On examining the bearer, you will be able to determine what ought to be done for him, and will inform him accordingly." [Ms.A.12.v.41 p.42a, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, BPL]
- he joined the Anti-Man-Hunting League 4 Apr 1856, the 75th person to do so; few if any other members were of color. Henry Bowditch's annotated list of "active members of the Vigilance Committee (1855) & of the Antiman Hunting League" stated of Smith, "caterer colored brave reliable 1855" with illegible comment after [Anti-Man-Hunting League Records, 1855–61," Henry Ingersoll Bowditch Papers, MHS]
- "Anniversary of British West India Emancipation," *Liberator*, 13 Aug 1858, 2–5: JB Smith on business committee for the MA state colored people's convention in New Bedford and was appointed to a committee with Nell, Charles Lenox Remond, Solomon Peneton, Lewis Hayden, Bela Perry, Robert Morris, Wm Wells Brown, and two others "on the Dred Scott decision" [Nell 519–28]
- October 1860 Smith among 15 men of color who, upon visit of Prince of Wales to Boston, express "their profound and grateful attachment and respect" for England for, among other features, "having taken in thousands of American fugitives from slavery" [*Liberator*, 31 Dec 1860, 6]
- "Colored Inventors, Artisans, Etc." *Liberator*, 2 Nov 1860, 4, notes that Joshua B. Smith of Cambridgeport received a gratuity for his Swan's Orange Pears, which he grew, at MA Horticultural Exhibition
- *Liberator*, 7 Jun 1861, 2: "Joshua B. Smith, the well-known caterer, has tendered to Governor Andrew one hundred dollars, in aid of the Massachusetts soldiery." [also "Various War Items and Incidents," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 May 1861, 2]
- L. Maria Child, "The National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary," *Liberator*, 14 Feb 1862, 28: Joshua B. Smith and his "corps of experienced men" were in charge of tables carrying donations from friends of the cause
- *Liberator*, 19 Dec 1862, 4: J. B. Smith chosen president pro tem of meeting commemorating martyrdom of John Brown; at home of Dr Knox, 59 Anderson St, with Grimes opening with prayer and singing "an emancipation song"; Smith said (paraphrase by newspaper) "To the martyrdom of John Brown we are indebted for the convulsions now shaking this great country, and the bright prospects of freedom that have been produced by it. His death was the precursor, ordained by the great God, to open the glorious way of the slave's redemption. Appointed and directed by the will and power of God, neither his life nor

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death can possibly be called a failure. In view of this fact, I have the strongest confidence in the present triumph of right.”

- “The New National Anniversary,” *Liberator*, 8 Jan 1864, 3: JB Smith one of numerous vps selected to an “organization . . . all of the officers being colored men” formed at the first anniversary of Emancipation Proclamation event at Tremont Temple
- “New England News Items,” *Springfield Republican*, 9 Oct 1865, 4: “At Boston, Saturday, a meeting was held to make arrangements for erecting an equestrian statue to Col Robert G. Shaw of the 54th (colored) regiment, killed at Fort Wagner. A committee of 20 was appointed to collect subscriptions, and superintend the erection of the monument. The committee is as follows: Gov John A. Andrew, chairman, Hon Charles Sumner, Joshua B. Smith, Charles R. Coleman, Dr S. G. Howe, Robert B. Storer, James L. Little, William W. Clapp, Jr., Dr Charles Beck, Rev L. A. Grimes, Peleg W. Chandler, Wiliam G. Weld, Edward Atkinson, Charles W. Slack, Robert W. Aphorp, Henry Lee Jr., Edward W. Kinsley, Dr George B. Loring, Dr Le Baron Russell, Dr H. I. Bowditch.” [also in *Salem Register*, 27 Nov 1865]
- He, Nell, JM Trotter, John J Smith, Hayden, GL Ruffin, John V DeGrasse, E Bannister, Henry Weeden, and John B Bailey sent a petition to General Court stating that Boston Theatre, Continental Theatre, and Howard Atheneum in particular “are daily excluding proper persons from their exhibitions, and invidiously discriminating against them solely on account of their color” and ask that statue be amended that any place of public amusement doing so would lose its license and be liable to penalties if they continued to operate without a license [Legislative Documents, 1866, in Nell 664]
- “Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society Meeting,” *Boston Herald*, 28 Jan 1867, 4: Smith was elected one of 8 councillors for the year and was the only man of color among them
- “A Colored Freemason,” *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, 22 Oct 1867, 2, from the *Commonwealth*: Joshua B Smith initiated a mason in St Andrews Lodge; “it is the first time in the history of masonry in this state that a colored man has been admitted to white fellowship; which, we sincerely trust, is the dawn of a new era in fraternal association, and the first step toward bringing the African lodges of this state into harmonious relations with the Massachusetts Grand Lodge.”
- “Republican State Convention to be Held at Worcester, Wednesday, Sept. 27. Results of Meetings for the Choice of Delegates,” *Springfield Republican*, 25 Sept 1871, 5, states that returns from Cambridge Republican caucus “show the election of 11 Butler and 9 anti-Butler delegates,” with those for Butler including “Joshua B. Smith (the colored caterer), J. Milton Clark (colored), and others; “Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and President Elliott attended the ward-one caucus, where the delegates, on motion of Prof Child, were instructed to oppose, under all circumstances, Butler’s nomination”
- “A Pleasant Interview,” *Boston Traveler*, 21 Oct 1871, 4, notes that Smith met Pres Grant as he entered the “saloon car at the B. & A. depot last evening” with fruits and rare flowers, states “Mr. President, I am directed by Mr. S. Tudor to offer you this basket of flowers and this of fruit, wishing that your administration may be as successful in the future as it has been in the past; thanking you for risking your life to save the country; thanking God, that he preserved your life, that you might make men free.” Grant replied, “I can’t make a speech, but my secretary will reply.”
- *Boston Traveler*, 16 Mar 1872, 4, notes that Smith’s name “has been mentioned in connection with one of the delegates at large” to the state Republican convention coming up at Worcester 15 Apr
- *Boston Herald*, 15 May 1872, 4, notes that black voters attending 4th Congressional District at Cambridgeport meeting “passed resolutions that as a practical proof of their belief in the equal rights of man, the Republicans should nominate Mr. Joshua B. Smith, the colored caterer, as one of the delegates to the Philadelphia convention”; *Boston Traveler*,

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16 May 1872, 1, noted that MA 4th Congressional District convention delegates met at Phillips school house to elect 2 delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia 4 Jun, and Emory Washburn read the resolution adopted by black Cantabridgians “to the effect that a colored man should be elected, and naming Joshua B. Smith as a person well qualified to represent their interests at Philadelphia.” 67 ballots cast of which JB Smith had 60, Richard Beeching of East Boston 31, FW Lincoln 19, and John J Smith 13, so Smith and Beeching were elected with John J Smith as one of the substitutes

- “Cambridge,” *Boston Traveler*, 14 Jun 1872, 4: Cambridge black voters form a Grant and Wilson club, with Smith as one of six vps along with J Milton Clark
- “Excursion for Poor Children,” *Boston Globe*, 6 Aug 1872, 8: meeting at JB Smith’s rooms on Bulfinch Street for persons interested in the proposed excursions for poor children in city; he is one of five on executive committee and the only black; group had raised \$915 and needed \$2500 to furnish each of the 5000 poor children in Boston with a “day’s enjoyment”
- “Republican Caucuses,” *Boston Globe*, 21 Aug 1872, 8: Joshua B Smith of Cambridge one of delegates to State Convention from that city representing Ward II
- “Honors to Lieut.-Governor Pinchbeck,” *Boston Traveler*, 12 Sept 1872, 2: J. B. Smith “well-known caterer” put on banquet in his rooms 22 Sept to show appreciation to Lt Gov Pinchbeck for “the noble efforts in behalf of their race”; Pinchbeck came with secretary; Judge Russell also there, and affair arranged by John J Smith, Richard L Brown, Charles E Pindell, Lewis Hayden, Charles L Mitchell, James M Trotter, William H Dupree, and George L Ruffin (Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback 1837–1921 was a Union army officer and first black to become a governor, served 1872–73, he raised several companies of the First LA Native Guard during war, elected to LA senate 1868, became acting lt gov when Gov Oscar Dunn died in 1871; he was elected to US Senate but was never seated due to controversy over that year’s elections)
- is one of numerous aids to chief of staff etc for “Grant and Wilson Grand Torch-Light Procession in Boston” 30 Oct 1872 [*Boston Globe*, 28 Oct 1872, 1]
- “After Election. The Composition of the Legislature,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 Nov 1873, 1, notes that Joshua B Smith of Cambridge was elected to MA House of Reps and is the only black man there
- “The Rights of Colored Citizens,” *Boston Globe*, 22 Nov 1873, 8, which identifies him mistakenly once in article as Mr. S. B. Smith: he was selected by Young Men’s Colored Republican Association to be delegate at large to National Convention of Colored Men to be held 1 Dec 1873 at DC; he speaks to the crowd and is received with three cheers; “Mr. Smith said that the last time he was in this house was twenty-three years ago, when a meeting was held to protect all the black men of Boston from being carried into slavery. He had grown old in service, but this sign of regard had repaid him for all. He supposed that the meeting was called to further the success of Charles Sumner’s civil rights bill, and paid an eloquent tribute to the services of that gentleman in behalf of the African race, terming him the only man on whom the negro race could place entire trust. Three cheers were given for the distinguished Senator, after which Mr. Smith thanked the assembly for their confidence in him, and gave colored men the advice, Take care of yourselves, and don’t depend on others; give up bar-room drinking, be industrious, and so be no more looked upon with contempt, but with respect. They should ask for their rights, and prove them by their actions, that they might be more likely to get those things which were won by the point of the bayonet.”
- Boston correspondent of *Hartford Courant in Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester), 28 Nov 1873, 4 (in full): “Mr. Joshua B. Smith, the well known colored caterer of Boston, and a representative in the last and present legislature from the city of Cambridge, will have the honor accorded him of leading in the next legislature, of which he is also a member, in the

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movement to remove the censure of Charles Sumner from the legislative record. Mr. Smith has had this action closely at heart for the past year, and he made a very gallant attempt to accomplish it last winter. His success is certain now. There will be almost a unanimous vote with him. He is the only colored man chosen to the next legislature, ward six, of Boston, having refused for the first time since 1865 to be represented by one of its negro citizens. Mr. Smith is a very fine specimen of the better type of his race, with Moorish rather than negro features—straight hair, which was blue black until age whitened it. He is still really a handsome man, even in comparison with his Caucasian associates. His face and figure are among the most familiar in Boston, where he has catered for two generations of distinguished people in public and in private. He has never had his equal here for excellence in this line, and, in view of the very large business that he has done, he should be a rich man, and I presume is very comfortably off in worldly matters. He has always been respected. I have seen him invited by a company of cultivated gentlemen to leave his kitchen, where he was cooking in person, (as he is in the habit of doing on extraordinary occasions,) to take a glass of wine and sit at the board with them. / On an occasion of this character I once heard him relate an incident of his early life. Some thirty years ago, when a spruce young fellow, he dressed himself in ‘immaculate white’ from top to toe, on the Fourth of July morning, never feeling prouder in his life, as he said, and started to go towards the center of the city. On the way he had occasion to pass a white man washing off the sidewalk with a long-handled brush. The fellow could not bear to see a ‘darkey,’ so smartly attired, and, moved by the mean malevolence of race so common in those days among a certain class, he took his brush, soused it thoroughly in the dirty water, and then struck Mr. Smith square on the breast with it, bespattering him completely in every portion of his front. Mr. Smith said he thought he must whip him or die; but he was unexpectedly spared that hazardous gratification. / Another white man, of a different type, had been passing and had seen the whole transaction. He stepped instantly between the parties. ‘Stop!’ said he to Mr. Smith; ‘I wan’t to fight that fellow! You can’t do it on fair terms. If a black man undertakes to whip a white one, there will be a crowd around in five minutes that will perhaps take his life. But they won’t interfere with me, and I want to lick that scamp dreadfully, too.’ So Mr. Smith stood aside, and the stranger took off his coat, and went in. He thrashed the scoundrel till he roared for mercy, and nobody molested him in the act. Mr. Smith did not tell us who the man was, but he concluded his remarks by saying that he had never seen a day since that he would not have died for him, and few who realize the service rendered will be inclined to doubt it.” [see Donald, *Sumner and the Rights of Man*, 563–71, 584, on the issue of censure]

- appointed to a committee of 7, with Richard Henry Dana, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others, to develop resolutions and speakers for a formal tribute to Sumner after his death [*Boston Post*, 13 Mar 1874, 4]; notes that colored citizens of West End met to vote to hold a public meeting at same place this evening to determine how to take part in the “obsequies of the deceased,” with committee of 13 not including Smith but including James M Trotter, Nell, Hayden, Morris, WW Brown, Charles L Mitchell, Richard S Brown
- *Boston Traveler*, 13 Mar 1874, 2: “There is already an active discussion of the merits and claims of the men named for Senator as successor of Charles Sumner. The persons most talked of in this city, and especially at the State House, are Dr. Loring, Gen. Banks, Mr. Dawes, and ex-Governor Bullock, with the stronger expression of preference for the first named. This morning a movement was indicated in favor of filling the vacancy by the election of Joshua B. Smith.”
- “Senator Sumner’s Will,” *Boston Globe*, 14 Mar 1874, 5, notes that he left his pictures and engravings to the Boston Art Museum except for “Miracle of the Slave,” which he left to “his friend, Joshua B. Smith of Boston” [see also “Mr. Sumner’s Will,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 16 Mar 1874, 2]

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- “Boston’s Tribute to Charles Sumner,” *Boston Journal*, 14 Mar 1874, 2 [brackets are from *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 16 Mar 1874, 1, quoted remarks], lists Smith’s name in large type as 3d of 7 to give addresses at the Faneuil Hall meeting and then gives his remarks: “I can only say, Massachusetts has lost a Senator, the United States has lost a statesman, the world has lost a philanthropist, I have lost a friend. *I would not arise to address you to-day except for one reason [I would not risk myself out here before you today only for one reason].* I shook Mr. Sumner’s hand for the last time last Sunday evening, at half past 8 o’clock. He bade me say to the people of Massachusetts, through their Legislature, this. ‘I thank them for removing that stain from me, I thank those that voted for me, and I tell those that voted against me that I forgive them all, for I know if they knew my heart they would not have done it. I knew Massachusetts was brave and I wanted her to show to the world that she was magnanimous, too.’ . . . I have felt that the greatest tribute that I could pay to him for his kindness to me was simply to drop a tear to his memory.”
- “The City’s Mourning,” *Boston Globe*, 16 Mar 1874, 1, 2: notes that after Richard H Dana spoke at mass meeting after Sumner’s death at FH, “Mr Joshua B. Smith . . . began his remarks by saying that, in the death of Charles Sumner, Massachusetts had lost a Senator, the nation had lost a statesman, the world had lost a philanthropist, and he had lost a friend. He spoke of the last conversation with Mr. Sumner, when he received from his own lips the assurances of his feelings in regard to the recent act of the legislature of Massachusetts. Mr. Smith spoke of the time when he emerged from slavery into the world’s cold atmosphere, like a chrysalis prematurely launched into an air too chill for its winged existence. Then it was, he said, that Charles Sumner opened his all-embracing arms to succor, by his warmth in the cause of the emancipated. And he had continued to so cherish to the end. Five million people, he said, American citizens, are now drifting in a ship that has lost its guiding hand while still in an ocean storm, and he begged the great people to select as steadfast a mind and as strong an arm as those of the philanthropist whom we have lost, to further steer the barque of an enfranchised race.” [Neither the *Boston Journal* nor the *Boston Daily Advertiser* include the “emerging from slavery” statement]
- “Tributes to Sumner,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 18 Mar 1874, 1, note that “a delegation of colored citizens of New York . . . called on Mr. J. B. Smith to consult with him in regard to the proposed erection of a monument to the memory of the late Senator Sumner,” to which Smith replied, “For the sake of its influence in the world, it is proper and right that the colored men of the nation should erect a monument to Sumner. But for ourselves and our children, the highest, the best, the most appropriate monument that we can build will be to perfect the work which Charles Sumner began. . . . He was a gift from heaven to our race. His work was well done; but it is not finished. This is a sad day, but it will be a sadder one for us if we heed not that lesson which it teaches. That lesson is, that we take up the work which Sumner began and carry it forward by proving ourselves true to the great principles of integrity, prudence, and patriotism. . . . Gentlemen, let the monument which you suggest be promptly built, but take this thought with you from this sad day’s ceremonies, that it is the high duty of every colored men in the nation to become a stone in that more enduring monument which shall have its influence for the upbuilding of our people and of the cause of humanity in all time to come.”
- “The Sumner Memorial,” *Boston Globe*, 24 Mar 1874, 1: he was among a large number invited by Mayor Cobb to figure out how to create a permanent memorial to Sumner, and possibly the only man of color invited; he is placed on the “committee of finance,” for it, with 9 others, including MP Kennard; they promise each contributor “a heliotype portrait of Mr Sumner” [see “Sumner Memorial,” *Commercial Bulletin*, 28 Mar 1874, 4] and place appeals for funds in *Boston Post*, 30 & 31 Mar and 1 & 2 Apr 1874 and in *Boston Globe* in early April. *Boston Globe*, 16 Apr 1874, lists contributions to the Sumner memorial fund

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- totaling \$6450 to that date, none apparently from blacks but \$100 from Rev Photius Fiske, who helped finance the Daniel Drayton memorial in Rural Cemetery, New Bedford
- “Hoar and Sumner,” *Boston Globe*, 6 Apr 1874, 1: Congressman John MS Williams sent Joshua B Smith a telegram from DC 1 April 1874 saying that Sumner told him before Sumner died that Hoar was in favor of Sumner’s civil rights bill; Smith didn’t publish this because the circumstances of his receipt of it he termed “peculiar,” but then he got a second wire from Williams dated 4 Apr that Smith was permitted to publish in whole or in part “in reply to Redpath’s challenge,” citing James Redpath’s letter to the *Globe* saying he’d asked Wendell Phillips to state what Sumner told him; Phillips wrote to the *Globe* that Hoar was not in favor of the Civil Rights bill, and he knew this because he had dined with Sumner on 3 March, 8 days before he died, and when he arrived Sumner was talking to George T Downing of DC about the bill. Sumner told Phillips that Hoar doubted the constitutionality of the bill and declared it an infringement on state rights; then, the day before Sumner’s funeral, Downing and “other colored gentlemen” went to see Phillips and asked him who would likely replace Sumner in the Senate, and Phillips mentioned Hoar and others. Downing told Phillips that the “colored people could never trust him,” meaning Hoar; then “two weeks ago” JB Smith, member of legislature from Cambridge, came to talk with Phillips about the civil rights bill and Hoar, “and considering him, in an especial sense the guardian of his race in that Legislature,” he urged Smith to get in touch with Hoar and Dawes to learn their views, which he promised to do. “I said to Mr. Smith that if any Republican threw a vote for any candidate without indisputable evidence that he would support and carry out this great work of Mr. Sumner’s life, then the late homage to Sumner was an empty pageant and a mockery. The times have not yet ceased to be critical. Every one knows that Mr. Sumner occupied, in the Republican ranks, the position of tireless and unyielding determination to secure all the rights the national victory has earned for the colored race and every guarantee those rights require. This was his special work, his peculiar and especial title to natural gratitude and world-wide fame.” Phillips stated that if MA doesn’t send “to his chair a man of the same purpose and determination,” then it will take “her place with the indifference and neutrality that disgrace so large a portion of the Republican members of Congress.”
 - “The Colored Men’s Tribute to Joshua B. Smith,” *Boston Globe*, 14 Apr 1874, 2: Major John H Cook prepared resolutions “at the request of the colored citizens of Boston” to the Hon. Joshua B Smith, dated Boston 15 March 1874 (below in full): “At a meeting of the colored people, held in Boston, for the purpose of making suitable arrangements to attend the funeral and pay proper tribute to the memory of our distinguished Senator, the Hon. Charles Sumner, champion of equal rights to all mankind, a committee of three were appointed to draft a series of resolutions to our worthy friend and brother, the Hon. Joshua B. Smith, member of the Massachusetts Legislature, thanking him for his untiring efforts for two years to have the resolutions of censure in the case of the battle-flags, passed upon the Hon. Charles Sumner, rescinded. / *Resolved*, That we, the colored citizens of Boston in mass meeting assembled, feeling as we do a high appreciation for his valuable services, do return our sincere thanks to the Hon. Joshua B. Smith, who has so long in behalf of justice battled against prejudice in our legislative halls, for the purpose of rescinding the unmerited resolutions of censure passed upon our much lamented friend, the Hon. Charles Sumner, United States Senator of Massachusetts. / *Resolved*, That we as a people, ever mindful of our friends, extend the thanks of this meeting to the Hon. John E. Sanford, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives of 1874, for his magnanimity of spirit in appointing the Hon. Joshua B. Smith, Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations. / *Resolved*, That we highly appreciate the kindness of his Excellency Governor William B. Washburn, in appointing the personal friend of the Hon. Charles Sumner, Joshua B. Smith, to the office of Commissioner of Massachusetts,

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as bearer to the Massachusetts delegation in Congress a copy of the resolves whereby the resolutions of censure that were passed by the Legislature of 1872, were rescinded by a large vote. / *Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be extended to His Excellency Governor William B. Washburn of Massachusetts. / Thomas G. Williams, Henry W. Johnson, Burrill Smith, Committee on Resolutions.” [see also “Honors to Joshua B. Smith,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 14 Apr 1874, 4]

- “Charles Sumner. A Tribute from Colored Citizens of Boston,” *Boston Globe*, 15 Apr 1874, 2: mass meeting at FH the day before, with black men predominating on the floor and women of both races in the gallery; Edwin G Walker was president of the meeting, Joshua B Smith of Cambridge of numerous vps, Nell chair of committee or arrangements, and the Hon Robert B Elliott of SC was orator and “a man of whom the colored race in the United States has cause to be proud” and presents his speech in full; before introducing Elliott Walker described the censure issue and described but did not name Smith: “We were pained, we were greatly pained, when we knew that the great State of Massachusetts, the home that he loved, had given a vote of censure on one of his public acts, thereby causing all of his enemies to rejoice because he was our friend. But heaven be thanked, Massachusetts, that always in time turned to the right, swept away the unjust act, and, as if to fix more fully her atonement for the great wrong that she had done, placed in the hand of a colored man the evidence of her act of atonement, and that colored man was quick and proud to bear it to him who had done so much for the liberation of our race. For the removal of the unjust censure of which I have just spoken, millions of a once most cruelly oppressed people now join me in the exclamation of ‘God bless the brave men who removed from the records of this Commonwealth an attempt, an unwarranted attempt, to leave to posterity that which might have engendered the thought that our friend had been forgetful of the men who by their arms had aided in saving this country.’”
- in 1874 Medford clerk George L. Tothill made JB Smith and Curtis C Nichols trustees of his estate, and after his death Smith and other trustee sell property on south side of Utica Place in Boston to John Carey et ux for \$3400 [“Real Estate Transfers,” *Boston Post*, 15 Apr 1874, 6]
- “Charles Sumner,” *Boston Globe*, 30 Apr 1874, 1: a big tribute at the Music Hall with Wendell Phillips offering a brief address; both Joshua Bowen Smith and WLG among the many on the platform, among them Emerson, Whittier, Longfellow, Josiah Quincy, Charles F Adams
- “Sale of Mr. Sumner’s Effects,” *Boston Globe*, 11 Jun 1874, 4, notes that WP, Richard H Dana Jr, Joshua B Smith, and Francis W Bird were all at the auction, and Smith paid \$101 for a “fine silver-plated service of five pieces,” which appears from list to be the highest amount paid by anyone there for anything
- *Springfield Republican*, 3 Aug 1874, 5: Sumner’s fall 1867 oration, “Are We a Nation?,” 138 pages in ms, and the first printed copy with Sumner’s corrections and additions, were given by Sumner to Joshua B. Smith, who recently gave it to Smith R Phillips, with whom he served in the last legislature
- *Boston Post*, 4 Aug 1874, 2: “our esteemed fellow-citizen, Joshua B. Smith Esq.,” is making photographic copies of the Jacopo Tintoretto “Miracle of the Slave” that Sumner left him to sell for \$2 each to raise funds for Sumner memorial, and *Post* urges public to purchase them [Donald, *Sumner*, 2:325–26, notes that of all the art Sumner collected “he was fondest of his supposed Tintoretto, ‘The Rendition of the Slave,’ because it had inspired his first great antislavery speech, and at his death he left it to his devoted Negro friend, the Boston caterer, J. B. Smith”; see also *Springfield Republican*, 1 Sept 1874, 3]
- “Meeting of Colored Men at Boston,” *Springfield Republican*, 3 Sept 1874, 5, notes that meeting evening before to “give expression to their indignation at the recent outrages upon the black and white citizens of the South,” with WW Brown, GL Ruffin, JB Smith,

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EG Walker and others giving speeches stating their belief “that there had been shown altogether too much leniency to ex-rebels, and that the old slaveholding power was still struggling for the supremacy. Resolutions were passed calling upon the president to take prompt measures for the suppression of the present state of affairs, and if he had not the power to do that, to convene an extra session of Congress.”

- *Boston Globe*, 8 Sept 1874, 2: in Cambridge, Joshua B Smith, General Charles F Walcott, and Curtis C Nichols being mentioned for Senator representing Third Middlesex; “we should do well to return Joshua B. Smith for another year [as representative], his position as the long tried friend and confidant of the Hon. Charles Sumner giving him a commanding influence as a legislator.”
- “Delegate Caucuses,” *Boston Globe*, 29 Sept 1874, 5: Joshua B Smith chosen as delegate to Cambridge Ward 2 Republican caucuses for Congressional positions and on Ward and City Committee
- “Notes of the Day about Town,” *Boston Globe*, 19 Nov 1874, 8: Smith chosen as JW (Junior Worthy?) master of Adelphi Lodge of Masons, South Boston, and installed 28 Dec 1874 [*Boston Globe*, 30 Dec 1874, 3] and again named to same position 1875 [*Boston Globe*, 23 Dec 1875, 8]
- “Speech of Joshua B. Smith before the Legislature of Massachusetts,” *Boston Journal*, 11 March 1875, 1: “Mr. Speaker Thirty-five years have passed since Col Robert G Shaw was a babe in his cradle. On an occasion that I well remember Charles Sumner was a guest at his father’s table, and I was a servant standing behind his chair. The question of slavery, then the general topic of conversation, was under discussion. One of the guests gave expression to the most bitter feeling I ever heard, saying that the Abolitionists, with their negro friends, ought to be hanged, but Mr and Mrs Shaw, the father and mother of the infant, spoke strongly in favor of justice and freedom. The gentleman who had been speaking so bitterly asked Mr Sumner what he thought of the negro question. Pointing to me he replied, Would you have that man a slave? And that expression, with other words then spoken, cost him his social position for years in Boston. Slavery had struck it roots wide and deep, but for me the star of justice rose in that hour, and I saw it shining for the first time through the dark clouds of prejudice that surrounded me. / “A few years after that I was with that child on Boston Common. As we were sitting there I noticed that he looked intently at me, and presently he said, ‘Smith, what makes your hands black?’ ‘Well, my boy, God made them so,’ I replied. ‘Well,’ said he, ‘if God made them so, why do people find fault with it?’ ‘Because they are bad,’ I answered. He gazed at me a few moments without speaking and then said ‘Smith, some day I’ll fight for you.’ / “When he was only twenty five years of age this child was made Colonel of the Fifty fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, the first regiment of colored soldiers recruited in this State, and then, as Col. Shaw, led the colored troops at Fort Wagner and there gave his life for his country and for that justice and freedom that had been a part of his early training. / “Thirty-two years after the noble expression referred to of Mr. Sumner, I was a guest at his table in Washington. While we were seated there a party of southerners from Georgia called upon Mr Sumner to secure his influence in what he considered would be unjust legislation. The great Senator turned again, pointing to me, and said ‘There is my friend—my equal at home, and your equal anywhere and when you are ready to make eternal justice law, then call on me and I will help you, and not before.’ / “Mr Speaker I have lived out two generations, and have tasted the bitter fruit of the seed planted by our fathers eighty years ago. I have had the doors of the church and the State House shut in my face but I have lived to enjoy the blessings of liberty and to-day I stand the peer of every man in this House, and this, as I believe, through the life and labors of Charles Sumner. What a change has taken place within the forty years of my remembrance! I wish I could picture it. In those days I was a servant in a family traveling through the South. They stopped in Washington, and I there saw for

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the first time, men, women and children sold on the auction block as cattle are sold. No regard was paid to age, sex or relationship. Husband and wife, mother and child were parted to [illegible] more. At that time, if a black man's child or dying wife cried for water after ten o'clock at night, he dared not go into the streets to get it, for fear of arrest and the watch house. And if the master did not pay the fine the next morning thirty-nine lashes on the bare back was the black man's penalty. In those days I would have given a kingdom to have been a dog with a collar on my neck with the owner's name upon it, for that would have protected me. / "The family to which I have referred was invited into the country to dine and I stood to wait upon them. After dinner I heard the sound of the lash and a voice crying 'O God, have mercy!' I stepped out in to the garden and, looking about me, saw a poor girl with the blood running down her neck, with her eyes fixed on the shining clouds toward the setting sun and saying, 'O, Jesus, I will soon be with thee, and then my soul will shine as those clouds, and I will be thy child.' It was the first prayer I had ever heard, and there I swore eternal hatred to slavery. / "Forty years after that I went again to Washington. Slavery had disappeared. The whipping-post and auction block were gone. The star that I saw rise was now in its meridian [sic]. It shone full in my face. I was in a new world. I was as free as air. I went as any gentleman might go. I walked to the cars, I went to Arlington and heard no word of insult. I had every attention paid me as a gentleman, and should not have known that I was a black man if I had not looked in the mirror. / "Now, Mr. Speaker, Charles Sumner did it. Five and twenty years ago the anti-slavery sentiment of New England fixed upon Sumner as the man to go to Washington to strike the first blow. You speak of Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea as a great victory. But that was nothing compared to the success of Sumner. Sherman had the nation at his back. Sumner had simple justice. Sherman had a hundred thousand men. Sumner fought single-handed and alone. Sherman had the wealth of the nation laid at his feet, and Sumner had only the prayers of the poor. / "Mr Speaker, I stand here amazed. One week ago this day I placed in the hands of our great Senator the rescinding resolutions of this Legislature. As he read them, he turned his head and wept as I never saw a man weep before. He then said, 'I knew Massachusetts would do me justice.' / "As I stood there I could not but think of that passage of Scripture which says, 'Jesus wept.' Not for himself, but for a poor unbelieving world. Sumner wept; not for himself, but for the State he loved and served so well. Sir, I do not forget in this hour that, little more than one year ago, the Legislature censured him. To-day this House stands ready to lay the wealth of the State at his feet, to honor a great name. And now, sir, that great life has ended here. That star has set. And while it rests on the banks of eternity, awaiting its assignment amid the bright and shining lights in the canopy of heaven, its rays still lingering on the clouds and the mountain-top, O God, I pray thee, give us one to take hold where he let go—one who can light us through this dark and unkind world, until Thy glory shall shine on a regenerated land. Then justice, honesty and peace shall rule the nation." ["Good Words Fitly Spoken," *Boston Journal*, 24 May 1875, 2, notes that a copy of the paper with this address of Smith's "found its way" to Savannah GA, where Peter Morell of the Young Men's Bible and Debating Literary Association had it printed on a broadside to circulate by the members of the city's Second African Baptist Church, who "have sent it all over the South," and Smith has proposed to coordinate donation of books for this society]

- ◆ he had written in much the same vein, and some of same words, in a letter to Sumner 22 May 1870 [Sumner Papers 50:559]: "The first principable [sic] of Religion is gratitude. To prove that fealing [sic] we must love and cherish the means used to accomplish any great work. If ever there was a man lived that the poor and oppressed had reason to love it is the Hon Charles Sumner—he has bin [sic] great in the past. he is mighty in the present. Unborn millions will sing his praise in the future. Looking back 20 years at your starting point seeing the great difficulty in your road, the wonder is that you could

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undertake such a task as was before you. But the whole antislevary [sic] sentiment of the north was fixed upon you to strike the first blow in the face of the Enemy—nobely [sic] have you done your work—you met the foe in his own camp and husled[?] him from granary?? as the angel was who dare? oppose all mighty God declared martial law and proclaimed hence forth Equality and justice shall rule this land. To you more than to any other person the honour belongs. well don [sic] good and faithfull seavant [servant] your reward will follow you. it now becoms [sic] us to show our gratitude to the great champion of Liberty, the Hon Charles Sumner. We cannot pay you for your great services in behalf of humanity. Those wonderful powers of yours are the gift of heaven. God alone can pay that debt. All we can do is to feel greatfull. The march of Marlborough is nothing compared with your success. he had the British nation at his back, you had simple justice. he had one hundred thousand men to meet the enemy with. you fought him single handed and alone. He had all the wealth of England to pay him for his services. you have the prayers of the poor. He got his reward on Earth. You must get yours in Heaven. with gratitude and love I am faithfully yours.”

- *Springfield Republican*, 24 Mar 1875, 4: “Joshua B. Smith of Cambridge, whose outbreak of tears, when the Massachusetts Legislature were listening to hear him praise Charles Sumner, was more eloquent than words, has written a note deprecating the criticisms upon the expenditures of the state in Sumner’s funeral. He says:—“We did not wish to cover Sumner up,—he had no faults to hide; but we asked George William Curtis to uncover him, which he did as no other man could. There he stands, the admiration of the whole world, and generation after generation will march in the full light of his honesty and receive his teachings of justice, until we shall infuse into all the honest soul that burned in his exalted breast.” The newspaper asks what Sumner’s soul has to do with whether a legislative committee squandered “public money foolishly and culpably” by “the paying of \$1000 to a nobody at the state house for doing next to nothing”; reference unclear
- “Colored Men in Council,” *Boston Globe*, 29 Mar 1876, 2: JB Smith “of Boston,” EG Walker of Charlestown, Richard S Brown and James S Trotter both of Boston elected delegates to National Convention of Colored Men/People in Nashville in Apr 1876
- *Boston Traveler*, 29 May 1876: Sumner Memorial Committee of the legislature of 1874 (Moody Merrill of Boston, Geo F Verry of Worcester, Smith R Phillips of Worcester, Willard P Phillips of Salem, and JB Smith of Cambridge) and their wives “dined with Mr Smith, at his rooms on Bulfinch street, Saturday afternoon. The affair was a very elegant one.” [see also *Boston Post*, 29 May 1876, 3]
- “Good Men and True,” *Boston Globe*, 17 May 1876, 2: Eighth Congressional District delegates elected yesterday chose ticket of James Freeman Clarke and James Russell Lowell over the ticket of Aaron C Mayhew of Milford and Joshua B Smith of Cambridge to serve as the two delegates to Republican National Convention in Cincinnati; it was “generally understood” that Mayhew would decline, so General WF Draper of Milford was put in his place; whole number of votes 79 in informal ballot: Lowell got 53, Clarke 44, Smith 27, Draper 25 and scattering for other candidates; in formal ballot with 79 votes, 49 needed to be elected, Lowell received 66, Clarke 48, Draper 23, Smith 15, so Draper and Smith were elected alternates and the others as delegates
- “Grand Republican Torchlight Procession,” advertisement, *Boston Globe*, 24 Oct 1876, 8: for “Loyalty to the Union and to Those Who Saved the Union,” set for 26 Oct 1876, and JB Smith one of many aides for the event and probably the only African American officer
- “Noble Bequests,” *Boston Globe*, 30 May 1877, 6: the will of Peter B. Brigham, who in a former will “desired that his money should serve as a fund for the emancipation of slaves in this country,” but that having been achieved had altered will to devote nearly ¾ of estate to a hospital for the sick poor of Suffolk County after 25 years of the money accumulated

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to make it possible; when required the fund to be equal to \$3 million; he left a sister an annual income and “to his very early, constant and esteemed friend, Joshua B Smith, he gives \$5000” and \$10,000 to his employees in his household and elsewhere; also \$40k to Bakersfield VT for schools and to keep the burial ground of the town, where his parents and family are

- ◆ Brigham b 4 Feb 1807 in Bakersfield VT and d 24 May 1877 Boston, never married; began career on Middlesex Canal boats, selling fish and oysters in Boston, owned a restaurant at corner Hanover and Court St in Boston until 1869, when he sold it when street widened; one of founding directors of Fitchburg RR and a successful real estate investor; the will left \$1.3 million to the hospital, reached \$2 million by 1902, and used to create Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, which was affiliated with Harvard Medical School and opened 1913; his papers are at American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, but do not include any letters except for one in 1876; Peter Bent Brigham Hospital papers at Countway Library, Harvard, has no correspondence
- “Round the Hub,” *Boston Globe*, 13 Mar 1878, 1: JB Smith and George L Ruffin invited to the fourth anniversary of death of Sumner event at Union Hall, and Edward L Pierce of Milton, longtime Sumner friend, gave the address
- “Last Night’s Rallies,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 2 Nov 1878, 1: Joshua B Smith among 4 speakers at meeting of Cambridge Ward 9 Republicans and spoke “briefly but with great earnestness of the progress made by his race within his memory, of the debt which the colored people owe to the republican party, and of their duty to remain steadfast in its support.”
- “At the State House,” *Boston Post*, 25 Jan 1879, 3: Committee on Claims heard the petition claim of Joshua B. Smith for reimbursement for furnishing three days’ (3 months in *Herald*) rations to the Twelfth MA Regiment in July 1861 (spring of 1861 by *Herald*); state authorized him to so furnish at 50 cents a head for privates and 75 cents a head for officers, but US paid him an average of 30 cents per man, and Smith seeks to recover the difference, which he estimated at \$17k without interest [see also “State House Notes,” *Boston Herald*, 12 Feb 1879, 1]; “The State-House,” *Boston Globe*, 13 Feb 1879, 1, notes that the committee on claims reported against Smith’s petition; “The Legislature,” *Boston Globe*, 1 Mar 1879, 6: House discussed again the payment for rations re: Smith’s claim; “Beacon Hill Topics: Back Pay for Rations,” *Boston Herald*, 1 Mar 1879, 6, notes that Joshua B Smith petition for \$17k in rations furnished the Twelfth Regiment, which was supported by Sen Rice of Worcester, chair of the committee on Claims, Hawges [*sic*] of Essex, and Burrage of Suffolk; Sen Palmer of Suffolk offered a substitute to refer matter to Governor and Council, which was “negatived” by vote of 10–10; “Senators French and Palmer were the chief fighters for granting the claim, but the larger part of the senate took part in the discussion, to more or less length. Towards the latter part of the discussion the orders of the day were laid upon the table” and other matters taken up and then “the Smith claim” again taken up; Senator Palmer of Suffolk moved that the claim be referred to Governor and Council, which lost 10–10 with senate president deciding in the negative, so the matter will be considered further next Tuesday; “Massachusetts Legislature,” *Boston Post*, 6 Mar 1879, 3, notes that the resolve in favor of Joshua B Smith was ordered to a third reading by a 14–11 vote; “The Legislature,” *Boston Globe*, 1 April 1879, 6: notes that the house finance committee reported a resolve authorizing Gov and Council to pay Smith the sum they find just and to leave the matter to arbitration “if deemed expedient”; Jennings of Fall River offers a bill giving the Superior Court of Suffolk County jurisdiction over the Smith claim instead of Governor and Council and ordered to third reading by 96–91 vote [*Boston Post*, 17 Apr 1879, 3]; an 83–79 vote for “Resolved, That the governor and council be, and they are hereby, authorized to pay to Joshua B. Smith the sum for subsistence furnished by him to the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment, from the 22d of April to the 23d day of

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July, 1861, as they may find to be his just and equitable due, not exceeding the price paid by the commonwealth for subsistence of other organizations at the same time; provided that, if the governor and council shall judge it to be expedient to adjust the alleged claim by arbitration, they are hereby authorized to do so in such manner as they may think best.” Kelly of Cambridge moved that jurisdiction of claim be placed on the Superior Court [*Boston Globe*, 18 Apr 1879, 4]; that day the Senate refused engrossment of the House resolve in favor of Smith’s claim by tie vote 17–17; *Boston Herald*, 23 Apr 1879, 2: “Another turn of the legislative wheel, and Joshua B. Smith is sent to nowhere with his claim of \$17,500. The Senate yesterday voted, 20 to 17, to reconsider its rejection of the resolve sending Mr. Smith to the council. This leaves him with no recourse but the new court of claims, if ever established.” “J. B. Smith’s War Claim,” *Boston Herald*, 15 May 1879, 2: in its last session state legislature passed an act “constituting the Superior Court a Court of Claims” to judge claims against the commonwealth, and where sum exceeded \$1000 3 judges to hear it; first petition under new law filed yesterday by Moses and C. A. Williams, attorney for Joshua B Smith of Cambridge, who is seeking \$16,617.20, with interest from 26 July 1861; a committee employed him to furnish subsistence for the Twelfth Regiment while they were in process of recruiting; state agreed to furnish 50 cents per private per ration and 75 cents per officer per ration, which came to \$40,378; Smith stated that on 17 July 1861 he told Andrew what he was doing, and governor said he’d be paid same as everyone else engaged in business; bill was approved by the regiment’s quartermaster and presented to commonwealth 26 July 1861 but was never paid; the members of committee later paid Smith \$23,700.80, and he claimed balance

- Justice, “Chapter in Legislative History,” letter to the editor, *Boston Post*, 15 May 1879, 4: Joshua B Smith “subsisted” the Twelfth Regiment from 22 April 1861, the day after it was organized, to 23 Jul 1861; he received only part pay from citizens committee that formed the regiment and was assured by Governor that he would be paid by the state; in those days state paid whatever was agreed upon and was later reimbursed by the federal government “to the extent of the cost of uncooked rations, to wit, 30 cents per day. For the three months this regiment was at Fort Warren, neither the United States nor the State of Massachusetts has ever paid a cent for its subsistence, and its remaining here so long was due to the disinclination of the Governor to commission the officers selected.” At the beginning of this year Smith petitioned legislature for his due, Committee of Claims reported adversely, and when its report came to the Senate the Senate passed by 16–10 resolve to send claim to Governor and Council; then coming to House, Senate’s resolve was referred to Finance Committee, which decided in favor of it as long as Governor and Council could refer it to arbitration if they wished; Smith and his friends found this condition “perfectly satisfactory”; then the new resolve passed the House and went to Senate, where it was “passed to engrossment” and then defeated by a change of vote of two senators; “From the start it was stated that the Governor was not favorable to its coming to the Executive chamber for adjustment, and its final defeat was due to the statements made to the members of both branches by the Chairmen of the Joint Committee on Claims, that the Governor did not want it to come there. Speaking as by authority, and openly, it was as if the Governor himself was lobbying in both legislative halls against Mr. Smith.” Justice asks, “Could there be anything more fair and proper than to have the Governor and Council examine and see what, if anything, was due to Mr Smith? His case was one that could not be reached by legal process. He has been widely known for over forty years in this city, and has ever been in the front rank with good and generous deeds. He is now in his old age, sick and poor, *while the State owes him enough to make him comfortable*. All through the community the expression is strongly made that the State cannot afford to have such injustice done to this most worthy citizen, and it is inquired, Why should the Governor have set himself so hardly against this reference? He could attend a meting

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at Faneuil Hall to see what should be done about the colored people at the South, while here at home a colored man can be allowed, as far as he is concerned, to go to the poor house when the State owes him for feeding her soldiers. It makes the eyes suffuse and the cheeks flush to hear this poor sick man tell his story, and it will be disgraceful to the Commonwealth if he is kept from his just dues. / It was stated by Senate White, in opposing the resolve, that in the exciting days of 1861 *promises were freely made that were never intended to be kept*, but we opine that the people of Massachusetts, if the Legislature fails in doing justice to a man who trusted all of his substance on the word of John A. Andrew that he should be paid for feeding the soldiers of the State, will determine that 'retrenchment' does not mean the repudiation of a just debt. JUSTICE"

- "The Claim of Joshua B. Smith," *Boston Post*, 16 May 1879, 3: Moses and C. A. Williams, attorneys for JB Smith of Cambridge, filed petition for hearing before Superior Court, as a Court of Claims, under the provisions of the new law, to recover \$16,617.20 with interest from 26 July 1861 for subsistence furnished the 12th
 - ◆ "Legislative Acts," *Boston Journal*, 6 Apr 1880, 1: Emeline I Smith petitioned the committee on claims for an allowance in consideration of services of her late husband to the commonwealth; committee had earlier said it should not pass and petition was recommended to it; "Boston and Vicinity," *Boston Journal*, 20 April 1880, 4, committee reported that \$3,000 should be allowed Emeline Smith
- "Garrison's Funeral," *Boston Globe*, 28 May 1879, 5: Joshua B Smith sent a cluster of roses in full bloom with a tuberose in the center to the WLG funeral at First Church in Roxbury event; Lewis Hayden along with Phillips, Charles L Mitchell, Oliver Johnson, Robert E Wallcut, Samuel May, Theodore Weld, and Samuel E Sewall were pall bearers [see also "Garrison," *Boston Herald*, 29 May 1879, 2]
- "J. B. Smith Dead: The Career of Boston's Well-Known Colored Caterer," *Boston Herald*, 5 July 1879, 1: "Mr. Smith was well known to a large class of our citizens. He was not, as is generally supposed, born in slavery, but first saw light in Coatsville [*sic*], Penn., Nov. 3, 1813," attracted wealthy Quaker lady's attention, then served Craig and traveled with him in South, came north in 1836, Mt Washington House, then in family of late Robert Gould Shaw; "In the freedom of his race from servitude, he took a great interest and expended liberally of his means to promote the anti-slavery cause. Though occupied by his calling, he found time to acquire large information. He was a close reader and an apt student, and he promoted his education, as he said, 'by association with intelligent men.' During the war he was an active promoter of recruiting, and was liberal to the soldier or his family who required his aid." This article quotes Sumner to have said of Smith, "Had Smith my own intellectual advantages, I know of no man who could have surpassed him, and I never feel the evil of slavery more keenly than when I see its power to limit the opportunities of a man like him." Also asserts the controversy over his ration claim "wore upon him, and no doubt contributed to hasten his death."
- "Death of Joshua B. Smith," *Boston Globe*, 5 Jul 1879 1: he was "the well-known caterer and life-long friend of Charles Sumner"; death at home Norfolk Street, Cambridge, had been ill with stomach inflammation for several months
- "Obituary. Joshua B. Smith," *Boston Post*, 7 Jul 1879, 3: he was born Coatsville [*sic*] PA 3 Nov 1813 and cared for by a wealthy Quaker lady there who sent him to public schools; he was then the private servant of John C. Craig, "with whom he had traveled in the South"; came to Boston 1835 and was head waiter at the Mount Washington House, South Boston (now the Blind Asylum), and then employed in the family of the late Robert G. Shaw, and it was while serving at Shaw's table that he met Sumner; friends helped him open his catering business, which he ran until his death; active in antislavery and did much to recruit for the war; Oct 1867 made a Free Mason by St Andrew's Lodge, then became member of Adelpia Lodge in South Boston, where he became a Junior Warden, and by

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virtue of that office became the first black man who ever held a seat in the Grand Lodge of MA; rep Cambridge in state legislature in 1873 and 1874, and as chair of committee of Fed Relations worked hard to get Legislature to rescind its censure of Sumner, and when he succeeded was the man who bore this official message to Sumner; when at DC he was Sumner's guest, and Sumner willed him *The Miracle of the Slave*; "At the last Legislature Mr Smith brought in a claim against the State for rations furnished the Webster regiment in 1861. It was footballed about and substantially refused, but Mr Smith always thought it just, and, as he had become somewhat in straitened circumstances, the refusal of the State to recognize it caused him considerable anxiety, and perhaps contributed to hasten his death." [another exposition of this case is "Answered. The Charges of Walker of Worcester," *Boston Globe*, 1 Nov 1879, 7] [*Boston Globe*, 28 Feb 1880, 2, notes that Smith's heirs were pursuing payment of claim, and Fiske of Holliston introduced a resolve to pay Emiline I Smith \$5,000 in consideration of husband's services to 12th, by *Boston Post*, 20 Apr 1880, 4]

- "Joshua B. Smith," *Boston Globe*, 9 Jul 1879, 2: his funeral at 37 Norfolk Street, Cambridge, attended by Judge Russell and others including Curtis C Nichols; Phillips could not come because his wife was very ill; body taken to Mt Auburn for burial, and pall bearers were NA Appolonio, SA Stackpole, Isaac H Rollins all of Adelphi Lodge, WHH Soule, EH Brainard, and Henry Mitchell of St Omer commandery of South Boston; "Funeral of the Late J. B. Smith," *Boston Post*, 9 Jul 1879, 3, notes that Lt Governor Long was there as well as JMS Williams, and address by Rev JFW Ware of Boston; "at the grave were many hundred people to witness the impressive ceremonies, and among them were colored members of the Masonic fraternity, who participated in the exercises."
- "Joshua B. Smith," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 7 Jul 1879, 2: "Mr. Smith was among the best known of our citizens, and it may be said, without injustice to any, that he was for many years the most influential of his face in this community"; cites his friendship with Sumner, efforts to rescind the censure, and fact that he bore news of resolution to Sumner and stayed at his DC house; "When the senator died, and the legislature took official recognition of the event, the tender and pathetic speech of Mr. Smith, broken off by his inability to control his grief, was one of the most touching incidents of that occasion." Also states, "Mr. Smith was never a slave," was born in PA, traveled with Craig, worked at Mt Washington Hotel, and then in family of the late Robert G Shaw, where he first met Sumner, and cites the application for reimbursement for rationing, which in state legislature "encountered much indifference, and there was reluctance even on the part of those kindly disposed to Mr. Smith to do what it was feared might be a precedent for unnumbered applications for relief. Mr. Smith was always a peculiarly sensitive man, and it is believed that this discouragement aggravated his illness."
- "Funeral of the Late J. B. Smith," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 9 Jul 1879, 4, has his name as "John B. Smith"
- "Personal Items," *New England Farmer* (Boston), 12 Jul 1879, 2: notes that Smith died last Saturday, b PA of mixed Indian and English descent (??), came to Boston as a young man and served as waiter and in family of Robert G Shaw; intimate of Sumner; "bore an unceasingly active and zealous part in the anti-slavery agitation, and was engaged in nearly all the notable [*sic*] fugitive slave cases, assisting to the best of his ability every flying black who came North in his effort to reach the Canada line and freedom. Equally prominent was he in connection with the cases of the slaves Shadrach and Sims. His intimacy and devoted friendship with Charles Sumner, is part of the history of the anti-slavery struggle, and continued to the day of Sumner's death."
- *Boston Post*, 19 Sept 1879, 3, and *Springfield Republican*, 20 Sept 1879, 6: household effects of late Joshua B Smith sold at auction Thursday, George W Harris bought the painting of the

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“Slave” for \$110, many large China plates brought \$5–37 each, and dinner sets sold from \$40–115

- “The Col. Robert G. Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Post*, 28 Jul 1880, 3: In 1863, soon after Wagner, Andrew, Sumner, SG Howe, Joshua B Smith and others started a movement to secure monument to his memory and obtained about \$3,000, but committee could not agree on an artist, so \$ invested and increased to nearly \$13k; “The money held is more than sufficient to secure the erection of a portrait statue, but is not enough to pay for an equestrian group. If it should be decided to represent the hero mounted, or in the act of mounting, two gentlemen pledge gifts of \$500 toward its cost, provided the group is placed at the junction of Commonwealth avenue and West Chester Park.”
- “Colored Churches in Boston,” *Boston Journal*, 16 Aug 1883, 3: a paper read by George L Ruffin at the 78th anniversary of Joy Street Church: “At one of the meetings at Joy Street Church the late Joshua B. Smith, the celebrated caterer, infused into the audience new vigor and determination by brandishing a large bowie knife and pistol, which he had on his person. He declared his intention to use them to prevent the slave catchers from taking away their victim. Daniel Webster, fresh from the delivery of his 7th of March speech, soon after this sent for Mr. Smith to have him get up a dinner for him. Smith was so wrought upon that he told Webster ‘he’d be d---d if we would,’ and flatly refused to prepare the dinner for Mr Webster.”
- “The Death of Robert Churchill,” *Boston Globe*, 28 Mar 1889, 1: Churchill, who died suddenly of hemorrhage yesterday, a “highly respected colored citizen” born in Norfolk VA 1830, enlisted in US Navy and stayed until he was 22; then left Norfolk 1855 and came to Boston; “He was for a long time in the employ of Joseph [sic] B. Smith, a noted caterer. The deceased was well known, as his presence was usually looked for at the large anniversary banquets which occur here in the spring. Since the death of J. B. Smith, Mr. Churchill has carried on private catering”; survived by daughter Mrs Mary Partlock of Chelsea, where his remains now lie [drec Robert C Churchill ae 60 black res 34 Cornhill St b Portsmouth VA pars Charles and Nancy both b VA caterer; 1880c living on Poplar St with 3 daus, eldest Anna b 1860 VA and next Mary b 1864 MA]
- “Red-Hot Shot,” *Boston Globe*, 24 Feb 1897, 3: I. D. Barnett, vice president of the Colored National League, charged at midwinter meeting of the Colored National League that the colored men in the state legislature had not “to his knowledge . . . done anything worth considering, and had done nothing at all that was of benefit to the colored people.” There were 4 black men at the meeting who had served in legislature—Edwin G. Walker, Geo W. Lowther, Oscar Armstrong (then president of the Colored National League), and Robert T Teamoh. Barnett stated that the CNL “has done more toward shaping opinion favorable to the colored people in this state than any of the colored men who have occupied seats in the legislature. . . I have yet to learn of one who was instrumental in getting any law passed that was of benefit to the race in this state and throughout the country. So far as the race is concerned, we might as well be without representation there, for the legislative records do not show where they have put through one bill, or benefited us in one particular.” He added that one of the black legislators conceived of a monument over grave of Gov Hancock and would have done much better to have used his influence “to have a monument erected to some colored man like Frederick Douglass.” This brought Teamoh, the one who’d proposed the Hancock memorial, to his feet with claim that attack on black legislators was “unjustifiable” and that all 15 had served “the state and their race well”; Edwin G Walker and Charles L Mitchell entered in 1867, and from that time “the colored people of this state have been better treated in regards to the law than in any other state, with the exception of Ohio, that I know of.” He notes that the word “colored” is now permissible only in vital statistics. The 15 men were Walker, Mitchell, John J Smith, JB Smith, Geo L Ruffin, Lewis Hayden, Geo W Lowther, Julius C Chappelle,

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- Wm O Armstrong, Andrew B Lattimore, Chas E Harris, Teamoh, and Wm L Read, all of Boston; Deacon Hammond of Mashpee; and Wm Vanderhoof of Gay Head. Teamoh says that Hancock “was the first negro emancipator in this country,” the first governor or citizen to present a stand of colors to a colored company in the revolutionary war and “a great philanthropist to the colored people of this city” during his life; he says “it would be wrong” to erect a monument to Douglass in MA as he was only “a transient citizen in this state.” Robert Gaines says of the 15 only 3 or 4 are “worthy of mention,” the rest having been “put there by certain politicians to pay off some political debt to the colored people”
- “Idea of a Colored Man: Joshua Benton [sic] Smith, a Warm Admirer of Col Shaw, First to Suggest an Equestrian Memorial,” *Boston Daily Globe*, 31 May 1897, 7: states that Smith “escaped from slavery in Virginia, and . . . was employed in the family of George Francis Shaw on Bowdoin st at the time Col Robert Gould Shaw was a babe”; says idea for Shaw monument came to him about the same time that the 54th members and “colored people on James and Morris Islands and Beaufort, S. C.” worked to raise funds for such a monument in SC; Smith “probably one of the most remarkable colored men who has lived in Boston. He was born a slave upon a Virginia plantation, and as a child and youth was singularly attractive. He was very bright and possessed natural intelligence to a marked degree. He was of Caucasian, negro and Indian blood, and even in his old age was a large, strong and handsome man. His youthful attractions naturally attracted his master, and Smith was made his valet and traveled with him considerably. An opportunity came to Smith to escape from slavery, as he longed to be a free man. He was fortunate in this efforts, as along in 1836 escaping slaves were few and did not attract much attention.” Arrived in Boston 1835 and “at once taken in to the Shaw family. It was here, while an inside man, that he first made the acquaintance of Charles Sumner, and it was the beginning of a long friendship between the two men that lasted even down to the death of Sumner. Mr Smith evinced a liking for young Shaw when he was but a babe, and that friendship too, was lasting. / “One day Mr Smith had his young charge out on the common. They were sitting upon one of the seats on Beacon at the mall, exactly upon the part now occupied by the Shaw memorial, when Smith noticed that young Shaw was looking intently at him. He was even more surprised when he asked Smith, ‘What makes your hands so black?’ ‘God made them so,’ Smith replied. ‘Well,’ said the boy, ‘if God made them so, why do people find fault with it?’ Smith, replying, said: ‘Because they are bad.’ Whereupon young Shaw said: ‘Smith, some day I will fight for you.’” Smith entered the catering business and became “the wealthiest colored man in this city” with place of business on Bulfinch Street, upon site now occupied by house of Engine 4, the same building in which was “the large library of Charles Sumner,” and the place “was always a center for the leaders of the abolitionists and other great men”; Smith gave Shaw and his “newly wedded wife a wedding dinner at his home on Norfolk st, Cambridge” the Monday before the Thursday that Shaw went South with his regiment; Shaws had just come there from Lenox, where they had been spending their honeymoon, and also in attendance were Phillips, Garrison, James Proctor and Dr Beach. Andrew “sought out Smith” when he was in doubt about whom to make colonel of 54th, and Smith suggested Shaw [have not seen anywhere else claims that the bench was on site on Shaw Memorial, that Sumner’s library was on same site as Shaw’s catering business, that Smith gave Shaw a wedding dinner at his Cambridge house, or that Smith suggested Shaw for 54th]
 - “People of African Descent Honored by Cambridge,” *Boston Herald*, 16 Aug 1903, 29, shows images of JR Raymond, Horace J Gray, Wm H Lewis, Clement G Morgan, John Jane Fatal, Dr Wm C Lane, and “Patrolman Robinson” arrayed around a much larger medallion of Joshua B Smith; asserts that Smith was “never a slave”
 - “Shaw Monument,” *Boston Globe*, 17 Feb 1916, 6: A. C. Jones of Boston asked editor of People’s Column who founders of Shaw Monument were and when unveiled, and it here

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states that “the prize mover of the matter was doubtless Joshua B. Smith, a fugitive from slavery, who, after his escape had been in the service of Col. Shaw’s family.” [also in *Boston Globe*, 25 October 1920, 10; 11 March 1922, 10; 28 February 1923, 14]

- “St. Gaudens Lives in Shaw Memorial,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, 11 Aug 1907, 15 (on occasion of Saint-Gaudens’s death): notes in subhead that “Boston Negro Started Plan to Remember Leader of Brave 54th” and states that Joshua B Smith, “a fugitive from slavery, who was in the service of Col. Shaw’s family,” initiated the effort to erect the monument
- Daniels, *In Freedom’s Birthplace*, 449, states that Smith “had come to Boston as a fugitive from North Carolina in 1847,” which is incorrect as to date and perhaps in all other particulars

newspaper and other notices re: catering business

- “Fashionable Intelligence,” *Boston Herald*, 7 Mar 1849, 2: “J. B. Smith, the colored caterer,” prepared the supper for Inaugural Ball for Zachary Taylor at Assembly Hall in Boston, then opened for the first time for a public hall, on this auspicious occasion” with supper room over the ballroom, but on this occasion dressing room at right side of main entrance used as supper room; a full lists of the music played; “The supper was served at half past ten o’clock, and continued to be served during the rest of the night. It was a most *recherche* and epicurean repast, by which J. B. Smith, the colored caterer, has made himself famous. His tables groaned with tempting luxuries, such as game, oyster pies served hot, ice creams, French *bon bons*, hot coffee, etc. The tables were tastefully ornamented with greenhouse flowers.”
- “The Bi-Centennial Celebration at Malden,” *Boston Herald*, 24 May 1849, 2, story continued from fourth edition of the day before; after Mr Haven read a “very long poem,” the procession reformed and marched from the Bell-Rock to the pavilion, “near at hand, where J. B. Smith, the distinguished caterer from this city, had prepared a magnificent banquet, of which no less than 2000 people partook. It was a great operation for Mr. Smith, and he acquitted himself with great credit to himself and the committee of arrangements. The repast was good and sufficient; it comprised roast, fowl, tongue, pig, pies, ice creams, pastries, etc. The tables were tastefully arranged with flowers.”
- “The Celebration of the Seventy-Third Anniversary of American Independence,” *Boston Herald*, 5 Jul 1849, 1: Mayor wanted to include “the first classes in our city schools” in the celebration, so the children reviewed the floral procession on Tremont Street mall and then, led by Moses Kimball, marched to Assembly Hall, “where a splendid collation was prepared by Mr. J. B. Smith,” after which the mayor, Horace Mann, and Governor Briggs gave addresses
- “Boston Anniversaries,” *Boston Herald*, 31 May 1850, 4: fourth annual festival of the Universalist General Reform Association at Winthrop Hall, Tremont Row, “where tables were set in the upper hall with the usual taste and elegance which Mr. J. B. Smith, the caterer, always displays in such matters. . . . At 2 o’clock P.M., 260 gentlemen and ladies sat dawn [*sic*] to partake of the excellent *recherche* repast of fruit, cake, ices, pastry, lemonade and other articles of luxury.”
- He catered the *Liberator* soiree at Cochituate Hall 24 Jan 1851, sponsored by the Friends of Emancipation, to celebration the completion of the *Liberator*’s second decade [“Liberator Soiree,” *Liberator*, 31 Jan 1851, 2].
- He catered the Boston City Council’s dinner of 75th Anniversary of American Independence, 4 July 1851; and a one-page broadside accompanied it with menu [broadside in collections Boston Athenaeum]
- “Last Day of the Jubilee,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 20 Sept 1851, 1: a three-day event: “The arrangements for the dinner were most ample. Twelve long tables, capable of accommodating three thousand persons, were put up, and were supplied with the best

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of refreshments and eatables, and an abundance of them. The tables for persons of note, official, &c., were raised above the others, and were arranged in circular form, extending entirely around the tent. The floor of the platform was handsomely carpeted, and the whole of the seats and tables covered with white linin. The tent was erected under the supervision of Col N. A. Thompson, and decorated by Mr Wiliam Beals, pyrotechnist of this city. The dinner was under the director of Mr J. B. Smith, public caterer. The viands consisted of cold roast and boiled fowls, cold roast beef, ham, tongues, oyster pie, lobster salad, &c, very neatly laid on, and garnished with pastry, fruit, melons and flowers, arrayed most invitingly. A fragrant little bouquet graced each tumbler, and larger ones in elegant vases, adorned the tables at regular intervals.” This event took place to celebrate the completion of various rail and steamship lines that drew Canada and US closer, and Lord Elgin, governor general of Canada, accepted invitation to attend; he wrote on 26 Sept 1851 that he met “all the United States, President included,” and described a dinner for 3500 persons on Boston Common [Theodore Walrond, ed., *Letter and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin, Governor of Jamaica, Governor-General of Canada, Envoy to China, Viceroy of India* (London: John Murray, 1872), 161–62.] [see also “Preparations for the Jubilee,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 Sept 1851, 2, which mentions JB Smith]

- “Celebration of Independence,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 Jul 1852, 2: Joshua B Smith supplied the “most sumptuously furnished tables” at Faneuil Hall 4 July dinner; “The Celebration Yesterday,” *Boston Herald*, 6 July 1852, 4, notes that Smith, “caterer to the city,” prepared the annual 4 July dinner
- “The Celebration of the National Anniversary,” *Boston Daily Bee*, 5 Jul 1853, 1, notes, “The dinner was provided by Joshua B. Smith, and was superb”
- W. C. N., “Business Enterprises of Colored People in Boston,” *Liberator*, 27 Jan 1854, notes, “The following deserved tribute to him who had distanced all competitors, and is hailed as the Prince of caterers, has been published in the city papers, and should find a place in the *Liberator*:—/ Boston, Nov. 17, 1853 / The Dinner Committee of the Sons of New Hampshire avail themselves of the occasion to express to Mr. J. B. Smith their entire satisfaction at the manner in which he met his engagements to the committee. The abundance and variety of the well-prepared viands, the prompt attention of the well-disciplined waiters; the elegant bouquets, and the other adornments of the tables, conspired to render the entertainment one of the best public dinners ever produced in the city of Boston. We take much pleasure in recommending Mr. Smith as a most excellent caterer.” [Nell 373–74]
- *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 May 1856: Smith to furnish tables at annual New England Anti-Slavery convention at Melodeon, Boston, on 27 May
- *Liberator*, 16 Jan 1857, 1, 3–4: Smith catered the dinner at the 25th anniversary of MA Anti-Slavery Society [Nell 462–64]
- “The National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary,” *Liberator*, 14 Feb 1862, 4: L. Maria Child writing of 28th Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary at Music Hall 22 Jan states that Joshua B. Smith and his “corps of experienced men . . . took entire charge of the tables” of donations without charge; in 29th National Anti-Slavery Subscription campaign Mrs Joshua B Smith gave \$20
- “Golden Wedding,” *Liberator*, 24 Oct 1863, 2, notes that Bourne and Hannah B Spooner celebrated 50th wedding anniversary in Plymouth and that “the famous caterer, Mr. J. B. Smith, of this city,” prepared the “collation”
- “The Grand State Ball,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 Mar 1866, 1: supper for huge event served at noon in the Melodeon, though refreshments had been passed out in corridors of the hall from 10–12; stage of supper hall devoted to invited guests, and “a fine view of an encampment upon a plain surrounded by mountains” was background of the platform, which also had rare plants and shrubs and lots of “remarkable flowers.” “The tables upon

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the floor of the hall contained everything that could comfort the inner man or woman, J. B. Smith, the caterer, having provided an ample supply for the wants of 2500 hungry mortals, had the exigency required such a demand upon his unfailing resources. . . . The table of the invited guests was even more luxuriously bestowed than the above bill of fare would indicate, and the military ‘stars’ there feasted themselves upon biscuit glacee; horns of penty [*sic*], which turned out deliciously frozen cream; birds’ nests, in which the eggs of the birds were also of ice cream; bom glacee, and other ingenious and palatable inventions of the cuisine.”

- *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 22 Jun 1868, 1: “The following anecdote of Joshua B. Smith, the caterer, is narrated in a late New York paper—When Mr Smith had been engaged to provide the city banquet on the occasion of the Prince of Wales’s visit, Mr Everett went to him and said he was particularly desirous that everything should be arranged as skillfully and elegantly as possible. ‘I know,’ said he, ‘that the materials of the entertainment will be all that could be desired, but I want the manner, the arrangement, the decorations, most carefully attended to. Do, for this occasion, something better than you have ever done before.’ Mr Smith said he would give his mind to it. When all was ready he invited Mr Everett to inspect the arrangements. They twice walked around the hall together, carefully scrutinizing everything, but without a word being said. At last, having viewed the whole, Mr. Everett said, ‘Mr Smith, I have seen entertainments in every capital in Europe; but I have never seen one displaying more taste and good judgment than this.’ The Prince, when the time came, expressed to his friends his sense of the good arrangements of the occasion; and subsequently, after the city had paid Mr. Smith’s bill, Mr Everett handed him an enveloped containing \$1000, in token of the satisfaction of the managers in the success of this entertainment.” [also *Springfield Republican*, 25 Jun 1868, 2]
- “Boys’ Anniversary at Andover,” *Christian Watchman*, 17 Jun 1875, 8, notes that at 50th anniversary of the Philips Academy Philomatheon Society, a debating group, was celebrated under a tent, and Joshua B Smith was caterer

Appendix E

Other Biographical Notes

italicized names are African American

Andrew, John Albion
DOB: 31 May 1818
POB: Windham ME
father: Jonathan b Salem 1782
mother: Nancy Green Pierce 1784–1832
spouse: Eliza Jane Hersey b 1826 Hingham
DOM: 24 Dec 1848 mrec
POM: Hingham mrec
DOD: 30 Oct 1867
POD: Boston
bur: 1) Mt Auburn 2) Old Ship cem, Hingham (moved 1875)

note: grad Bowdoin 1837 and moved to Boston to study law with Henry H Fuller (uncle of Margaret Fuller); admitted to MA Bar 1840; active “Conscience Whig,” close associate in earlier years of Charles Sumner, and involved in the 1846 and 1851 Boston Vigilance Committees and the second committee’s legal arm; helped create Free Soil Party 1848; provided legal support to John Brown after 1859 raid; elected to MA General Court 1857; MA governor 1861–66, directed creation of MA 54th and 55th; helped found and served on board of Home for Aged Colored Women in Boston 1859–60

note: lived at 110 Charles St in Boston 1855–67 while in state government

note: see Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *The Life of John Andrew*, 2 vols (1904)

Appleton, John Whittier Messer
DOB: 1 April 1832
father: John Whittier 1809–69
mother: Elizabeth Marshall Messer
spouse: Mary Rice Marsh
DOM: 21 Sept 1858
POM: Boston
DOD: 23 Oct 1913
POD: Salt Sulphur Springs WV

cen: 1850 W Newbury/medical student in pars’ hh
1855 Boston/asst librarian in pars’ hh
1860 Boston/bkpr w/w wife in hh bank cashier James Marsh

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1865 Boston/USA w/ wife, dau Mabel in hh Joseph Marsh
1870 Charleston WV/manufacturer w/ wife, 2 dau, bdg bkpr, 4 Af Am servants

serv: 2d Lt, capt, major Co A 54th

note: father a physician; first enlisted as private in Boston Cadets before enlisting as 2d lieutenant in 54th 7 Feb 1863; ran 54th recruiting office in West End early 1863, promoted to captain 14 Apr 1863 and mustered at that rank 21 Apr 1863; wounded at Wagner and promoted to Major same day; sent to Hilton Head Hospt, rejoined regt 24 Oct 1863 and resumed command of company; appointed acting asst inspector general 27 Nov 1863; sick and at home in MA summer 1864; 10 Sept 1864 physician stated he is “suffering from malarial fever and the effects of sunstroke” as well as chronic diarrhea; resigned due to illness 17 Nov 1864 and discharged 21 Nov 1864 (mrec states he had “hepatic disease induced by excessive fatigue while on duty at James & Morris Islands”); Gov Andrew called him “a true and faithful as well as intelligent man, devoted to his duty and signalized his bravery in the field at Fort Wagner” 8 Dec 1863 [milrec]; moved to WV after war; 1899 provided testimony in support of Carney’s Medal of Honor; adjutant genl WV 1897–1901; killed by Jersey bull on his farm in Salt Sulphur Springs WV [“Bull Kills Gen Appleton,” *Boston Globe*, 27 Oct 1913, 4]; his papers at West Virginia University include photograph of young Carney with tattered flag

Atkinson, Edward
DOB: 10 Feb 1827
POB: Brookline
father: Amos Atkinson drec
mother: Anna G Sawyer
spouse: Mary Caroline Heath 1830–1907
DOM: 1855
DOD: 11 Dec 1905
POD: Boston
bur: Walnut Hills, Brookline

note: mother from Newbury and father from Newburyport; he was Phd Dartmouth and LLD U South Carolina; 1866 invented the Aladdin cooker

note: treasurer of Shaw Memorial fund 1865–97

note: Boston cotton broker and expert on cotton cultivation and markets; promoted “cheap cotton by free labor,” title of pamphlet he published 1861; agent and treasurer for numerous New England textile mills; abolitionist who supported Boston Vigilance Committee; 1855 member of Emigrant Aid Co aiming to resettle New Englanders in KS; raised funds to send rifles to KS and for John Brown’s legal defense; helped recruit for 54th and 55 Regiments and involved in Boston branch of US Sanitary Commission; a founder of Freedmen’s Relief Committee of Boston

note: disputes imperialism of McKinley and Roosevelt and helps found American Anti-Imperialist League 1898

APPENDIX E

Banks, Ralph Julian

DOB: 25 Apr 1900 brec, 25 May 1900 42draft

POB: Boston

father: George T Banks b Brooklyn NY

mother: Alice Simmons b New Bern NC

DOM: 16 July 1885

POM: Cambridge

spouse: Alice E/L Johnson b 1904 MD

DOM: 1926

POM: MA

DOD: 9 Sept 1977

POD: Brookline

cen: 1910 Boston/in pars' hh
1920 Boston/in pars' hh
1930 Medford/window clerk PO w/ wife, dau

dir: 1938 Boston/clerk South Postal Annex h 127 Harvard W Medford
1948 Boston/clerk South Postal Annex h W Medford
1952 Boston/clerk South Postal Annex h 66 Harold Roxbury
1957 Boston/foreman South Postal Annex h 66 Harold Roxbury
1962 Boston/do to 1957 dir
1964 Boston/do to 1957 dir
1967 Boston/real est 66 Harold St Roxbury h do

children: Alice L 1929

note: pars married 1885 in Boston and living at 62 Southac when he was born; father a porter at marriage and later a railroad post office and yard clerk

note: attended Harvard and student when he registered for draft 1918; postal clerk at South Postal Annex in Boston and realtor; working at South Postal Annex in Boston at time of draft registration 1942 and living at 96 Harvard Ave in Medford

note: active in Wagner and Boston Massacre anniversary and other Af Am historical events and fought active racial discrimination in auto insurance 1930s; spoke at Shaw Memorial 1945; living in West Medford by 1930s and Roxbury in 1950s; sec Boston branch National Equal Rights League 1935 and vp of same 1945; 1933 testified before the legislature in support of a bill that would prohibit insurance companies from refusing policies on racial, religious, and geographical grounds ["Charge Discrimination in Automobile Insurance," *Boston Globe*, 1 February 1933, 4]

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Bannister, Christiana Babcock Carteaux

DOB: 1819–20, Apr 1826 c00

POB: N Kingstown RI, S Kingstown RI mrec

father: James mrec2

spouse: 1) Desiline L Carteaux 2) Edward M Bannister

DOM: 1) 13 Oct 1840 2) 10 June 1857

POM: 1) Boston 2) Boston

DOD: 29 Dec 1902

POD: Cranston RI

note: of African and Narragansett Indian descent; her brother Charles (elsewhere James) m Cecilia Remond (1816–1912), dau of John and sister of African American abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond; may have worked in millinery with Remond sisters-in-law in Salem, then back to Providence; first husband a clothes dealer 105 Blackstone, Boston, 1839d; in 1851 she opened hair salon in Boston (where she moved 1847) and hired future husband Edward Bannister as barber there; she and second husband lived in Lewis Hayden at 66 Phillips 1859–60; Bannisters moved to Providence 1869; she helped raise funds in late 1880s for Home for Aged Colored Women in that city and was largest single donor in first year; remained involved with home for rest of her life and was placed there 21 Sept 1902; eight days later adjudged insane and taken to Howard Asylum at Cranston, where she died

note: see husband's census and dir listings

note: mrec2 show her ae 34 b S Kingston RI father James and her second marriage

note: possibly president of Colored Ladies Relief Society in Boston, which supplied state flag to 54th Regiment May 1863; appointed to committee to assist 54th later that month; she and others organized Colored Ladies' Sanitary Commission of Boston May 1864

note: see Jane Lancaster, "I Would Have Made Out Very Poorly Had It Not Been for Her': The life of Work of Christianna Bannister, Hair Doctress and Philanthropist," *Rhode Island History* November 2001, 102–121

Bannister, Edward Mitchell

DOB: Nov 1828 bio, Nov 1827 c00

POB: St. Andrews, New Brunswick mrec2

father: Edward M b Barbados mrec2

spouse: Christiana Babcock Carteaux

DOM: 10 June 1857

DOD: 9 Jan 1901

POD: Providence

bur: North cem, Providence

cen: 1850 Boston/ hairdresser hh John D Revaleon
1860 Boston/artist 323 Washington, bds 70 Southac
1870 Providence RI/artist \$500 pers est w/ wife, Babcock & Bannister relatives
1900 Providence/artist, wife "lady hairdresser"

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dir: 1870 Providence RI/portrait painter 14 Westminster h 6 B St
1872 Providence/portrait painter 12 S Main h 37 Swan
1875 Providence/artist 2 College, h 67 Cushing
1882 Providence/do to 1875
1885 Providence/artist 19 College room 50, h 93 Benevolent
1897 Providence/93 Benevolent St

note: ambrotypist at time of marriage; 1850c his brother Wm, also a hairdresser, lived with him in hh Revaleon, African American hairdresser, 1850c

note: after his mother died, he worked at sea in Canada before moving to Boston 1848 (1900c has 1840 date of emig) with brother Wm and worked as a barber; took evening classes at Lowell Inst and exhibited at Boston Art Club and Museum; he and John S Rock called mtg Oct 1862 that forms Association for the Relief of Destitute Contrabands in Boston; painted $\frac{3}{4}$ -length portrait of RG Shaw and exhibited it at Colored Soldiers Fair in Boston Oct 1864; landscape *Under the Oaks* won first prize at Philadelphia Centennial 1876; among founders of Providence Art Club 1880

Barlow, Ellen Shaw
DOB: 1 Jun 1845
POB: West Roxbury
father: Francis George Shaw
mother: Sarah Blake Sturgis
spouse: Francis Channing Barlow 1834–96
DOM: 1867
DOD: 12 Jan 1936
POD: Boston
bur: Moravian cem, Staten Island NY

children: Robert Shaw 1869–1943, Charles Lowell 1871–1965

note: she visited Saint-Gaudens's studio in NY June 1896 to check progress on Shaw Memorial

note: agreed to let brother's name be attached to Robert Gould Shaw House (settlement) in South Boston 1908, donated to it, and served on its women's auxiliary committee

note: husband Harvard 1855, enlists in 12th NY at beginning of war and mustered out Aug 1861, commissioned lt col of 61 NY Infantry Nov 1861 and promoted to colonel 1862; after war was NY Atty Gen and initiated prosecution of the Tammany Hall Tweed ring

note: son Charles one of two nephews of RG Shaw to take part in 1897 Shaw Memorial unveiling; sons Robert Shaw and Charles Lowell Barlow attend Wagner semicentennial in Boston 1913

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Barnett, Ida B. Wells

DOB: 16 Jul 1862

POB: Holly Springs MS

father: James Wells

mother: Elizabeth Warrenton

spouse: Ferdinand L Barnett

DOM: 1895

DOD: 25 Mar 1931

POD: Chicago

bur: Oak Woods, Chicago

note: born enslaved to architect Spires Boling; attended Rust (then Shaw) College in Holly Springs and Fisk University; after parents died in yellow fever epidemic 1878 she took teaching job and moved with siblings to Memphis 1883; co-owned and wrote for *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight* newspaper; 1884 filed lawsuit re: rail car discrimination and won in local court, but federal court overturned; 1889 after friend lynched in South Memphis she devoted years to documenting lynching and published *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* in 1892; white mob burned her printing office and drove her out of town; moved to Chicago; urged Af Am boycott of World's Columbian Exposition 1893; her daughter Alfreda Barnett Duster edits and publishes her unfinished autobiography *Crusade for Justice* (1970)

Bell, James Madison

DOB: 3 Apr 1826

POB: Gallipolis OH

spouse: Louisiana Sanderlin

DOM: 9 Nov 1847

POM: Cincinnati OH

DOD: 1902

POD: Toledo OH

note: Bishop B. W. Arnett, "Biographical Sketch of J. Madison Bell," in *Poetical Works of James Madison Bell* (1904), who was pastor in Toledo 1870–73, notes that he moved to Cincinnati at 17 and learned plastering from his bro-in-law George Knight; went to school at night; became antislavery activist; moved family to Chatham, Ontario, 1854, knew John Brown, and is said to have helped enlist men to take part in Harper's Ferry raid; after move to San Francisco worked with Af Am activists TMD Ward, JB Sanderson, JT Jennifer, Philip A Bell, and FG Barbadoes; was a church steward and began writing poetry in San Francisco; in 1865 returned to East Coast and began working with freedmen, then to Canada briefly and then to Toledo; read his works publicly in various places, then back to Toledo, then to the city of Maumee and called "the Bard of the Maumee"; he plastered in summer and fall traveled reading poetry in winter

note: bio on All Poetry website, which has exact text of "Progress of Liberty," is entirely different; says he was born in NYC 1833, grad CUNY 1854, Andover Theo 1857, ordained Ashby MA 1858, pastor 1876–86, married Susan Foster in Andover 1858, had 7 children, d 18 Jan 1901 in Leominster

APPENDIX E

Blanchet, Carrie Evelina S Lee

DOB: 28 Mar 1895

POB: New Bedford

father: Charles Cranston Lee b 1860 New Bedford d 1927

mother: Jennie L Wildes b 1871 AL

spouse: Dr Alfred D Blanchet b 1900 LA

DOM: 28 Aug 1930

POM: Cook Co IL

DOD: Jan 1979

POD: Detroit MI

cen: 1900 New Bedford/in pars' hh 115 Sycamore
1910 New Bedford/in pars' hh
1920 New Bedford/ school teacher in pars' hh 115 Sycamore
1930 DC/public school teacher in hh mother, sister Jennie W 939 S St NW
1940 Detroit MI/public school teacher w/ husband

dir: 1915 New Bedford/student res 115 Sycamore
1925 New Bedford/school teacher res 115 Sycamore
1933 DC/public school teacher res 939 S St NW

note: her father the son of soapmaker John C Lee b 1832 VA or MD and Ada J Anthony, who are in New Bedford by 1860; family lived at 115 Sycamore 1900–25; father became a PO letter carrier 1900 and is still in that position 1920

note: grad Smith College 1917; a teacher 1923–26 living at home; after father died widow Jennie W moved to Washington DC with Carrie 35 public school teacher and Jennie 30 stenographer broker's office; she wrote "William Harvey Carney," *Negro History Bulletin*, February 1944, 107–8

Boker, George Henry

DOB: 6 Oct 1823

POB: Philadelphia

father: Charles S Boker

spouse: Julia Mandeville Riggs

DOM: 1844

DOD: 2 Jan 1890

POD: Philadelphia

note: grad College of NJ (Princeton) 1842; Nov 1862 helped found Union Club in Philadelphia; wrote "The Black Regiment" at Port Hudson May 1863; Grant appointed him US minister to Constantinople 3 Nov 1871, transferred to Russia 1875 and recalled 1878, when he returned to US

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Brawley, Benjamin Griffith

DOB: 22 Apr 1882

POB: Columbia SC

father: Edward McKnight Brawley b Charleston SC

mother: Margaret Dickerson (or Dixon)

spouse: Hilda D Prowd b 1887 Jamaica d 1960

DOM: 20 or 22 Jul 1912

POM: DC

DOD: 1 Feb 1939

POD: DC

note: father a minister, and family lived at Palatka FL 1900c; grad Morehouse (then Atlanta Baptist College) 1901 and got second BA at University of Chicago 1906, master's Harvard 1908 and taught in English departments at Atlanta Baptist, Howard, and Shaw U; first dean of Morehouse 1912–20, chair of English dept at Howard 1937; wrote *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States* (1918), *A Social History of the American Negro* (1921), and *A New Survey of English Literature* (1925)

note: 1919 he and wife sent by NY State Colonization Society to teach at Liberia College in Monrovia for a year

note: wrote “My Hero” about Shaw 1914

Brown, William Wells

DOB: ca 1814 DANB, 1815 c55

POB: near Lexington KY, KY c55, Lexington KY mrec2

father: George Higgins

mother: Elizabeth

spouse: 1) Elizabeth Schooner 2) Anna Elizabeth Gray b 1835 Baltimore

DOM: 1) summer 1834 2) 12 Apr 1860

POM: 1) Cleveland OH 2) Boston

DOD: 6 Nov 1884

POD: Chelsea

bur: Cambridge Cem

cen: 1855 Boston/lecturer, Smith Court

children: 1) Clarissa, Josephine

note: living in 1855 with Af Am activists James Scott, Wm Cooper Nell, Henry Weeden

note: born on plantation of John Young, physician; mother a mulatto owned by Young and father was a first cousin of John Young. In 1816 Young moved to MO and took slaves with him; Brown was in St. Louis and area around there until ae 20 as property of Young and two other owners as house servant, tavern worker, “handyboy” in printing office of Elijah P. Lovejoy, steamboat “factotum,” field hand, Young’s office assistant, and handyman for slave trader James Walker, for whom he made three trips to New Orleans slave markets. Escaped slavery in Cincinnati 1 Jan 1834 while in service to St. Louis commission merchant and steamboat owner Enoch Price; en route to Canada aided by central OH Quaker Wells Brown and added his name to his given enslaved

APPENDIX E

name. Settled in Cleveland, married, and had 3 daughters, first of whom died as infant; younger of two surviving girls, Josephine, became father's biographer. In 1836–45 lived in Buffalo and then moved to Farmington NY, near Rochester. During time in Buffalo worked on Lake Erie steamers and became "expert conductor" on UGRR bringing fugitives via Buffalo and Detroit to Canada; in seven months of 1842 brought 69 to Canada. Active in temperance society in Buffalo, which gave him experience in parliamentary procedure and public speaking. Fall 1843 became lecturing agent for Western NY Anti-Slavery Society, position he held for almost four years. Early May 1847 he and wife separated, he took custody of daughters, and he engaged to lecture for MA Anti-Slavery Society in same month and moved to Boston. In 1868 he was in business with Coffin Pitts at 24 Brattle Street and remained so until 1874, but from 1872 with Mrs. Coffin Pitts [Farrison 402]. July 1849 went abroad to represent American Peace Society at International Peace Congress in Paris and to win continued British support for antislavery crusade in US. Stayed in Great Britain until Sept 1854. Spring 1854 English friends purchased his freedom, and he returned to US; his wife had by then died, and in 1860 he married Annie Elizabeth Gray (1835–1902) of Cambridge. Recruited men of color for MA 54th Regiment in MA, PA, and NJ. He participated in convention of New England Negroes in Boston 1 Dec 1865, was one of key speakers at 3d anniversary of Emancipation Proclamation at Tremont Temple 1 Jan 1866 [Farrison 403]

note: Became practicing physician after the war, having been office assistant to owner John Young as a young man, but continued to devote time to lecturing, writing, and temperance reform. Cause of death tumor of the bladder. Funeral service for him held at AME Zion Church on North Russell Street in Boston 9 Nov 1884, with Lewis Hayden among speakers.

note: wrote numerous books and pamphlets, first of which was his 1847 *William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself*, which went through four editions of ten thousand copies in two years and five British editions with slightly different titles in the next four years. His *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States* (1853) has been considered the first novel by an African American and was published in England; not published in United States until 1969. Wrote antislavery drama in three acts titled *Experience; or, How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone*, which he read occasionally but never published, and in 1856 wrote another antislavery drama in five acts entitled *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom*, which, after reading publicly often, he published in Boston in 1858. DANB states that this work was the first drama published by an African American. Also wrote four histories, including *St. Domingo: Its Revolution and Its Patriots* (1855), *The Black Man, His Antecedent, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863), *The Negro in the American Rebellion: His Heroism and His Fidelity* (1867), *The Rising Son: or, The Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race* (1874), which contained biographies of 110 "representative" men and women of color; also wrote *My Southern Home: or, The South and Its People* (1880)

note: lived at Webster Ave, Cambridgeport, June 1860–1878; moved to 7 Decatur Street, South End, Boston, from Cambridge in early 1878, and in 1880 to 28 East Canton Street, still in South End; 1883 he moved to 89 Beacon Street in Chelsea, where he remained until he died

note: see Josephine Brown, *Biography of an American Bondman, by His Daughter* (Boston: Robert F. Wallcut, 1865); William Edward Farrison, *William Wells Brown: Author & Reformer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); obituaries in *Boston Daily Globe*, 10 Nov 1884, 3; *Boston Herald*, 10 Nov 1884; *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 Nov 1884, 1; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 10 Nov 1884, 8.

APPENDIX E

Bush-Banks, Olivia Ward

DOB: 23 May 1869

POB: Sag Harbor NY

father: Abraham Ward

mother: Eliza Draper

spouse: 1) Frank Bush 2) Anthony Banks

DOM: 1) 1889 2) 1916

DOD: 8 Apr 1944

POD: NYC

cen: 1900 Medford MA/poet in hh aunt Maria J Draper

1910 Boston/employment office owner bdg in hh hotel waiter Edw W Taylor

children: 1) Rosamond Sept 1890–1929, Marie A Mar 1892

note: parents were of African and Montaukett Indian descent; family moved to Providence RI after mother died when she was 9 months old; when father remarried he gave Olivia to mother's sister Maria Draper to care for; divorced first husband ca 1895; second husband a Pullman porter; she worked in Providence and Boston and wrote and published *Original Poems* (Providence RI: Louis A. Basinet Press, 1899), which Paul L Dunbar reviewed favorably; by 1900 she was working at the Robert Gould Shaw Settlement House in Boston as asst theater director, and stayed there until ca 1914; returned to Long Island and became Montaukett tribal historian until ca 1916 and published *Driftwood*, second poetry volume, in 1914; ca 1918 moved to Chicago with second husband, wrote her first play *Indian Trails* ca 1920; regular contributor to *Colored American Magazine*; established and ran Bush-Banks School of Expression in Chicago, for black artists and taught drama in Chicago public schools; 1930s returned East to live (where surviving daughter Marie was living) at New Rochelle and NYC, 1936 was part of WPA Theatre Project

note: not listed in 1897 Medford directory, nor is her aunt; she is "of Providence" 25 Sept 1899 at Boston meeting of colored women's clubs [*Boston Globe*, 25 Sept 1899, 7] but of "West Medford" by 11 August 1900 [*ibid.*, 11 Aug 1900, 10] and delivered an address to the Young Women's Phillis Wheatley Union in the West End same year [*ibid.*, 3 Dec 1900, 7]; attended NE Federation of Colored Women's Clubs convention in Springfield and was supt of juvenile dept [*Boston Herald*, 18 Aug 1901, 32]; reads original poem "Echoes of Freedom" twice at 1903 celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation at Faneuil Hall, where Julia Ward Howe speaks and Carney contributed his "reminiscences of Fort Wagner" [*ibid.*, 2 Jan 1903, 10]; was involved in the New England Federation of Women's Clubs 1904; made an address along with Maria L Baldwin, Harriet Jones, Mrs Clement Morgan, Archibald Grimke, Butler Wilson and others at services in honor of Julia Ward Howe at Chas St AME 1910 [*Boston Globe*, 31 Oct 1910, 10]; Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, 212, states that the African American women's clubs of greater Boston were hoping to buy a building as a common meeting place and center for their activities, and included her among 6 women "most actively devoted to this work"; she was definitely in Chicago by 2 Oct 1915, when that day's issue *Chicago Broad Ax* (p3) lists her as chair of the Social Educational Dept of the Phyllis Wheatley Home

APPENDIX E

Carter, Vernon Ernest

DOB: 3 Aug 1919

POB: New Bedford

father: James Martin Carter b DE

mother: Ernestine Maddox

spouse: Arlene Mae Anderson b Lynn

DOD: 21 Aug 2007

POD: Williston VT

bur: Rural, New Bedford

cen: 1930 New Bedford/in hh mother 299 Ash w/ bro Earl
1940 New Bedford/in hh mother, 178 Arnold St

note: mother a maid private family c30 and housekeeper c40

note: student at Wilberforce U when he registered for draft 1942; also attended Boston U, and Lutheran Theological Sem; was minister to AME churches in New England; pastor All Saints' Lutheran in Boston 1956; held three-month daily vigil urging state's passage of Racial Imbalance Act 1965; in early 1970s went to work for Advocacy for Community Change and continued as pastor; marched with King in Boston; lived in Cambridge before moving to Respite House in VT

note: died at VT Respite House and listed as Af Am and Am Indian

Chappelle, Julius Caesar

DOB: 1852 mrec

POB: Newberry SC mrec, SC c80, FL c00, Edgefield Co SC drec

father: Frank Chappelle

mother: Lettie mrec, Lillian drec

spouse: Eugenia E Barry b 1854 Boston

DOM: 14 Aug 1878

POM: Boston

DOD: 27 Jan 1904

POD: Boston

bur: Mt Hope, Boston

cen: 1880 Boston/janitor w/ wife, dau Lillian
1900 Boston/janitor city dept w/ wife, dau

dir: 1874 Chelsea/hairdresser bds 124 Essex
1876 Boston/hairdresser rms 2 Acorn
1894 Boston/Custom House h 1 Acorn
1903 Boston/janitor h 391 Northampton

note: born enslaved at Chappelle's Landing, plantation in Newberry Co SC and may have been moved to other plantations before returning to Newberry Co; he studied at Af Am academy at Edgefield SC; in 1869 moved to help create black community of LaVilla FL, now part of Jacksonville; moved to Boston Nov 1870, grad high school there, worked as "custodial engineer"

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at *Boston Herald* for 13 years, then as bldg supt at US PO and US Custom House in Boston; Lewis Hayden recruited him to register black voters as Republicans

note: member of the Attucks monument committee 1887 and one of its most active; represented Boston's Ward 9 in state legislature 1883–86 and beat John F Andrew, son of governor; chair of MA Citizens' Equal Rights Association; served three year-long terms on state Republican Committee

note: janitor living at 369 Northampton St at time of death; a Eugenia Chappell b c 1857 SC is living in Newberry SC 1920c with son A J, house carpenter, b 1870; 1894 dir Mrs J Chappelle bds Coolidge House

Child, Lydia Maria Francis

DOB: 11 Feb 1802

POB: Medford

father: Convers Francis

mother: Susannah Rand

spouse: David Lee Child

DOM: 19 Oct 1828

POM: Watertown

DOD: 20 Oct 1880

POD: Wayland

bur: North cem, Wayland

note: begins career as teacher in Gardiner ME 1820; moved to Watertown home of brother Convers 1822; published *Hobomok*, first novel, 1824; 1826 opened school in Watertown and founded and edited *Juvenile Miscellany*; husband, editor of *MA Whig Journal*, was founding member of New England Anti-Slavery Society 6 Jan 1832; she wrote and published *American Frugal Housewife* 1832; couple moved to Boston after 1828 marriage; she wrote and published *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* 1833; couple moved to Broughton's Meadow (now Florence) section of Northampton to raise sugar beets as alternative to sugar produced by enslaved labor 1836; she was appointed to exec comm Am Anti-Slavery Society 1840; moved to NYC to edit *National Anti-Slavery Standard* May 1841 but resigned May 1843; couple moved to West Newton 1850 and to Wayland 1853; wrote and published *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life* (1853); worked to support antislavery settlers in KS and raised funds for families of John Brown and his men 1859; wrote *The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act: An Appeal to the Legislators of Massachusetts* in 1860; worked with Harriet Jacobs and edited *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* 1861; published *The Freedmen's Book* 1865 and promoted cause of freedmen; wrote and published 35 articles and books 1824–78

note: was close to Francis George and Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw and corresponded with them often

Copeland, Robert Morris

DOB: 11 Dec 1830

POB: Roxbury

father: Benjamin Copeland

mother: Julia Fellows

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spouse: Josephine Gannett Kent
DOM: 29 Jun 1854
POM: Roxbury
DOD: 28 Mar 1874
POD: Cambridge

note: grad Harvard 1851 and began landscape gardening firm known as Cleveland and Copeland with Horace Cleveland 1854, known mostly for cemetery plans, among them Sleepy Hollow cem in Concord, but also plan for Oak Bluffs and the Frederick Billings estate in Woodstock VT; wrote and published *Country Life: A Handbook of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Landscape Gardening* 1859

note: Copeland advocated enlisting Af Ams in army from 1861 forward and wrote Stanton 7 May 1862 asking permission to raise an Af Am regiment; he took RG Shaw, also a lieut in 2d MA, with him to DC to try to persuade Stanton, but Stanton stated that Lincoln's frame of mind would not permit such a proposal

note: commissioned first lieut 2d MA Infantry and became quartermaster; 8 Aug 1861 Major Gen Nathaniel P Banks appointed him aide-de-camp and in Nov 181 asst adjutant general with rank of major; when he met about black regiment proposal warned Stanton that Banks needed reinforcements to defeat Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley, but Stanton dismissed Jackson's power and twice refused, and Jackson won Battle of Front Royal 23 May 1862 while Copeland was on leave of absence in Boston; Andrew urged Copeland to write something to promote enlistment, and Copeland wrote *Appeal to Massachusetts*, widely reprinted, which contains "veiled criticisms" of the War Dept; Banks told him to transfer to another regiment; after McClellan defeated 5 July 1862 Copeland sent a message in cipher to his bro in law, ed of *Boston Advertiser*, stating that Lincoln is "alarmed, and uncertain what to do" and urging "a strong man be placed at the head of affairs"; after some time he secured post in Dept of South and was on his way to Port Royal SC 10 Aug 1862 when he saw an order announcing his dismissal in the newspaper; he secured a meeting with Lincoln who castigated him for letters and editorials "abusing the Administration" and his "most improper and malicious telegram" and suggested he talk to Sumner about affair; Sumner told him the government was now arrayed against him and his letters etc were "utterly improper"; he requested and was denied a court-martial; Copeland returned to landscape architecture, and in 1870 Grant revoked his dismissal from Army and accepted his resignation; he was then living in West Castleton VT [Patrick Brown, "The Cashiering of Major Robert Morris Copeland," Historical Digression, 14 August 2015, <https://historicaldigression.com/2015/08/14/the-cashiering-of-major-robert-morris-copeland/>]

Coppin, Fanny Marion Jackson
DOB: 8 Jan 1837
POB: Washington DC
spouse: Levi Jenkins Coppin
DOM: 21 Dec 1881
DOD: 21 Jan 1913
POD: Philadelphia

cen: 1850 New Bedford/in hh Lloyd H & Martha Brooks

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note: wrote “The Black Volunteers,” published in *Anglo-African* 9 May 1863, while she was at Oberlin

note: born enslaved 1837 in DC, at ae 10 her free aunt purchased her and took her to New Bedford, where she lived with aunt, possibly Martha Prior Brooks, who with her husband Lloyd H was born in DC; moved to Newport RI at ae 14, worked as servant, went to RI State Normal School 1859 and then to Oberlin 1860 and grad 1865; while at Oberlin taught evening reading and writing courses for free Af Ams; said to have been first black student teacher at Oberlin and second African American woman to get a BA degree in nation; she became principal of Ladies Dept and teacher at Philadelphia Institute for Colored Youth (ICY), later Cheyney University and became principal of ICY 1869–1902; in 1848 wrote the Women’s Dept column of the *Christian Recorder* and in late 1870s organized campaign to stave off its bankruptcy; in 1881, when she was 44, she married AME minister Levi Jenkins Coppin; became vp of Nat Assn of Colored Women 1897; resigned from poor health from ICY 1902, then went to South Africa with husband, then SC 1904, then back to Philadelphia

Crite, Allan Rohan

DOB: 20 Mar 1910

POB: North Plainfield NJ

father: Oscar William

mother: Annamae Palmer

spouse: Jacquelyn Cox-Crite

DOD: 4 Sept 2007

POD: Boston

note: family moved to Boston when he was not yet a year old; his mother did work for the RG Shaw house and joined the mother’s club there; lived at 401 Shawmut Ave in South End; at from ae 8 to about 14 (his account) he took classes at Children’s Art Center of United South End Settlements at 36 Rutland St in Boston (Crite says the center founded by Elizabeth Ward Perkins); mother took him to Museum of Fine Arts often, and he took weekend drawing classes there; grad English High 1929, and while in high school his father had a debilitating stroke and died 1937; one semester at MA College of Art, and received scholarship to School of Museum of Fine Arts 1929 and graduated 1936; one of few Af Am artists employed by the Federal Arts Project (later WPA); beginning 1940 worked 30 years as engineering draftsman and technical illustrator at Boston Navy Yard except for 14 months after WW2, when he worked for Arambush? company in NYC and did mural decoration at St Augustine’s church in Brooklyn (destroyed by fire 1972), a ceiling for Franciscan monastery in DC, 14 stations of the cross paintings at Oblate Order of Sisters of Providence chapel in Detroit; earned BA from Harvard Extension School 1968; mother died 1977 [“Oral History Interview with Allan Rohan Crite, 1979 January 16–1980 October 22,” Smithsonian Archives of American Art, https://www.aaa.si.edu/download_pdf_transcript/ajax?record_id=edanmmdm-AAADCD_oh_212600]

note: painted watercolor of meeting at Shaw Memorial 1944 (private collection) and drew its image on cover of Robert Gould Shaw House 50th anniversary booklet

note: “Allan Rohan Crite, 97, Dean of N.E. African-American Artists,” *Boston Globe*, 8 September 2007, 29; he died Tuesday [4 Sept] at his Boston home; his townhouse in South End was then the Allan Rohan Crite Research Institute and Museum; was an Episcopalian and went to St.

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Bartholomew's church in Cambridge as a boy and then St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in the South End; details much as in oral history above

DeGrasse, John Van Surly

DOB: 6 Jun 1826

POB: NYC

father: George DeGrasse

mother: Maria Van Surly (van salee)

spouse: Cordelia Lucretia Howard

DOM: 5 Aug 1852

POM: Boston

DOD: 25 Nov 1868

POD: Boston

bur: Cypress Hills Cem, Brooklyn NY

dir: 1855 Boston/physician, boards 40 Poplar [J. V. De Grasse]
1860 Boston/physician, house 31 N Charles

serv: surgeon, 54th and 35th USCT

children: Georgiana Cordelia (5 Dec 1855–8 May 1920, m. Jasper Asbury)

note: his father b Calcutta and bought land in NY from Aaron Burr 16 Nov 1802; he was former British subject and naturalized 5 July 1804; his mother b NY; mother Maria was a manager of the African Dorcas Society in New York City; father ran a provisioning business on Orange Street about 1828; see Anne M. Boylan, "Benevolence and Antislavery Activity among African American Women in New York and Boston, 1820–1840," in Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood, Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994)

note: his sisters Theodosia and Maria M both marry Peter Vogelsang, lt in 54th wounded at James Island; sister Serena marries George T Downing

note: he attended Oneida Institute and Clinton Seminary in NY and then went to France to study; upon returning to US studied with Dr. Samuel Childs and then went to Maine Medical School at Bowdoin College, where he graduated 1849; visited hospitals in France and traveled in Europe and then moved to Charlestown MA. His account book makes clear that he had done so by 25 October 1852 and that he was practicing in Boston at 17 Poplar Street, across the street from his father-in-law's longtime home. In 1854 was first person of color admitted to MA Medical Society. By 1860 moved with family to Boston, 1862 was grand master of Prince Hall Masonic Lodge; May 1863 appointed surgeon to Union Army, one of only 8 blacks to be so selected, and was temporarily assigned to MA 54th but then to 35th US Colored Troops in Southern Command; among first blacks to be commissioned a surgeon in US Army. 6 Sept 1864 court martialed for drunkenness and conduct unbecoming an officer, convicted on all counts and cashiered out of army 1 Nov 1864, though evidence exists to refute conviction. DeGrasse returned to Boston; 1865 living there with \$6000 in real estate, and at 42 Grove when he died of TB [Franklin A Dorman, *Twenty Families of Color in Massachusetts*]

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note: from MAAH papers at MHS, box 1, folder3: Individual Muster-in Roll, noting that he was 2d assistant surgeon in the 35th Regiment, US Colored Infantry, aged 37 years; roll dated 18 May 1863; John V DeGrasse enlisted 28 April 1863 at Boston for 3 years

note: Dr John V Degrasse, senior grand warden of Prince Hall Masons 1860 (see *The Boston Directory Embracing the City Record* (Boston: Adams, Sampson, & Company, 1860)

note: Charles Sumner, Washington DC, 23 Dec 1866, to Dr John V. DeGrasse: "My dear Sir//You will see that the Nebraska Bill sanctioning the discrimination of color has been postponed till after the holidays. This gives the opportunity of a new effort against it. Help—by petitions—and better still by your committee here personally to visit Senators.//I regard this question as of great importance. If we prevail now, the case is gained. Help—I say.//Very truly yours,//Charles Sumner." [MAAH Papers, MHS, box 1 folder 3]

note: Degrasse-Howard Papers, MHS, includes autobiographical statement and his medical accounts

Douglass, Virginia Lind Molyneaux Hewlett

DOB: 1 June 1849

POB: Brooklyn NY

father: Aaron Molyneaux Hewlett 1820–71

mother: Virginia Josephine Lewis 1817–78

spouse: Frederick Douglass Jr

DOM 4 Aug 1869

POM: Cambridge

DOD: 14 December 1889

POD: Anacostia / DC

note: moved to Cambridge at early age, wrote poem to Fifth Cavalry in 1864, grad Cambridge High 1868; 1870 first black teacher appointed to teach in DC, 1870 became principal of Hillsdale School in DC; 1873 became principal of public schools near Howard University; wrote sketch of FD Sr for Wm J Simmons, *Men of Mark*

note: her father's parents were Isaac and Rachel both of NY State, had been a porter and boxing/wrestling teacher in Brooklyn, and he was first black instructor at Harvard and director and curator of Harvard gymnasium 1859–71; wife was also a physical education instructor; at his death owns house and 5000 sf on corner South and Dunster St in Cambridge; she had siblings Aaron R, Emanuel D Molyneaux Hewlett (1851–1929), Aaronella Molyneaux Hewlett (1852–1933), and Paul Molyneaux Hewlett (1856–91)

Downing, George Thomas

DOB: 1820 c60, Dec 1819 c00, 30 Dec 1819 NY Freeman

POB: NY c60, c00

father: Thomas W Downing 1791–1866

mother: Rebecca West 1802–51

spouse: Serena L DeGrasse 1821–1911

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DOD: 21 Jul 1903
POD: Newport RI
bur: Island cem, Newport

cen: 1850 Newport RI/vitualer \$3500 real prop w/ wife, 4 children, mother, others
1860 Newport/confectioner, "Sea Girt House" \$20k real prop w/ fam, 4 servants
1875 Newport/confectioner w/ wife, children, bro-in-law
1880 Newport/confectioner w/ wife, children, dau Serena's family
1900 Newport/in hh dau Serena Washington & dau Rebecca

dir: 1853 Providence RI/ caterer, 27 Mathewson
1854 Providence/caterer 149 ½ Benefit
1858 Providence/caterer 149 ½ Benefit

children: Serena A.M. Feb 1843 NY (m Geo Washington, confectioner), Thomas 1846 RI, Cordelia 1848 NY (m Mark R DeMortie), Rebecca M Aug 1849 RI or NY, Georgianna F 1854 RI, Philip Bell 1857 RI, Peter J 1859 RI

note: Robinson 53 states that he moved to Newport in 1846 from NYC when clientele there suggested he might do well in Newport with an oyster house; he had grad Hamilton College

note: wife was daughter of George T and Maria Van Surly DeGrasse and a sister of Boston physician John Van Surly DeGrasse; Robinson gives wife's dates as 1821–1911, but findagrave has 1823–93; her sisters Maria and Theodosia married Peter Vogelsang of 54th

note: censuses and directories show him in Newport in 1850 and again by 1860 and through at least 1871; daughters are milliners and dressmakers 1875c; sons Philip and Peter both confectioners 80c

note: 1863 draft reg shows him as 44 confectioner res South Touro, Newport

note: "George Thomas Downing," *New York Freeman*, 7 March 1885, 1, signed T. McCants Stewart, long article on him states that his grandmother was enslaved when by a Capt John Downing in Jinketig (Chincoteague?), Accomac Co VA, who emancipated her; her son was Thomas Downing, GT's father, who moved North to Philadelphia and then NYC; George b 30 Dec 1819 son of Thomas and Rebecca in NYC, went to school at Orange St private school and then Mulberry St school (where Philip A Bell, Patrick Reason, Alexander Crummell, Isaiah DeGrasse, James McCune Smith, and Henry Highland Garnet also went); "when but a youth" helped to "spirit away 'Little Henry,' the slave who was placed in the jail of New York" and Downing arrested but matter "compromised"; was active in antislavery societies and colored people's conventions; "one of the famous committee of thirteen, which was organized at the time of the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law" to arouse public sentiment against enforcing it; active in efforts to abolish property qualification on colored people's franchise in NY; was in New Bedford and went to Boston at time that Anthony Burns "agitation" taking place and entered the melee where cops assaulted Worcester men carrying "Freedom" banner; also took part in Tremont Temple meeting about John Brown, adjourned to Belknap St church when news reached them of impending hostility; helped form African American regiments in MA; while visiting DC in connection with raising black troops RI Congressman Nathan Dixon urged Downing to take charge of dining room of US House of Representatives, which he did, and became close to Charles Sumner; "He and his family were

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the first colored persons to occupy a box in a Washington theatre, thus testing and vindicating civil rights to the fullest”; worked with Sumner to end segregation on B&O RR between DC and Baltimore; worked for 12 years to integrate schools in RI, worked to repeal laws against integrated marriage and to end discrimination in RI militia; owned “a very valuable estate prominently located on the most fashionable thoroughfare of Newport. The Downing and Casino stores are the most fashionable of the city” though he had retired by this date

note: helps recruit for 54th and speaks at FH gathering of 54th et al “battalion of survivors” on evening 31 May 1897 unveiling; see obit *Providence Journal*, 27 Oct 1913, and “George T. Downing,” *Brooklyn Citizen*, 22 Jul 1903, 3

Dunbar, Paul Laurence

DOB: 27 Jun 1872

POB: Dayton OH

father: Joshua Dunbar

mother: Matilda b KY 1851

spouse: Alice Ruth Moore b 1875 New Orleans d 1935 Philadelphia

DOM: 1898

POM: NYC

DOD: 9 Feb 1906

POD: Dayton OH

note: father, born enslaved in Garrett Co KY, escaped to Canada, then returned to US and enlisted in 55th at Readville June 1863, discharged after injury late Oct 1863, enlisted in 5th MA Cav May 1864, discharged Oct 1865, and by 1872 married, working as whitewasher, and living in Dayton; 1880c shows him in Dayton and as divorced, and Paul listed in both his mother’s and father’s hh that year

note: began publishing poems in *Dayton Herald* 1888 and wrote at least six verses about African American soldiers in Civil War; worked as elevator operator 1892–93, and in same year Frederick Douglass hired him for a position at World’s Columbian Exposition 1893; his book *Oak and Ivy* appeared in same year, then *Majors and Minors* (1895) and *Lyrics of Lowly Life* (1986); his “Robert Gould Shaw” published in *Atlantic Monthly* Oct 1900

note: he is listed as author and living with wife in DC 1900; divorced 1902; wife a high school teacher and marries again, to Henry Arthur Callis in 1910 at Wilmington DE and marries a third time to Robert J Nelson in Wilmington DE 1916; Dunbar living with mother in Dayton by 1905d

Eliot, Charles William

DOB: 20 Mar 1834

POB: Boston

father: Samuel Atkins Eliot

mother: Mary Lyman

spouse: 1) Ellen Derby Peabody 1836–69 2) Grace Mellen Hopkinson 1846–1924

DOM: 1) 27 Oct 1858 2) 30 Oct 1877

POM: 1) Boston 2) Cambridge

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DOD: 22 Aug 1926
POD: Northeast Harbor ME

note: grad Harvard 1853, tutor and then asst prof mathematics and chemistry by 1858; studied education in Europe 1863–65; prof analytical chemistry MIT 1865; president of Harvard 1869–1909; author of inscriptions of Milmore Soldiers and Sailors Monument and rear of Shaw Memorial, two of some 100 he wrote for monuments

Ellison, Ralph Waldo

DOB: 1 March 1913 or 1914
POB: Oklahoma City OK
father: Lewis Alfred Ellison d 1916
mother: Ida Millsap
spouse: 1) Rosa Araminta Pondexter 2) Fanny McConnell
DOM: 1) 1938 2) 1946
DOD: 16 April 1994
POD: NYC
bur: Trinity Church, NYC

note: father a construction foreman and owned a small business but died in 1916 after an operation due to an ice block accidentally injuring him; 1920 widowed mother working as a church janitor and living with sons Ralph and Herbert Maurice in Oklahoma City; 1921 mother, he, and brother moved to Gary IN but soon back to OK; 1930c shows him and brother in hh of remarried mother and her second husband John Bell, chauffeur, in Oklahoma City; grad high school 1931, played trumpet, applied twice to Tuskegee and got in 1933 when school needed trumpet player for its orchestra but left 1936 at end of junior year; moved to NYC and stayed at an YMCA in Harlem and wanted to study sculpture; living in NYC when he applied for seaman's protection paper 1937; 1940c he's a lodger in NYC house of mail carrier John Jenkins and stated that he lived in Tuskegee AL 1935; wrote book reviews, short stories, articles; publishes *Invisible Man* 1952, *Shadow and Act* 1964, *Going to the Territory* 1986

note: In the introduction to *Invisible Man* stated that in his college days he had opened a vat of Plasticine that a northern studio had donated "to an invalid sculptor friend" and had found inside "a frieze of figures modeled after those depicted on Saint-Gaudens's monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his 54th Massachusetts Negro Regiment, a memorial which stands on Boston Common. I had no idea as to why it should surface, but perhaps it was to remind me that since I was writing fiction and seeking vaguely for images of black and white fraternity I would do well to recall that Henry James's brother Wilky had fought as an officer with those Negro soldiers, and that Colonel Shaw's body had been thrown into a ditch with those of his men. Perhaps it was also to remind me that war could, with art, be transformed into something deeper and more meaningful than its surface violence."

note: Gerald Lyn Early, *Ralph Ellison: Invisible Man* (2010), 27, states that Ellison was unhappy with Tuskegee and finally left in 1936 because of money problems, went to NY to earn money so that he could return and get his degree; he had studied painting and sculpture under art instructor Eva Hamlin (1911–91; taught art at Tuskegee 1933–36) and hoped to study with black sculptor Augusta Savage; he stated in 1961, "I came up [to New York] during my junior year hoping to work and learn a little about sculpture. And although I did study a bit, I didn't get the job through

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which I hoped to earn enough money for my school expenses, so I remained in New York, where I soon realized that although I had a certain facility with three-dimensional form I wasn't really interested in sculpture. So after a while I blundered into writing." Early states that Ellison didn't study with Savage because of her "somewhat prickly personality" but did study with Af-Am sculptor Richmond Barthe. Ross Posnock, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Ralph Ellison*, states that he did study under Savage at Harlem Community Art Center and became the first student of Richmond Barthe; see Lawrence Patrick Jackson, *Ralph Ellison: Emergence of Genius* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 164–68, notes that Eva Hamlin (had written him an intro letter to Savage, but Langston Hughes told him that Richmond Barthe surpassed Savage in "anatomical truthfulness" and modernist sensibility (164); he was a student of Savage briefly and so went to Barthe's studio in Greenwich Village West 14th St, this is all 1936 and became his first pupil

Emilio, Luis Fenollosa

DOB: 22 Dec 1844

POB: Salem

father: Manuel Fenollosa 1812–71

mother: Isabel Fenollosa 1820–88

spouse: Mary Elizabeth Belden bSan Jose CA d ca 1903 Atlantic City NJ

DOM: 29 Mar 1876

DOD: 16 Sept 1918

POD: NYC

serv: 2d Lt, 1st Lt, capt Co E & G 54th

note: father a Spanish immigrant who taught music in Salem

note: he and other Salem young men formed Union Drill Club in Salem after attack on Ft Sumter, and this club became nucleus of Co F, 23 MA Infantry; ae 18 and a student when he enlisted in Lynnfield 19 Oct 1861 as private in that company; promoted to corp 23 Aug 1862 and sergeant 1 Sept 1862; discharged to accept promotion from "Gov of Mass" 27 Feb 1863 while at New Bern NC; made 2d Lt Co E in 54th 30 Mar 1863 and 1st Lt 14 Apr 1863 and captain Co E 22 May 1863 and assigned to command company 27 May 1863; mustered out at Hilton Head SC 29 Mar 1865 and second muster-out roll shows him discharged at Charleston SC 20 Aug 1865

note: went to San Francisco after the war and worked as realtor; 1880c San Francisco shows him as "secretary T REA" life with wife, bro Manuela, son Luis Victor, and servant; 1881 returned with wife and son Luis to NYC; retired 1890 and begins work with Jas A Emmerton of 23rd MA on history of that regiment; 1910c widowed and living with 2 Swedish immigrant servants at 29 W 47th St NYC; 1913–1917d Salem lists him as a summer resident

note: wrote *A Brave Black Regiment: The History of the 54th Massachusetts, 1863–1865* (1891)

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Forbes, George Washington

DOB: 1864

POB: Shannon MS

spouse: Mary Elizabeth Harley b Kingston NY 1875

DOM: 29 Nov 1900

POM: Kingston NY

DOD: 10 Mar 1927

POD: Boston

cen: 1910 Boston/librarian public library branch w/ wife, 2 lodgers
1920 Boston/librarian state library w/ wife, 18 Wellington

dir: 1893 & 1895 Boston/editor 325 Washington rms 1 Smith Court
1899 Boston/asst WE branch public library rms 61 Joy
1905 Boston/asst West End branch public library h 4 Irving
1925 Boston/asst West End branch public library h 18 Wellington

note: born to enslaved parents and at age 14 moved to OH and studied at Wilberforce; moved to Boston mid-1880s and worked as laborer at Harvard 3–4 years; grad Amherst 1892; edited *AME Church Review*; 1896 became first Af Am librarian in Boston Public Library system when he was hired as asst librarian at West End branch, which opened 1896; edited the Af Am *Boston Courant* “for ten years or more with great success,” according to Clement G Morgan [Morgan to WEB Du Bois, 31 May 1927, Du Bois Papers, U MA Amherst], from 1893–1903, but his wife told WEB Du Bois that he edited it only 1893–94; with J Monroe Trotter founded the *Boston Guardian* 1901 but in 1903 left newspaper and transferred his shares to Wm H Lewis, whom he had met at Amherst; his wife told Du Bois that Forbes was associated with the *Guardian* for two years and “wrote most of the editorials and contributed largely every month to the *A.M.E. Review* for five years” and wrote many articles for the *Springfield Republican* and *Boston Transcript* [Elizabeth H Forbes, 18 Wellington St, Boston, to Doctor Du Bois, 12 May 1927, WEB Du Bois Papers]

note: only Geo W Forbes in 1892–93d Boston is room clerk Hotel Reynolds

note: “Will the Negro Ever Attain to Perfect Equality with the White Man in America?” *Boston Globe*, 18 Aug 1901, 30: Forbes answers, “If the genuine spirit which built up, during the first 25 years of emancipation, the 70 or more schools now conducted by the American missionary society for the colored race had continued to be manifested toward the negro, there could be nothing but an emphatic ‘yes’ to your question. Then the negro was encouraged to ground himself thoroughly in the same kind of training that all other Americans received. He was the child of the republic, as were all others born in our country, and, as the great civil war had proved that a subject race could not exist within our domain without at the same time endangering the liberties of all, the same destiny was marked out for him as for all other Americans. / But a decided change toward the negro has come about since ’91. It began with the practical elimination of his vote by Mississippi, which puts the franchise of voters (the negro part of it) into the hands of white supervisors of election for the purpose of nullifying it. This hostile attitude of Mississippi has already been adopted in one form or another by three other southern states, with Alabama and Virginia now in convention for the same purpose. Nor is this all. The kind of education deemed hitherto indispensable to our American youth, is now rapidly undergoing a change for the negro. For him the only form of training that can get the ear of a philanthropic north is the industrial school. The south seeing this, has already in New Orleans abolished all grammar schools for the colored people, and even in the primary grade, has introduced the industrial feature for them. So not only

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is the colored man not to have equal suffrage, but he is provided with a different system of training for his children. / With like schools and suffrage gone, the wildest enthusiast would scarcely hope for equality between the two races in America. The book and the ballot are the levelers of man with men in our republican government, and except in these next to no effort has been made at equalizing the two races. Besides we have the same religion and language as the white race, and have been taught to look back to the same traditions, all of which tell mightily for creating a bond of mutual regard." Notes that in an absolute sense perfect equality does not exist even among the different classes of whites in this country; "But the most alarming thing of the present attitude toward the negro is, it marks a return in spirit to the first reconstruction, when the southerners, intrusted by President Johnson to prepare their states for readmission, came forward with laws more oppressive than slavery itself had been. The whole effort of the laws then, as of the Ku Klux Klans later, and as of the barbarous lynchings and disfranchisement now, seems to have been intended to discredit emancipation, and prove to the world that the negro was incapable of living free in a civilized community. As congress had then to come to the colored man's rescue with a second emancipation through its final reconstruction acts, so should our government now act, to prevent the country's reverting to the level of the Apache tribe." Still, he concludes, "I cannot feel that the great body of my white fellow-countrymen mean ultimate injustice toward my race."

note: "George W. Forbes, Librarian, Dies," *Boston Globe*, 10 Mar 1927, 10: died at home 18 Wellington St in South End, noted English and Latin scholars and "did much in the interest of the colored race here and in other cities"; had charge of the "night force of the West End branch for many years" and at death was preparing book ms, *The History of Black Men in the Life of the Republic* [also published as "George W. Forbes," *Boston Herald*, 11 Mar 1927, 33]

note: wife was daughter of William Hanson G Harley (b 1843), barber in Kingston NY 1875, 1880c; 1883d Kingston features display ad for Harley's Barber Shop at 80 Fair Street, and wife was a music teacher living in parents' hh 1889, 1892d; she is shown as wid Geo W h 18 Wellington 1930d Boston and wid Geo W librarian h 18 Wellington 1940d Boston; she sends letter to WEB Du Bois 29 May 1927 enclosing obituary about her husband from Book Notes bulletin of Boston Public Library and states the month and year of marriage and her "home" as Kingston NY, and stated she had just been appointed to clerical position at BPL "as a tribute to the memory of my husband"; added, "I received a letter from Mr. Schomberg advising me to place George's books in the New York Library and Mr. Ferris would write a schetch [*sic*] of his life. I will think it over." Signed Elizabeth Harley Forbes; in a postscript she stated, "Miss Goldstein informed me you had acknowledged receipt of copy. She is very nice to me. She is anxiously awaiting the number of the Crisis containing some notice of George's passing. The staff think it strange that none of the colored newspapers had anything to say about G. I told Miss Goldstine that George was very active years ago but had retired later. He had no desire for publicity." WEB Du Bois to Elizabeth H. Forbes, 7 June 1927, thanks her for information she sent and states an article on Forbes would appear in July *Crisis*, which appears 15 June [Du Bois Papers]

note: Fanny Goldstein, who ran the West End Branch, LTE in *Libraries* (monthly journal), May 1927: "The reference Librarian of the West End Branch of the Boston public library for many years was George W. Forbes, a colored man, who died March 10. / This man was at the West End branch so long that he and the fixture were inseparable, but in his many years of faithful service I have never known the limelight to be turned on him or was he ever the recipient of bouquets—either floral or literature. But when he died last month, all the things he didn't get during his life were showered upon him. The leading newspapers, The Chrinicle [*sic*], the newspaper for the colored people and the Jewish press commented on his faithful, valuable, and inconspicuous service

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rendered these many years. Of all the obituaries, I think the Yiddish press was even more than the colored newspapers deeply appreciative and sympathetic.” [Du Bois Papers]

note: his papers are in Special Collections Boston Public Library

Forbes, John Murray
DOB: 23 Apr 1813, 23 Feb 1813 [his NEHGS app]
POB: Bordeaux, France
father: Ralph Bennett Forbes
mother: Margaret Perkins
spouse: Sarah Swain Hathaway 1813–1900
DOM: 8 Feb 1834
DOD: 12 Oct 1898 drec
POD: Milton drec

note: parents moved from France to his father’s house in Milton; attended Phillips Academy, Round Hill School in Northampton 1823–28, then entered counting house of uncles J & TH Perkins; left for China 1830 at 17 as clerk for Russell & Co and sailed as supercargo on China trade ships 1834; commission merchant who made fortune in China trade by late 1830s and formed J. M. Forbes & Co about 1849; ; RR developer, pres of MI Central 1845 and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy RR 1878–81; said to have used his Hannibal and St Joseph RR line to move rifles and men to KS in 1850s; son Wm Hathaway Forbes (1840–97) m Edith Emerson, dau of Ralph Waldo; dau Mary Hathaway Forbes (1844–1916) m Henry Sturgis Russell (1838–1905), cousin and compatriot of RG Shaw; son John Malcolm (1847–1904) m Sarah Coffin Jones of New Bedford

note: called himself “neutral or indifferent” to slavery until Wendell Phillips spoke at FH “indignation meetings” after Elijah Lovejoy murdered 7 Nov 1837 (same meeting Joshua Bowen Smith recalled in “Liberator Soiree at the Cochituate Hall,” *Liberator*, 7 Feb 1851, 2); left Whig party after Webster’s 7 Mar 1850 address supporting Fugitive Slave Act; 1855 member of Emigrant Aid Co aiming to resettle New Englanders in KS; raised funds to send rifles to KS and for John Brown’s legal defense; met John Andrew ca 1859 and became member Gov Andrew’s wartime staff while he was governor; instrumental in arranging movement of troops south on vessels and rail lines he partly owned; a founder of Boston’s Union Club 1863; helped recruit for 54th and 55th Regiments and involved in Boston branch of US Sanitary Commission; spearheaded the New England Loyal Publication Society to publish and disseminate articles backing the war; son William served in 1st and 2nd MA Cavalry; donated funds to develop Af Am ownership of Sea Island farms and was active in freed peoples’ work

Gage, Frances Dana Barker
DOB: 12 Oct 1808
POB: Washington Co OH
father: Joseph Barker 1765–1843
mother: Elizabeth Dana 1771–1835
spouse: James L Gage 1829–63
DOM: 1 Jan 1829

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DOD: 10 Nov 1884
POD: Greenwich CT

note: parents left NH for OH, near Marietta, 1788 with Rufus Putnam and are considered among the first settlers of the Northwest Territory; husband a Universalist and lawyer from McConnellsville OH; she sponsored convention 1848 to remove race and gender proscriptions from citizenship and franchise; 1863 heard Sojourner Truth and published a “minstrel-like imitation” of it that became the standard for “Ain’t I a Woman?” speech; chaired National Women’s Rights Convention in Cleveland Oct 1853; when war broke out she worked with Western Sanitary Commission assisting injured in Vicksburg, Natchez, and Memphis, and 1863–64 she was superintendent, under Rufus Saxton, of Parris Island settlement of freed people; joined American Equal Rights Assn 1863 as paid lobbyist and writer and lectured on abolition, women’s rights, and temperance

Gaul, Lewis

DOB: 1819–20
POB: Danbury CT
father: Abraham Gaul 1795–1857
mother: Delia
spouse: Maria/Ann M Brown ca 1814–92
DOM: 4 July 1842
POM: Boston
DOD: 24 May 1884
POD: Boston

cen: 1850 Roxbury/lab w/ wife, 3 children
1855 Boston/hackman w/w wife, 2 children
1865 Boston/messenger w/ wife, 4 children
1870 Boston/watchman w/ wife
1880 Boston/state house w/ wife

dir: 1869 Boston/lab h 4 Davis Court
1880 Boston/State House, h 7 N Anderson

children: Cordelia 1844 (m 1870 Chas T Lewis), Abraham 1846–58, Lewis Jr 1847–65, Catharine D 1851, Susan J 1862

note: parents married in Danbury CT 1827; family in Boston by 1836

note: commander of Af Am Liberty Guards ca 1857 [“New Military Movement,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 3 Oct 1857, 4]; works in office of adjutant general Wm Schouler at MA State House 1863 (paid \$900 a year in 1864); *Springfield Republican*, 5 Feb 1863, 4 notes rumor that Capt Lewis Gaul, “formerly commander of the Liberty Guard, colored, in Boston, will be assigned to a high command in the negro regiments” but he was not; 21 Sept he and others formed Shaw Guards to defend city “in case of emergency” during the war [“The New Colored Company,” *Boston Traveler*, 21 Sept 1863, 2; “Defenceless Condition of Boston in Case of a Disturbance,” *American Traveller*, 26 Dec 1863, 3]; helped organize Schouler Guards in New Bedford and recruited for 55th Regiment; in 1863–64 Schouler established cavalry and infantry regiments, including the 14th Unattached

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Co of Infantry MA Volunteer Militia, to be commanded by Gaul as captain [“Commonwealth of Massachusetts, General Order No. 32,” *Boston Herald*, 22 Aug 1864, 3]; 1 Sept 1866 commissioned major of 2d Battalion, 10th Unattached Infantry Co MVM (its Co A, Boston, and B, New Bedford, only two Af Am companies in MVM); legislature dissolved battalion 1876, but it was revived 1879 as Co L, 6th MA Infantry, only black company attached to a white unit

note: son Lewis enlisted Co K 5th MA Cav 10 Apr 1864 but died of disease Dec 1865

note: he was a watchman at MA State House 1872; wife’s pob is shown as VA in 1850 and MD 1865 and drec, where name is given as Ann M Gaul ae 78; after his death Julian C Chappelle introduced bill in state legislature to give the balance of his salary, \$481, to his family; when wife died 1892 she was living at 27 Myrtle St, Bosotn

Gay, Sydney Howard
DOB: 22 May 1814
POB: Hingham
father: Ebenezer Gay 1771–1842
mother: Mary Alleyne Otis 1780–1866
spouse: Elizabeth Johns Neall 1819–1907
DOM: 1845
DOD: 25 Jun 1888
POD: NYC
bur: Hingham

note: his mother heard Angelina Grimké deliver antislavery talk in Hingham early 1830s, but he initially disavowed abolitionists as fanatics; returned home from failed New Orleans business venture and began reading about slavery and had change of heart; refused to become lawyer because he would not take oath to uphold slavery-sanctioning Constitution; 1843 moved to NYC and became editor *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (until 1857) and general agent Am Anti-Slavery Society, secretary NYC Committee of Vigilance; neighbor and friend on Staten Island of Francis Geo Shaw family

note: wife was granddaughter of PA abolitionists Warner Mifflin and Daniel Neall

note: managing editor *NY Tribune* late 1805s through war and then worked for *Chicago Tribune* 1867–71; returned to become one of editors of *NY Evening Post* 1842–74, and later *NY Evening News*; he and WM Cullen Bryant collaborated on two-volume *Popular History of the United States*

Gillmore, Quincy Adams
DOB: 25 Feb 1825
POB: Lorain OH
father: Quartus Gillmore 1790–1869
mother: Elizabeth Reid 1797–1876
spouse: 1) Mary I O’Maher 1823–61 2) Laura M Bragg
DOM: 1) 25 Sept 1849 2) 6 Nov 1872
POM: 1) NYC 2) Brooklyn NY

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DOD: 7 Apr 1888
POD: Brooklyn NY
bur: US Military Academy Post cem, West Point NY

note: father, supporter of President JQ Adams, named son for him; grad US Military Academy 1849 first in his class of 49, appointed to Corps of Engineers and promoted to 1st Lt 1856; built fortifications at Hamptons Roads VA 1849–52, taught practical military engineering at West Point 1852–58, became purchasing agent for Army in NYC 1856; promoted to captain 1861

note: took charge of siege against Ft Pulaski in SC 1861 as brigadier genl and used new naval rifled guns to disable the stone fort; considered one of army's best engineers and "artillerists"; replaced late Maj Genl Ormsby Mitchell as head of Dept of the South June 1863–May 1864; he planned both failed charges on Battery Wagner 11 and 18 Jul 1863; promoted to major general 13 Mar 1865

note: Army's Gillmore Medal created by him after Fort Wagner battle and given to men who fought around Charleston 1863

note: second wife (m 1876 at New Orleans) was widow of former Confederate Genl Braxton Bragg

Gooding, James Henry
DOB: 1837
POB: possibly Troy NY
father: James
mother: Sarah
spouse: Ellen Louisa Allen
DOM: 28 Sept 1864
POM: New Bedford
DOD: 19 July 1864
POD: Andersonville Prison GA

rank: sgt then corp Co C

note: he was from Troy and in New Bedford July 1856, when he was issued a seaman's protection paper and next day (19 July) was shown on crew list for bark *Sunbeam*, which returned to New Bedford Apr 1860; went on one other whaling and one trading voyage, m Ellen Louisa Allen 28 Sept 1862 and enlisted in 54th 14 Feb 1863, four days after the NB recruiting office opened; was the 8th man from NB to enlist in regiment and was seaman at enlistment; survived Ft Wagner but wounded at Olustee, taken prisoner, and spent five months at Andersonville Prison before dying; *New Bedford Mercury* published one letter of Gooding's almost every week between 3 March 1863 and 22 Feb 1864 (48 total); see Virginia Matzke Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom: A Black Soldier's Civil War Letters from the Front: Corporal James Henry Gooding* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991)

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Grimes, Leonard Andrew

DOB: 1815, 14 Nov 1813, 9 Nov 1814 Chelsea vr

POB: VA c50, DC c55, Leesburg VA

father: Andrew Grimes

mother: Mary/Molly Goines

spouse: Octavia Janet Colson/Colston b 1815

DOM: 27 May 1833

POM: Washington DC

DOD: 14 March 1873 drec

POD: Somerville drec

bur: Woodlawn cem, Everett

cen: 1850 Boston/Baptist minister w/ wife, 3 children, 2 others in 2-fam hh
1855 Boston/Bap clergyman w/ wife, 2 children, 4 others
1865 Boston/clergyman w/w wife, son John, 2 bdg servants

dir: 1850 Boston/house 4 Grove
1854 Boston/Rev. house 28 Grove
1863 Boston/Rev. house 28 Grove
1868 Boston/Rev. house 28 Grove
1872 & 1873 Boston/clergyman Boston h at Cambridge
1873 Somerville/clergyman h Everett ave nr Cross

children: Emily Elizabeth Theresa 1832 DC (m 1864 Miles Robinson), Mary Frances 1834 DC,
John Andrew 1839 or 1840 DC, Leonard E 1846 New Bedford d 1851 Boston

note: in c50 hh as well are Julia Grimes, b 1823 VA, and Maria Watson, b 1830 SC. In c55 hh are Julia (ae 36) and Thomas J. (ae 36) Sidney, from DC and VA, and Daniel B (ae 29) and Amelia Davis from VA and MA; latter two are more recently from New Bedford, Amelia being daughter of William Piper

note2: Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of Virginia . . .*, notes that Andrew Grimes descended either from 1) a male slave and Susanah Grimes, who admitted in Prince George County, MD, court in March 1742 that she had an illegitimate “Molatto” child named John, born January 1742, or 2) a Lettice Grimes, born about 1726, a mulatto woman who claimed to be freeborn and sued for freedom from her indenture on the grounds that she had reached age 31 (Aug 1746). Andrew Grimes married Molley Goins on 11 April, year not indicated, in Loudoun County VA; in 1810 he was head of a household in the same county with three “other free.” A contemporary account, Charles Emery Stevens, *Anthony Burns: A History* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co, 1856), 203–16, stated that Leonard A. Grimes was born of free parents in VA, orphaned at age ten, placed under care of uncle he did not like, and “soon after went to reside in Washington” DC; worked as a butcher’s boy and then apothecary clerk and then “attracted the favorable regards of a slaveholder, into whose service he was persuaded to enter upon hire.” Becomes “confidential agent” of his slaveholder but refuses to become overseer for the man due to his “unconscious abhorrence of slavery.” With slaveholder, he travels through southern states, and once witnessed slave mother being whipped by an overseer; the scene so affected him that it “forever dispelled his indifference,” and when a female slave on a nearby plantation is whipped for attending a religious meeting and flees to estate of Grimes’s slaveholder, where one of the slaves is her husband, “by him [Grimes] she was soon put upon the road to Canada, whither her husband soon followed her. This was his induction into an office in which he afterward made full proof of his ministry to those in

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bondage.” He then left this employer and bought one or two carriages and horses to become a hackman in DC, which he did for twelve years and soon became “one of the foremost in his line of business; “while his coaches were in constant requisition by the gentry of the capital, they were not seldom placed at the service of the fugitive from southern bondage.” One night he went 30 miles into VA and brought off a woman and her seven children who were about to be sold in the deep South, and “while the owner’s posse were, five hours later, blindly groping after them in Washington, they passed in disguise on their way to the northern land of freedom.” Three months later Grimes was arrested, taken into VA, tried, and found guilty (“not however in accordance with the evidence”), sentenced to two years hard labor at state prison in Richmond; “there he was converted.” After getting out of prison he went back to DC and abandoned his “suspicious business as a hackman,” instead “jobbing about the city with a ‘furniture car’” and got a license to preach. Found DC uncomfortable and came to Boston; “he found there many fugitive slaves, wandering as sheep without a shepherd,” so he gathered them, preached to them, and at their entreaties formed a church for them

note: Blassingame, *Frederick Douglass Papers*, ser 1, vol 1, 441 n1, notes that Leonard Grimes spent his early life in DC working for a butcher and druggist and later began working as a hackman in DC, when he was charged with assisting family of eight slaves to escape; convicted and served two years in Richmond prison. Philip Schwarz, VA Commonwealth U, Richmond, found in VA Executive Papers that Grimes was imprisoned on the charge of having helped the seven slaves belonging to Joseph Mead of Loudon County, Virginia, escape on 26 October 1839, and papers make clear he had assisted fugitives earlier by using his hackman’s trade as a cover. On 10 March 1840 Grimes was convicted on what even the court admitted was circumstantial evidence of having taken a slave woman named Patty and her six children in his hack to Washington; the fugitives, the *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser* reported, were believed to have reached Canada. Because so many had testified to Grimes’s “very high character,” he was sentenced to the lightest penalty his crime commanded—a fine of one hundred dollars and two years in the state penitentiary. Just before he entered jail he signed a deed in trust with William Bush (who moved to New Bedford MA by late 1849) for his property at the corner of H and 22d Streets in DC, to whom he apparently was in debt at the time. The deed indicates that Bush, Grimes’s uncle, was to take care of Grimes’s wife and children while he was incarcerated. Several efforts to gain a pardon for Grimes failed; he probably served his full term and within two years left the South for New Bedford.

note: arrival in New Bedford not exactly known: Hayden 108 put it at about 1845, but Robert Hall in *Courage and Conscience* put it at 1840 and the Hortons, *Black Bostonians*, 41, 47–48, at the “late 1840s.” Grimes’s only listings in New Bedford are in the 1845 city directory, when he was boarding at 225 Middle Street and in business with Lewis Thomas at 84 Middle Street in a grocery and clothing business, and in the birth records for his son Leonard, in June 1846. By November 1848 he moved to Boston to become the new minister to Twelfth Baptist Church on Southac Street, soon to become well known as the Fugitive Slaves’ Church. Hall states that about 40 of the church’s members left for Canada after the 1850 passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the congregation raised \$1300 to purchase the freedom of fugitive Anthony Burns in 1854.

note: Austin Bearse, *Reminiscences of Fugitive-Slave Law Days in Boston* (Boston, 1880), 10–12, notes his involvement in case of fugitive George Lewis summer 1847; Boston Vigilance Committee records document his reimbursement 25 Feb 1851 for passage of Isaac Gaiter, Wm Ringold, Wm Peters, and James Harris to Halifax; 28 Feb 1851 paid for passage of James Dale & “Mrs. Henderson”; in July 1854 he is reimbursed “for Thomas Jackson & wife F also Wesley Bishop F”;

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Foner, *History of Black Americans*, 2:493, notes he used carriages in the UGRR when a hackman in DC area

note: DC register of freed persons, Reg No 2264, cert freedom filed 13 Aug 1845: "Miss Elizabeth P. Massey swears that she has known the children of Leonard and Octavia 'Jane' [Janet] Grimes, who are free persons of color, since they were infants and they were born free. Emily Teresa Grimes is about twelve years old, a very light mulatto with black eyes and long, straight, black hair [physical description ensues] . . . Mary Frances Grimes, aged nine, is also a bright mulatto with black eyes and long, straight, black hair. John Andrew, aged six, is almost white and has blue eyes and dark auburn hair."

note: instrumental with Rebecca Parker Clarke and John Albion Andrew in helping found Home for Aged Colored Women, and one of only three people of color (with Dr. James T. Still and Geo Washington Williams) to serve on its board of directors; he served 1860-72 [Shoenfeld, "Applications and Admissions to HACW," electronic ms., appendix]

note: Pauline E. Hopkins, "Men of Vision No. 2. Rev. Leonard A. Grimes," *New Era Magazine*, 1, 2 (March 1916): 99-105: notes he was born free in Loudin [sic] Co VA, orphaned at age of ten, and placed in charge of an uncle, whom he refused to live with and went to DC to work as a public market butcher boy and then an apothecary clerk; then he became one slaveholder's "confidential servant," offered the post of overseer but "refused to have anything to do with the great crime of slavery"; he did accompany his employer on journeys through the south and developed an abhorrence for slavery after witnessing an overseer whipping a woman who wouldn't work because her baby was dying; soon after Grimes helped a woman who had been whipped on a nearby plantation escape to Canada and later her husband; then went into his own business as a hackman which he used to carry regular traffic and fugitives; at one point when 30 miles in VA to carry an enslaved woman and her seven children out and "on the road to Canada" and three months later was arrested, tried for running off slaves, and found guilty, sentenced to hard labor at Richmond state prison for two years; when he got out went back to DC and began jobbing with a furniture team and other "humbler employments," he then got permission to preach and settled in New Bedford. About this time dispute among members of First Independent Baptist Church in Boston (now St. Paul Baptist) caused 20 members to withdraw and start a mission church, and they invited Grimes to visit and become their pastor, which he did at \$100 a month; "There were very many fugitive slaves wandering in Boston without a church home, and these Reverend Grimes gathered into the little church until the upper room on Belknap street was too small to hold them," and on 24 Nov 1848 Twelfth Baptist organized, 1849 congregation bought a lot on Southac St. He had known Dr. Neale in DC when they were both boys, and Neale helped him raise money for the church, whose foundation was done by time of FSA, and he collected money to buy members who'd fled to Canada out of slavery; church was completed and dedicated on the day that Anthony Burns was first put on trial, and Grimes became centrally involved in effort to keep him from being returned to slavery and raised \$800 in pledges to buy his freedom, but enslaver Col Suttle refused to sell and he was returned and Grimes again raises \$ for his freedom and pays \$1300 to Burns's new owner, and on 27 Feb 1855 Burns came to Boston a free man; he died 14 March 1874 after having carried a donation to the Board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in NYC for work among freedmen, then stopped in New Bedford on the way home to comfort a mother whose child was dying, and wasn't home 15 minutes in East Somerville before he died; he and wife had one son John, who died young, and a daughter Emma who married Giles Robinson; she and her husband had one son, Leonard Grimes Robinson, who lived in Cambridge and is Grimes's only survivor; they lost much of the material documented his grandfather's life in the 1908 Chelsea fire; notes he was also connected to Mrs Charles Henson of New Bedford

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note: grave has dod 1872, vital records 1873

note: son John Andrew Grimes went to Peirce Academy in Boston 1855 and enlisted as landsman on Navy ship USS Ohio (and USS Minnesota 31 Mar–30 Jun 1863) 29 Dec 1862; mustered out 26 Dec 186

Grimké, Archibald Henry

DOB: 17 Aug 1849

POB: Cane Acres plantation near Charleston SC

father: Henry Grimké

mother: Nancy Weston

spouse: Sarah E Stanley

DOM: 1879

DOD: 25 Feb 1930

POD: Washington DC

children: Angelina Weld 1880

note: born enslaved to Henry Grimké, lawyer and planter, and Nancy Weston, family's enslaved nurse, educated at Charleston schools; father died unexpectedly in 1860, and Archibald and brother Francis returned to slavery as servants at home of E Montague Grimké, their half-brother; in 1863 Archibald escaped the house and hid for the last year of the Civil War, while his brother Francis was sold to a Confederate officer and not free until end of War; after the war Archibald attended Morris Street School (Freedmen's Bureau), then in 1867 Lincoln U of PA, where he earned bachelor's in 1870 and master's in 1872; his aunts Sarah (1792–1873) and Angelina Grimké Weld (1805–79) responsible for his coming to Boston; Angelina had read about his "fine address" at Lincoln U in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and wrote to say she was daughter of Dr John Grimké of Charleston and wondered if he was a slave of Grimké's brother; the sisters had left for the North in 1829; with financial help and encouragement from aunts Grimké entered Harvard Law in 1872 and grad 1874; he worked first in the law firm of Wm Bowditch, 1875 became member Suffolk Co Bar, 1878 appointed justice of the peace; created Boston's first Af-Am newspaper, the *Hub*, in 1883; served 1894–98 as consul at Santo Domingo; later in 1898 returned to US; president of DC branch of NAACP 1909–30 and president of Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association; lived with his daughter and brother in DC toward end of life; papers at Howard U [from <https://www.bostonathenaeum.org/collections/archive/archibald-henry-grimke>]

note: "assigned" to write life of Garrison (1891) and life of Sumner (1892) for the American Reformer Series; in his Preface to Sumner volume he stated that "to his mind Garrison and Sumner, with Wendell Phillips, constitute the three principal figures and actors, the elect and glorified spirits that leaders in that mighty battle of Right and Wrong."

note: was consul to St Domingo 1894–98 and was very likely not at the 1897 unveiling

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Grimké, Charlotte Forten

DOB: 17 Aug 1837

POB: Philadelphia

father: Robert Bridges Forten (1813–64)

mother: Mary Virginia Woods (1815–40)

spouse: Francis James Grimké

DOM: 19 Dec 1878

POM: DC

DOD: 23 July 1914

POD: Washington DC

note: grandfather is Philadelphia African American sailmaker and abolitionist James Forten; father and brother-in-law Robert Purvis were active abolitionists and members of Philadelphia Vigilance Committee; Nov 1853 she moved to Salem to hh of Amy Matilda Cassey, who adopted her, and her second husband, Af Am abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond; she studied at Higginson Grammar in Salem and Salem Normal School (grad July 1856); joined Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society Sept 1855; taught at Epes Grammar in Salem 1856–58 and returned to PA to teach children of Robert and Harriet Purvis, all the while publishing essays and verse in antislavery and other publications; 1859 returned to teach at Higginson Grammar in Salem; resigned Oct 1860 and returned to Philadelphia and taught at Lombard St School; 1862 returned to Salem to teach summer classes at Higginson Grammar; Whittier on her Aug 1862 visit encouraged her to teach freed people in SC; she left 22 Oct 1862 for Port Royal under auspices of Philadelphia Port Royal Relief Assn; volunteered to nurse wounded 54th soldiers after Ft Wagner assault; resigned teaching job at St Helena Island and returned to Philadelphia May 1864; became secretary of teachers committee of New England branch Freedmen's Union Commission and moved to Boston; taught at Shaw Memorial School in Charleston 1871–72 and at what became Dunbar High in DC 1872–73, then became clerk in Fourth Auditor's office US Treasury Dept; she and husband, minister of Fifteenth St Presbyterian Church in DC, moved to Jacksonville FL where he was pastor; couple was legal guardian for niece Angelina Weld Grimké, dau of Archibald (see entry); 1896 founding member of National Assn of Colored Women; 1905 Archibald and dau living with them

note: first Af Am to be hired to teach freed people on Sea Islands near Charleston Oct 1862; she met RG Shaw in the Sea Islands early July 1863, and they dined and attended a African American church meeting on 4 July together

Hallowell, Edward Needles

DOB: 3 Nov 1836

POB: Philadelphia

father: Morris Longstreth Hallowell 1809–80

mother: Hannah S Penrose 1812–99

spouse: Charlotte Bartlett Wilhelmina Swett 1843–1919

DOM: 2 Feb 1869

POM: Boston

DOD: 26 Jul 1871

POD: Medford

bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

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note: son of Quaker abolitionist and silk importer and merchant who sheltered fugitives at his Philadelphia and PA summer home; brother of Norwood P Hallowell, also in 54th, and Richard P Hallowell, who recruited for the regiment

note: he enlisted in 20th MA Infantry 11 Jan 1862, appointed 2d lieut 11 Jan 1862, 1st lieut 20 Nov 1862; accepted appointment as captain in 54th, mustered in 30 Mar 1863; appointed major 17 Apr 1863, Lt col 31 May 1863, colonel 18 July 1863; wounded twice at Wagner and with death of Shaw became regiment's commander; discharged 20 Aug 1865; was post commander of Morris Island SC and city of Jacksonville FL, took part in defense of Charleston; Pres Johnson nominated him to honorary brevet brigadier general for his war service, confirmed by US Senate 12 Mar 1866; became a wool merchant in Medford after the war but suffered from malaria he contracted during it, and died of aortic aneurism at ae 34

note: see John T. Galvin, "The Hallowells: Fighting Quakers," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser. 104 (1992): 42-54

Hallowell, Norwood Penrose
DOB: 13 Apr 1839
POB: Philadelphia
father: Morris Longstreth Hallowell 1809-80
mother: Hannah S Penrose 1812-99
spouse: Sarah Wharton Haydock 1846-1934
DOM: 27 Jan 1868
POM: NYC
DOD: 11 Apr 1914
POD: Medford
bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

note: son of Quaker abolitionist and silk importer and merchant who sheltered fugitives in his Philadelphia and summer homes; brother of Edward N Hallowell, also in 54th, and Richard P Hallowell, who recruited for the regiment

note: began college at Haverford and transferred after a year to Harvard (grad 1861), where he roomed with William Forbes, son of John Murray Forbes; served Apr-June 1861 in 4th Battalion New England Guards at Castle Island, Boston Harbor; he and brother Richard acted as body guards for Wendell Phillips when he spoke publicly; commissioned 1st Lt 20th MA Infantry 10 June 1861, later promoted to captain of Co D; right arm shattered at Antietam and never fully usable afterward; 17 Apr 1862 appointed Lt col 54th and just as regiment prepared to depart Andrew detached him from 54th and assigned him command of 55th as colonel, and brother Edward assumed his place as "second in command" under Shaw of the 54th; wounded and discharged 2 Nov 1863, moved to NYC, and worked as commission merchant while he lobbied Congress to pay Af Am soldiers equally; after marriage moved to West Medford; a major player in 54th reunions, head of the "battalion of survivors" at 1897 Shaw Memorial unveiling, and dedicated to racial equity

note: for many years president of National Bank of Commerce, Boston; note: lived at 50 Mystic St, West Medford, and widow remained there until her death

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note: see John T. Galvin, "The Hallowells: Fighting Quakers," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser. 104 (1992): 42-54; his scrapbooks are at MHS

Hallowell, Richard Price
DOB: 16 Dec 1835
POB: Philadelphia
father: Morris Longstreth Hallowell 1809-80
mother: Hannah S Penrose 1812-99
spouse: Anna Coffin Davis 1838-1913
DOM: 1859
DOD: 5 Jan 1904
POD: Medford
bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

note: son of Quaker abolitionist and silk importer and merchant whose Philadelphia and summer homes sheltered fugitives; brother of Edward N and Norwood P Hallowell, both in 54th; he attended Haverford but left school to work; 1857 left Philadelphia and moved to MA because he no longer wanted to be part of a firm that dealt in cotton "coming from slave labor"; became wool broker and banker in Boston, dir National Bank of Commerce, trustee, vp, and president of Medford Savings Bank

note: his wife was the granddaughter of Lucretia Mott

note: among abolitionists sent to VA to bring John Brown's body back to North; health prevented him from joining the 54th, but MA Gov Andrew appointed him to committee to oversee 54th recruitment in and around NYC Jan 1863, and he served as treasurer of recruiting fund; worked for passage of 15th Amendment, for freed people's schools in South, and was a manager of Boston Home for Aged Colored Women; supported BT Washington and was a financial agent for Tuskegee in Boston; trustee Calhoun school for African Americans in Alabama; helps raise funds to create "all-black cotton mill" New Century Cotton Mill, and at request of Washington raised funds to pay legal fees in voting rights cases in LA and AL

note: see John T. Galvin, "The Hallowells: Fighting Quakers," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser. 104 (1992): 42-54

Harmon, Eli T
DOB: 1842-43
POB: Germantown PA
father: Nathaniel E b PA 1815
mother: Anna Morgan b PA 1820

cen: 1860 Philadelphia/lab in pars' hh [no middle initial]

note: wrote "The Day is Dawning, Awake, Arise!" 9 Mar 1863 encouraging enlistment in 54th; published in *Christian Recorder*, 28 Mar 1863; nothing else so far discovered about him;; parents and sister in Philadelphia 1880c

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note: an Eli S Harmon of Philadelphia was shown at Lincoln University 1867–70 and in senior class 1870 with Archibald H. and Francis J. Grimké but noted as deceased that year

Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins

DOB: 24 Sept 1825

POB: Baltimore MD

spouse: Fenton Harper

DOM: 22 Nov 1860

DOD: 22 Feb 1911

POD: Philadelphia

note: born free and orphaned when she was 3, both parents dying in 1828; her maternal aunt and uncle Rev. Wm and Henrietta Watkins raised her and gave her their surname; she was schooled at Wm Watkins's Watkins Academy for Negro Youth; taught sewing at AME-affiliated Union Seminary in Columbus OH 1850 and then taught in York PA; she lived and began working with William Still in Philadelphia fugitive assistance in 1851; was sent to live with an uncle in New Bedford ca 1852, possibly Wm Watkins; 1853 joined American Anti-Slavery Society and delivered first anti-slavery speech, "Education and the Elevation of the Colored Race," in 1854, which resulted in two-year lecture tour under auspices of Maine Anti-Slavery Society; lectured through East and Midwest through 1860; published her first book of poems, *Forest Leaves*, when she was 21; contributed often to the *Anglo-African*; published *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* 1854; taught in freed people's schools in South after war and worked for Freedmen's Bureau in Mobile 1870; she became supt colored section of Philadelphia and PA WCTU 1883, helped found National Association of Colored Women 1894 and was its vice president

note: wrote Civil War novel *Iola Leroy* (1892), among the best-selling African American novels in 20th century; wrote more than 80 poems and *Sketches of Southern Life* (1872)

Hayden, Lewis

DOB: 1817 c50, 1819 c55

POB: NY c50, Lexington KY Ripley, KY c55

father: Lewis drec

mother: Millie drec

spouse: 1) Esther Harvey 2) Harriet Bell(?) b 1813 Louisville KY d 1893 (see note)

DOM: 2) 1836 or 1837

POM: Lexington KY

DOD: 7 April 1889

POD: Boston

bur: Woodlawn Cem, Everett

cen: 1850 Boston/trader w/ wife, son, 10 bdrs inc Wm & Ellen Craft
1855 Boston/trader w/ wife, son, at least 8 others
1865 Boston/proprietor w/ wife, son, 2 other fams
1870 Boston/clerk state house \$2k pers w/ wife in 4-fam
1880 Boston/messenger w/ wife, adopt dau in 3-fam

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dir: 1850 Boston/clothing 107 Cambridge, house 8 Southac
1852 Boston/clothing 121 Cambridge, house 8 Southac
1855 Boston/clothing 121 Cambridge, house 66 Southac
1860 Boston/mess. Sec of State, h 66 Southac
1863 Boston/mess. Sec of State, h 66 Southac
1868 Boston/do
1873 Boston/do
1878 Boston/do
1883 Boston/do
1888 Boston/do

children: Joseph (b 1836 NY), adopted Etta Hooper b 1858 GA

note: b slave Lexington KY, one of family of 25 slaves belonging to Presbyterian minister Adam Runkin; Henry Clay sells his first wife and son; his story is told in Harriet Beecher Stowe, *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston, 1855), 154–55. Meets Calvin Fairbank (1816–98), then a student (?) at Oberlin, who asks Hayden why he wants his freedom; Hayden replies, “Because I am a man.” Shortly afterward, in 1844, Fairbank, his fiancée (Delia Webster??), and Hayden, his wife Harriet, and 10-yr-old son Joseph left KY in a hack for Ohio, with Haydens acting as servants or passing as white lady and gentleman, veiled and cloaked, with son hiding under carriage seat. Haydens left next morning at a UGRR “station” in care of abolitionists and ultimately escaped to Canada West. They resettled six months afterward, in 1845, in Detroit to get more involved in antislavery movement; organized school in black community there and founded brick church of colored Methodist Society. On 25 May 1846 left Detroit, and by July settled in Boston [but see note below], first at 8 Southac and then 66 Southac street, to be closer to center of activity. Robboy 598 states that Garrison called Hayden “my staunchest ally,” and they with others often met at Hayden’s home, referred to as “the temple of refuge” [Bowditch, *Life and Correspondence*, 2:350], as well as at his store. He and others seized fugitive Shadrach in 1851, took him to Southac street house next to Hayden’s, and at night he and a friend conveyed him by wagon to Francis Edwin Bigelow in Concord; several months later charges against Hayden were dropped (many years later Hayden’s lawyer learned that Bigelow and another who participated in Shadrach rescue were jurors and stalemated the jury, resulted in hanging it and thus causing case to be dropped). 24 May 1854 Anthony Burns arrested in Boston, and on 26 May Hayden arrested for attempted to storm the courthouse to free him; they found him [Robboy 606–7] at antislavery office, where he was speaking to escaped slave mother and child, so he stepped to outer office and allowed himself to be arrested to protect them; court later refused to consider charges against him. Ripley v 4:268–9 n3: and Francis Jackson’s treasurer’s accounts of Boston Vigilance Committee document that he sheltered and fed hundreds of fugitives and would use any means to thwart Fug Slave Law; Quarles 149–50: housed Wm and Ellen Craft; Stowe visited and found 13 fugitives at his home

note: WL Garrison, Boston, to Sydney Howard Gay, 31 Mar 1846, notes that Lewis Hayden had just told him he intended to leave for Detroit this afternoon; “Lewis Hayden has won the esteem and friendship of all with whom he has become acquainted, and is a rare young man. Should he conclude to return, and take up his abode in New Bedford, I think he can be made very serviceable to our cause. He needs to be more fully with us, fully to understand the position that we occupy, in regard to Church and State; but he is an apt scholar, and has made very good progress in very short time.” [Garrison Letters v3:334]; Lewis Hayden, Boston, to wife Harriet, New Bedford, 22 Apr 1847 referring to his health and other matters “since I left New Bedford” and asking to be remembered to “sister Easton,” with whom they seem to have been staying. Probably Rhoda Cuffe Easton, though not clear where she is living then [Misc Collections, Am Antiquarian Society]

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note: Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, 57–58: “ Those [fugitive slaves] who came to Boston were hidden and cared for by the Abolitionists, and, chiefly by the Negro contingent. . . . The most popular resort of all, however, as well as one of the chief places of concealment for runaways, was the home of Lewis Hayden, who came to Boston as a fugitive from Kentucky in 1844, and who by virtue of his native strength of character soon became, and remained till his death, a dominating figure in the local Negro colony.”

note: 1850 mfg scheds shows Hayden as tailor with \$500 capital, buying \$300 in cloth and selling \$850 in clothing; on next page is cabinetmaker Wm Crafts with \$40 in capital buying \$90 in lumber and doing \$700 in repairing

note: 1858 apptd by new Republican admin a messenger for MA Sec of State, which he was for rest of life; became close friend of John A Andrew; Hayden claimed credit for convincing Andrew to raise black regiments; 1873 elected to MA state senate. Robboy 611 notes he was among petitioners in 1887 requesting a monument be erected in Granary Burial Ground to Crispus Attucks et al; approved that year, and monument erected in Boston Common. Robboy 612 notes he died of “renal disease,” and 1200 people attended his funeral at Charles Street Methodist Episcopal Church, including Frederick Douglass (whose son Lewis, Robboy asserts, is named for him; probably not), TW Higginson, Garrison's son Francis, Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch.

note5: Robboy claims Hayden's “custom and ready-made clothing business provided garments for fugitive slaves, while the profits were used to feed runaway slaves while they were in Boston. Founded in 1849, the store was at first located in small quarters on Cambridge Street, but when its stock acquired a value of \$10,000, Hayden relocated it on Cambridge Street, where it became the second largest establishment in Boston owned by a black man.” Store failed 1858 after 1857 panic.

Hemenway, Alexander Freeman

DOB: 3 July 1834

POB: Worcester

father: Ebenezer 1804–80

mother: Elizabeth Crossman b 1802 Leeds d 1868

spouse: 1) Emily F. Thomas b 1836 Providence RI 2) Josephine McTier b 1840 FL

DOM: 1) 11 Dec 1855 2) 29 Nov 1870

POM: 1 & 2) Worcester

DOD: 28 Oct 1896 drec

POD: Worcester

bur: Hope Cem, Worcester

cen: 1850 Worcester/in pars' hh
1860 Worcester/barber in pars' hh w/ wife, 2 children
1880 Worcester/barber w/ 3d wife, son Douglass
1890 vet sched Worcester/”chronic hemorrhige [*sic*] bowels caused by disabilities of army service”

dir: 1865 Worcester/54th MA h 64 Union
1866 Worcester/Grove Mills h 64 Union
1868 Worcester/barber bds Mechanic
1870 Worcester/barber 18 Front st

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1881 Worcester/hairdresser 20 Gold h Lily
1895 Worcester/barber 102 Southbridge h 2 Leland Ct

serv: priv, sgt Co F 54th

note: often spelled Hemmenway; Nipmuc and African descent; one of four men “of color” arrested in Butman riot in attempt to stop fugitive arrest of Wm Jenkins in Worcester; his wife Emily, according to Earle, was part of the Punkapoag tribe, and visited Readville often

note: barber when he enlisted 7 Apr 1863 at Readville; promoted to sgt 7 Apr 1863 by RG Shaw; on furlough to Worcester 13 Nov 1863; promoted to first sgt 27 July 1865; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Charleston

note: longtime member of Geo H Ward Post 10 GAR in Worcester; active in veterans’ affairs

Higginson, Henry Lee
DOB: 18 Nov 1834
POB: NYC
father: George Higginson
mother: Mary Cabot Lee
spouse: Ida Agassiz
DOM: 5 Dec 1863
DOD: 14 Nov 1919
POD: Boston
bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

note: when he was 4 family moved to Boston, where father was among founders of brokerage firm; mother died when he was 15; grad Boston Latin 1851, entered Harvard but eye problems forced him to leave; father placed him 1855 as clerk and bkpr with India merchants Saml and Edward Austin; 1868 became clerk and junior partner in father’s brokerage Lee, Higginson & Co and later became sr partner; founded and was first admin of Boston Symphony Orchestra 1881; 1890 donated 31-acre Soldiers Field to Harvard; bef 1913 an officer in Immigration Restriction League

note: entered Co D 2d MA Infantry as 2d Lt May 1861, fought at Bull Run, commissioned major 1st MA Cavalry Mar 1862; wounded at Battle of Aldie; often referred to as Major Higginson to distinguish him from his distant cousin, abolitionist and Af Am regiment commander Thos Wentworth Higginson, who was called Colonel

note: spoke at Harvard’s Sanders Theatre the day before 1897 unveiling

Hopkins, Pauline Elizabeth Northup
DOB: 1859
POB: Portland ME
father: Benjamin Northup
mother: Sarah Allen b 1837 NH
DOD: 13 Aug 1930

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POD: Cambridge
bur: Cambridge cem

cen: 1870 Boston/in hh Wm and Sarah A Hopkins
1930 Cambridge/college stenog & clerk bdg w/ Af Am customs clerk Leigh Carter

note: moved with mother and stepfather (Wm, b VA 1837) to Boston by late 1860s and grad Girls High School; wrote three-act play titled *The Slave's Escape, or the Underground Railroad*, performed in Boston in late Nov 1879; part of her family's musical group Hopkins Colored Troubadours; wrote *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* (1900) and contributed often to *Colored American Magazine*, which she edited from 1902 to 1904. See Lois Brown, *Pauline E. Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution* (2008)

Hosmer, Harriet Goodhue
DOB: 9 Oct 1830
POB: Watertown
father: Hiram Hosmer
mother: Sarah Grant
DOD: 21 Feb 1908
POD: Watertown
bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

note: attended Sedgewick School in Lenox; studied anatomy with her father, a physician, then studied same at MO Medical College with Joseph Nash McDowell; returned to Boston to study and model; went to Rome 1853–60 and studied with Welsh sculptor John Gibson and met Anne Whitney, Edmonia Lewis, N Hawthorne, Georges Sand, George Eliot; created Thomas Hart Benton monument 1862 (first public monument in MO), *Sleeping Faun* in Rome 1865, Crerar Lincoln Monument/African Sybil 1888–96 in failed attempt to win commission for Lincoln Memorial, and an Emancipation memorial never built; close friend of Lydia Maria Child

note: was to have created an emancipation monument in Boston after war, but funds insufficient

Hunter, David
DOB: 21 July 1802
POB: Troy NY or Princeton NJ
father: Andrew Hunter
mother: Mary Stockton
spouse: Maria Kinzie
POM: Chicago
DOD: 2 Feb 1886
POD: DC
bur: Princeton cem, Princeton NJ

note: grad US Military Academy 1822 and commissioned 2d Lt in 5th US Infantry and served at Fort Dearborn (Chicago); served 11 years and resigned July 1836, moved to IL; rejoined Army Nov 1841 and promoted from paymaster to major Mar 1842

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note: 1860 stationed at Ft Leavenworth KS and began expressing antislavery sentiments in letters to Lincoln; he rode on Lincoln's inaugural train from Springfield IL to DC Feb 1861; after Ft Sumter promoted to col 6th US Cav 14 May 1861, but 3 days later he was appointed brigadier general of volunteers and commanded brigade in Dept of Washington; wounded at First Bull Run July 1861; promoted Aug 1861 maj genl of volunteers and served as division commander in Western Army under Fremont; appointed commander of Western Dept 2 Nov 1861 after Fremont removed for attempting to free enslaved of rebels; two months reassigned to Dept KS, protested to president, and transferred to Dept of South Mar 1862; in charge of Dept of South during Ft Wagner assaults

note: strong advocate of recruiting Af Am soldiers and began to enlist them in occupied SC districts to form the 1st SC, which he was at first ordered to disband; achieved notice for 9 May 1862 unauthorized order freeing enslaved in GA, FL, SC (all in Dept of the South) on grounds that "slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible"; order rescinded by Lincoln, but Hunter continued to recruit freed people as soldiers in SC, and War Dept eventually forced him to abandon efforts

note: was part of honor guard at Lincoln's funeral and accompanied his body back to IL; presided over military commission trying conspirators in assassination

Jacobs, Harriet Ann

DOB: 1813

POB: Edenton NC

father: Daniel Jacobs

mother: Molly Horniblow d 1818

DOD: 7 Mar 1897

POD: Washington DC

burial: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

children: Joseph 1829, Louisa Matilda 1833

note: father a slave carpenter permitted to hire his time; maternal grandmother daughter of an SC planter who was manumitted at his death but resold into slavery at time of Rev; 1835–42 Harriet hid in crawl space of grandmother's Edenton house, where her own children were living and unaware of her presence; brother John S Jacobs escaped to North 1838; she ultimately escaped to Philadelphia and on to NYC 1842; with aid of employer Mrs Nathaniel Parker Willis (Mary Stace Willis), escaped to Boston Oct 1844; after Fugitive Slave Act passed brother John went to CA and she returned to NYC, became nurse for daughter of Willis and 2d wife, Cornelia Grinnell Willis; pursued often by enslaver James Norcom and hid in New Bedford and elsewhere 1851, 1852; early 1852 Mrs Willis bought Jacobs' freedom for \$300

note: Rochester NY abolitionist Amy Post suggested she write and publish her story and arranged for Jacobs to discuss it with HB Stowe, who rejected idea, and Jacobs rejected Stowe's offer to include her story in her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*; finished ms 1858 and arranged with Boston publisher Phillips and Sampson to publish it, but firm went bankrupt; sent it to Thayer and Eldridge of Boston, who suggested a preface by Lydia Maria Child, and African American abolitionist Wm Cooper Nell introduced them; Child edited the book, but Thayer and Eldridge also declared bankruptcy, Jacobs bought the plates, and a Boston printer published it for her 1861; *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, published as *The Deeper Wrong* in Britain and was a sensation

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note: 1862 went to DC to work among contrabands and soon for Freedmen's Relief Association, formed that year; 1863 Philadelphia and New York Quakers hired her to distribute clothing, health care, and education to freed people in Alexandria VA, and dau joined her in that effort; 1866 the two left DC to do same work in Savannah; 1868 left for London to raise funds for orphanage and home for aged people of color in Savannah; 1870 ran boardinghouse in Cambridge; 1885 she and daughter living in DC

note: she was in Boston at MA Anti-Slavery Society meeting 28 May 1863 and witnessed 54th's departure

Jenifer, John Thomas

DOB: 10 Mar 1836

POB: Upper Marlboro, Prince George's Co MD

father: John H Jenifer 1817-89

mother: Catherine / Alice Catherine d 14 Dec 1847 New Bedford

spouse: Eva b 1858 IL

DOD: 5 Mar 1919

POD: Chicago

bur: Mt Glenwood, Cook Co IL

cen: 1910 Chicago/own income w/ wife, stepson Leonard Lewis, servant

note: recalled his first meeting with Frederick Douglass in New Bedford: "In the days of my bondage, a slave boy in Baltimore, I heard a great deal of the rare powers and qualities of Frederick Douglass, hence, craved to see him. Having left Baltimore in 1859 for New Bedford, Mass., in search of freedom, and learning, among other things, I had a fondness for essay writing. Sitting outdoors one morning, at the home of my father, trying my hand on an essay, I heard my stepmother in the yard exclaim, 'Why, how d'ye do, Mr. Douglass.' A long-desired opportunity brought me to my feet and out in the yard, where I beheld that splendid figure with princely bearing, standing, expressing his delights at the variety and beauties of the choice flowers. . . . Between Mr. Douglass and my father there existed a life-long fellowship. Each was a slave: each from Maryland, and each found a harbor of refuge in New Bedford, Mass.: hence he appeared to take a deep interest in my welfare. . . . I knew Mr. Douglass in his home life. I was his pastor whom he respected. I was the last minister whose hand he shook the day of his death." [J. T. Jenifer, "Personal Recollections of Frederick Douglass," *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* 23, 1 (July 1906)]

note: name is sometimes shown as Jenovar; father said to have been in New Bedford since 1841, but listed only in 1860c as a farmer; took part in numerous colored people's meetings in New Bedford; Jul 1856 father remarried Marcelina Seals in New Bedford; father's probate documents that he owned \$9750 in real property in 6 parcels, 5 of them with houses; left son, then living in Chicago, \$50

note: "Rev John T. Jenifer," in Henry Davenport Northrop et al., *The College of Life or Practical Self Educator: A Manual of Self-Improvement for the Colored Race* (Bessemer AL: Hollingsworth and Porter, 1895; Washington DC, 1896): 35-36: John Thomas Jenifer born 10 March 1836 at Upper Marlboro, Prince George County MD, "in the Tyler family," and his parents, John H. and Catherine, were slaves; when he was 18 (1854) he was sent by owners to Baltimore to clerk in dry

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goods house; his father escaped to New Bedford on the “underground railroad” in 1841, and John joined him there in 1859. Son began mercantile training but then drawn to ministry, went to CA to go to school, pastored a church at Sacramento and built a church there, taught school for black children; then went to Nebraska, and then to Wilberforce, where he studied five years and graduated 1870; went to Little Rock AK pastorate for 8 years and built a church there, then 2 years at Pine Bluff AK church, then transferred to Charles Street AME in Boston, where he served for 6 years (1881–87), then a year at Providence, then at Newport, then Chicago 4 years and built AME church there, then Wilberforce gave him Dr of Divinity degree, then May 1893 pastor Metro AME church in DC

note: he was in San Francisco by 1862 [*Pacific Appeal*, 8 Nov 1862) and among those who founded the CA Conference of Union Bethel AME Church

note: lived at 3430 Vernon Ave Chicago at time of death; and 13 Nov 1917 will left that property to wife Eva until she dies; at her death it was to go to dau Bertha B Thomas; after her death to be sold and proceeds to start the John T. Jenifer and Eva Jenifer scholarship fund at Wilberforce U for men studying to be AME ministers or women studying to become teachers or missionaries; leaves the portrait presented to him by Bostonians to wife, and stated that “should I not be able to before death, to complete and publish my Autobiographical history, found in the Baby-trunk in my study closet,” that wife and daughter have it published; leaves daughter Bertha the portrait of his father John T given to him by father’s friend Andrew Bush of New Bedford, “also the portrait of her dear mother Alice C Jenifer” and portrait of her grandmother Millie Colby; left Bertha his interest in his part of Jenifer burial lot #5, Section G, Rural Cem, New Bedford; gave his library to trustees of Bureau of History, AME church, provided the church established a permanent repository of the church’s history and “history of the Negro Race variety” in Chicago

Johnson, James Weldon

DOB: 17 Jun 1871

POB: Jacksonville FL

father: James Johnson

mother: Helen Louise Dillet b Bahamas

spouse: Grace Nail

DOM: 1910

POM: NYC

DOD: 26 Jun 1938

POD: Wiscasset ME

bur: Green-Wood cem, NYC

note: maternal great grandmother Hester Argo escaped St Domingo during 1802 revolution and went to Nassau with 3 children, including JWJ’s grandfather Stephen Dillet, who later was elected to Bahamian legislature; grad Atlanta University 1894 and while there taught in rural GA summer 1891; 1894 returned to Jacksonville and in 1906 named principal of African American Stanton school, which he attended as a child; also studied law and admitted to FL bar 1897; he and brother John Rosamond Johnson moved to NYC

note: he and brother John Rosamond Johnson wrote song “The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground” (1901), and he wrote “Lift Ev’ry Voice and Sing,” often called the “Negro National Anthem”

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note: started working for NAACP 1916 and became its first African American secretary 1920, served for decade; prof of creative literature and writing at Fisk University from 1930; first Af Am professor hired at NYU 1934

note: T Roosevelt appointed him US consul to Venezuela and Nicaragua 1906–13

Kennard, Martin Parry
DOB: 24 Jul 1818
POB: Portsmouth NH
father: Oliver Parry Kennard
mother: Jane Hoit Plaisted
spouse: Caroline Augusta Smith 1827–1907
DOM: 1846
DOD: 13 Nov 1903
POD: Brookline
bur: Forest Hills, Boston

note: Boston jeweler in firm of Bigelow, Kennard & Co; judge of jewelry, watches, silverware, bronzes at Philadelphia Centennial [*Boston Globe*, 29 Sept 1897, 2]; Pres Hayes appointed him asst treasurer of US subtreasury in Boston 1883 (serves until 1887); treas of Boston Art Club and pres Boston Memorial Assn 1890s; on committee for Sumner statue 1875; member of the 2d Shaw Memorial committee

note: see “M. P. Kennard Dead at 85,” *Boston Post*, 14 November 1903, 4

Lee, Henry
DOB: 2 Sept 1817
POB: Boston
father: Henry Lee 1782–1867
mother: Mary Jackson 1783–1860
spouse: Elizabeth Perkins Cabot 1823–1909
DOM: 20 Oct 1845
DOD: 24 Nov 1898
POD: Brookline
bur: Walnut Hills, Brookline

note: often referred to “Colonel” due to Andrew’s appointment of him to his staff during war; son of wealthy East Indies merchant, grad Harvard 1836 and for 30 years one of overseers there; worked for father until 1852 when he and two relatives founded Boston banking and brokerage firm Lee, Higginson and Co

note: a Free Soil party member; sent donations to antislavery paper in KY; 1855 member of Emigrant Aid Co aiming to resettle New Englanders in KS; member of Gov Andrew’s wartime staff; a founder of Boston’s Union Club 1863; a founder of Freedmen’s Relief Committee of Boston

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note: his sister Mary Cabot Lee (1811–49) married George Higginson, who were parents of Henry Lee Higginson

note: his great-grandson and namesake was president of Friends of Public Garden and spearheaded effort to restore Shaw in early 1980s

note: member of both first and second Shaw Memorial committees

Lenox, Charles William

DOB: 2 Nov 1824

POB: Watertown MA [no brec]

father: John b 1794 Newton d 1886 Watertown

mother: Sybil Dickerson b ca 1798 Salem d 1843

DOD: 9 Aug 1896

POD: Watertown MA

bur: Common St Cem, Watertown

cen: 1855 Watertown/barber in hh father, 2 bdrs
1860 Watertown/barber in hh father, sister, 2 others
1865 Watertown/sgt 54th regt in hh father
1870 Watertown/barber in hh father, sister Louisa L
1880 Watertown/barber in hh father, sister Louisa L

serv: priv, corp, sgt Co A 54th

note: Appleton noted that Charles W Lenox came to 54th recruiting office at corner of Cambridge and N Russell St to ask whether he'd be a good soldier, which he turned out to be, and about that time Wm Aiken, Enoch Saunders, Washington Perkins and other Boston men signed the roll [54th Records, reel 13, MHS]

note: father in Watertown from at least 1820 and a barber, and he was barber at enlistment 28 Feb 1863, ae 38; promoted to corp 30 Mar 1863 and sgt 1 Aug 1864; mustered out 20 Aug 1865 at Mt Pleasant SC

note: the 165th NY Regiment, aka Duryea's Zouaves, systematically attacked and stole from blacks in and around Charleston and attacked the 54th; in second week July 1865 they ambushed a 54th detachment, and Sgt Charles Lenox told Nell that the Zouaves planned to continue their attacks until the Union commanders withdrew all black troops from the city; by mid-July Genl Gillmore seized the Zouaves' colors and order them confined to Fort Strong (formerly Battery Wagner) [Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder*, 87–88]

note: CW Lenox, Watertown, to Emilio, 5 April 1885: "I learn that Capt. Homans Is still at Maplewood In rather poor health. I have always thought we owed a great deal to the Capt. for his patience and perseverance at Readville as well as the other first officers. the Capt. was always very popular." [54th Records, reel 14, MHS]

note: on exec committee of Aug 1887 reunion of 54th

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note: BOAF files from rededication of Shaw 1982: Helen E Jeffrey, grandniece of Chas W Lenox Co A (also letter in file from her sister-in-law Mrs Frank E Roberts of Wheelwright, MA, whose great uncle was Chas W Lenox; at one point Robertses living in E Falmouth); Jeffrey descended from her paternal grandmother Nellie Roberts of Cambridge; in a letter 6 Aug 1982 to Powell Jeffrey cited also as descendant John Roberts, West Roxbury, Mrs Louise Jones of Waltham, Frank Roberts of Barre MA, Genevieve Snowden of Roxbury, and Mrs Doris Gibb of Dorchester; Mrs George Foster Roberts Sr (Joye) to Powell, 17 April 1982: stated her husband's father was Walter Lenox Roberts, the nephew of Charles Lenox; oldest living member of family was then Helen Roberts Jeffrey, her sister-in-law; they were all descendants of John Miner Lenox, said to be twin brother of Chas W Lenox

Lewis, Edmonia Mary

DOB: 4 Jul 1844

POB: East Greenbush NY

DOD: 17 Sept 1907

POD: London

bur: St Mary's Roman Catholic Cem, Kensal Green, London

cen: 1865 Boston/sculptor in hh Af Am hairdressers Edwin F and Alfred G Howard

note: of Ojibway and African descent, father said to have been from West Indies and freed, and both parents died before she was five; she was taken care of Ojibway aunts in Canada until ae 12; brother Sunrise financed her schooling at NY Central College at McGrawville and at Oberlin 1859–63; came to Boston 1863 with letter to Garrison, who introduced her to sculptor Edmund Brackett, who had done sketches and taken measurements of John Brown while he was jailed and then cast a bust of him back in Boston; she maintained studio in Studio building in Boston near that of Edward Bannister; first works were John Brown medallion, which she sold through *Liberator* ad Jan–Mar 1864, and Shaw bust, 100 plaster copies of which she sold to finance study in Rome; while there met American sculptors Harriet Hosmer, Hiram Powers, and Anne Whitney; friends with Lydia Maria Child; Rome studio in 1870s was next door to Saint-Gaudens's

note: sculpted a kneeling Wm H Carney and bust of RG Shaw in 1864, latter of which she exhibited at National Sailors' Fair 26 Oct 1864 and at National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary in Boston Jan 1865; she traveled with Ada Howard, dau of Alfred G Howard, to South in 1865; sculpted *Forever Free* in Rome in 1867 and presented it to Leonard Grimes at Tremont Temple Oct 1869 (later acquired by African American George Glover)

Lewis, William Henry

DOB: 28 Nov 1868

POB: Berkley VA

father: Ashley H Lewis b 1844 Rocky Mtn NC

mother: Josephine Baker b 1847 VA

spouse: Elizabeth Baker b 1868 VA

DOM: 23 Sept 1896

POM: Cambridge

DOD: 1 Jan 1949

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POD: Boston
bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

cen: 1870 Washington VA/in pars' hh
1880 Portsmouth VA/in pars' hh
1900 Cambridge/lawyer w/ wife, dau, 2 bros, servant
1910 Cambridge/attorney w/ wife, 3 children
1930 Cambridge/lawyer w/ wife, son, dau in law
1940 Dedham/retired, owns, w/ wife and white servant

dir: 1933 & 1934 Boston/lawyer Lewis & McGrath Boston h 218 Walnut Dedham
1944 Boston/do to 1934d

children: Dorothy 1897, Elizabeth 1901, Wm H Jr 1903 (m Edna C b 1904 VA)

note: 1900c brothers Leon b 1883 and John b 1887 in his hh

note: father, laborer and minister, once enslaved and moved family to Portsmouth VA; ae 15 he entered VA Normal and Collegiate Institute, whose first president, John Mercer Langston, helped him transfer to Amherst College, played football there 3 years, grad 1891; in same class there as Geo Washington Forbes (see entry); star football player at Harvard, first African American All-American in that sport, grad Harvard Law and football coach at Harvard 1895–1906; at center of barbershop discrimination incident in Cambridge 1893; attorney in Cambridge and member of common council there 1899–1902; in MA legislature 1901; T Roosevelt appointed him asst US attorney in Boston 1903; after protracted struggle WH Taft appointed him Asst US Atty Genl 1910, but Wilson fired him soon after his inauguration; 1911 became first African American in American Bar Assn

note: see “William H. Lewis,” *Boston Globe*, 3 Jan 1949, 8: about his funeral and ided here as 80 and “distinguished Negro and one of Boston’s outstanding criminal lawyers” then living at 483 Commonwealth Ave in Boston

Lowell, Josephine Shaw
DOB: 16 Dec 1843
POB: West Roxbury MA
father: Francis George Shaw
mother: Sarah Blake Sturgis
spouse: Charles Russell Lowell III 1835–64
DOM: 31 Oct 1863
POM: Staten Island NY
DOD: 12 Oct 1905
POD: NYC

note: husband was grandson of antislavery Unitarian cleric Charles Russell Lowell and enlisted June 1861 as capt 3rd US Cavalry and transferred 6th US Cav, and then 1863 recruited for, organized, and commanded of 2nd MA Cav; after marriage she followed his regiment and helped nurse wounded; after being mortally wounded at battle at Cedar Creek 19 Oct 1864 (he died the next day) she returned to live with daughter Carlotta at parents’ home on Staten Island; she

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became reformer; appointed commissioner to NY Board of Charities 1876, first woman on that board, and served until 1889; helped found asylum for “feeble-minded women” in NYS 1878; founded NY Charity Organization 1882; active in Anti-Imperialist League, and founded New York Consumers’ League 1890 and Civil Service Reform Assn of NYS 1895

note: lobbied Saint-Gaudens and Shaw Memorial committee to alter site of Shaw Memorial and add the names of 54th men killed in battle

note: see Joan Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997)

Lynch, James

DOB: 9 Jan 1839 passport app

POB: Baltimore MD

father: Benjamin

mother: Lucy

spouse: Eugenia b IA [or Lugenia]

DOD: 18 Dec 1872

POD: Jackson MS

bur: Greenwood cem, Jackson

note: mother said to have been enslaved and father a white merchant; taught at first by AME minister Daniel Payne and then educated for two years at Kimball Union Academy in NH; left for lack of money and taught on Long Island, studied for ministry in Brooklyn, then moved to Indianapolis and became a minister; 1860 moved to Philadelphia and edited the *Philadelphia Advocate*; 1863 appointed mission and government supt at Beaufort SC, preached on Sea Islands during 54th occupation there; presented sword from freed people to Rufus Saxton on 1 Jan 1864 and helped establish AME churches in SC and GA after the war; edited *Christian Recorder* 1866–67; 1864 passport app signed by Daniel A Payne; helped organize Republican party in MS; parents’ names from 1869 Freedman’s Bank record; worked on a new MS constitution, published and edited *Jackson Colored Citizen*; elected MS Sec of State 1869 and reelected 1871; delegate to Republican National Convention 1872; 1870c Jackson MS shows him as sect of state with \$3300 in real prop in hh with wife Eugenia b 1845, sons James 1864 and Matthew 1863

McKane, Alice Woodby

DOB: 12 Feb 1865

POB: Bridgewater PA

father: Charles Woodby

mother: Elizabeth B Frazier

spouse: Cornelius McKane 1862–1912

DOM: 2 Feb 1893

POM: Chatham Co GA mrec

DOD: 6 Mar 1948

cen: 1920 Boston/physician specialist owns, w 2 sons, bro, 2 lodgers

1940 Boston/medical doctor w/ 2 Af Am femal lodgers

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children: Cornelius 1897 GA, Alice Fanny 1898 GA, Wm F 1902 GA

note: 1920c has bro Wm B “Woodly” b PA 1860

note: husband a physician b Georgetown, British Guiana, and was said to be grandson of a king of Liberia, where he grew up; came to NYC, went to City College of NY, Dartmouth and U Vermont medical schools, and Bethany College in NC where he studied theology; returned to Liberia as teacher and missionary and founded first free hospital there; was asst sec of treas of Liberia; he and wife founded hospital and nurses’ school in Savannah, and he was minister in Woodville GA; came to Boston 1910 to practice medicine

note: her parents died when she was 7, and she lost her sight for 3 years; grad Hampton Institute 1886, Inst for Colored Youth in Philadelphia 1889, then grad Women’s Medical College of PA 1892; moved to Augusta GA as resident physician and nursing instructor at Haines Normal and Industrial Institute and said to be first African American female physician in the state; she met McKane when he was in Savannah; they found McKane Training School for Nurses Sept 1893 in Savannah, of which she was principal; 1895 they leave for Monrovia, Liberia, where government had appointed her asst US pension medical examiner for African American Civil War vets who had moved there; they opened Monrovia’s first hospital; she caught fever there, and they returned to Savannah, where they opened McKane Hospital Nov 1896 (became Charity Hospital 1901)

note: spoke at 1913 Wagner semicentennial in Boston; protested against showing of *Birth of a Nation* in Boston 1915 and spoke against the film again in 1921 when Shubert Theater in Boston tried to screen it; physician and activist in whose home National Equal Rights League formed 1916; spoke often in protest of lynching and advocated calling a “Colored Race Congress” 1916; spoke at 155th Boston Massacre anniversary 1925 and in honor of John Brown at 12th Baptist 1926 [“Grandson of African King is Buried Here: Cornelius McKane Long Leader of His Race,” *Boston Herald*, 6 Mar 1912, 2]

Mitchell, Nellie Brown

see Appendix C: Mitchell, Charles L

Morgan, Clement Garnett
DOB: 9 Jan 1859
POD: Petersburg or Stafford Co VA
father: Clement Morgan
mother: Elizabeth Garnett
spouse: Gertrude Wright b 1861 MO
DOM: 11 Aug 1897
POM: New City IL
DOD: 1 Jun 1929
POD: Brookline

note: born enslaved; moved with parents to DC after Emancipation Proclamation, learned barbering and went to M St high school, then taught in St Louis African American school before

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moving to Boston 1884, grad Boston Latin 1886, Harvard College, and worked at barber shop on Shawmut Ave in Boston to cover costs; won Boylston Prize for oratory, grad 1890 and was first African American Class Day orator 1890 (classmate WEB Du Bois delivered his Jefferson Davis address at commencement five days later), Harvard Law 1893, said to be first African American to graduate both Harvard and Harvard Law; admitted to Suffolk Co bar soon after graduation and opened law office on Court St, Boston, and handled numerous civil rights cases; elected alderman in Cambridge 1896 and served on city's common council; founding member of Niagara Movement and Boston branch NAACP

note: see Bruce A. Kimball, "‘This Pitiabie Rejection of a Great Opportunity’: W. E. B. Du Bois, Clement G. Morgan, and the Harvard University Graduation of 1890," *Journal of African American History* 94, 1 (Winter 2009): 5–20; "Honored by Harvard," *Fall River Daily Herald*, 5 Nov 1889, 3; "Honored a Colored Man," *Boston Globe*, 13 December 1894, 3; "Honored a Colored Man," *Boston Globe*, 13 December 1894, 3

Morris, Robert

DOB: 8 Jun 1823 Daniels, 1817 c80, drec
POB: Ipswich MA Daniels, Salem drec
father: York Morris (1786–1834)
mother: Mercy Thomas (of Marblehead, m 1813)
spouse: Catherine H Mason (d 1895)
DOM: 30 Mar 1846
POM: Boston
DOD: 12 or 13 Dec 1882
POD: Boston
bur: Brookline

cen: 1850 Chelsea/lawyer \$2k real prop w/ wife, dau, son
1855 Chelsea/counselor w/ wife, dau, son
1870 Chelsea/counselor \$13.5k real prop w/ wife, son
1880 Boston/lawyer w/ wife, son

dir: 1847 Boston/counsellor 27 State
1855 Boston/counsellor 17 RR Exchange, h at Chelsea
1860 Boston/counsellor 42 Court, h at Chelsea

children: Catharine 1846, Robert 1848

note: I find no brec for him in MA; father in Salem 1820c; when father died he left widow and seven children, youngest then two years old; his real property (half a house on Crick Court with half of land under and adjoining house), valued at \$400 in inventory, sold for \$50, and he had \$24.50 in personal estate after debts paid; then admin charges of \$64.50 deducted from that

note: at age 15 Robert went into domestic service for Ellis Gray Loring and soon took over as Loring's copyist; Loring tutored him in law and presented him for admission to MA bar in 1847; he was accepted and with Macon Bolling Allen opened law office in Boston; with Saml Sewall, Loring, and Richard Henry Dana Jr he defended Shadrach Minkins in fugitive rendition case

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and helped secure his release; he and Sumner were attorneys for Benj Roberts in Boston school desegregation case *Roberts v Boston*; with Dana Jr defended Anthony Burns 1854

note: Nell, 7: "Benjamin F. Roberts, in 1849, instituted a suite against the city for excluding his child from the public schools, which was nobly defended by Hon. Charles Sumner, whose argument, though not then influencing the Supreme Branch, had a most potent bearing on the Legislature which granted our rights. Associated with him in this case was Robert Morris, Esq., whose very presence as a colored member of the Massachusetts Bar, was a living protest against all exclusive colored institutions."

note: According to Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace* (450–51), Robert Morris's grandfather, Cumono, was a native African brought to Ipswich as a boy; his father York moved to Salem at an early age, and there Robert was born June 1823; he worked as a table boy in home of family named King, whom family of Ellis Gray Loring, one of leading Boston attorneys, used to visit; Loring took Morris into his house as a servant and several years later took him into his office as office boy and then helped him in study of law; in February 1847 Morris admitted to MA Bar; 1840c Boston Ellis Gray Loring has one black male age 10–24 in hh, who may be Morris

note: son Robert wrote a letter to Sumner 11 June 1860 (Sumner Papers 19:567) applauding his June 1860 speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery"; on 25 Jun 1861 Morris Sr wrote letter to Sumner on behalf of son Robert, ae 13, whom he was placing "in a college at Montpelier" in France to ask him to have Sec of State send papers so that he could get a passport; "I know you will be glad to aid me in getting my only child into a college where he will receive a suitable education untrammelled by a sense of prejudice."

note: he and others form African American Home Guard in Boston Apr 1861; stated at New England Anti-Slavery Society meeting 28 May 1863 that MA should have commissioned African American officers for 54th

note: living at 78 W Newton St at death; one drec has father's pob unknown and mother's as Ipswich; another had his as Ipswich and hers as Ireland

Murray, Freeman Henry Morris

DOM: 22 Sept 1859

POM: Cleveland OH

father: John M Murray

mother: Martha Bently

spouse: 1) Laura Hamilton 2) Delilah ____

DOM: 1) 1883 2) 1 Sept 1898

DOD: 20 Feb 1950

POD: Alexandria VA

note: father of Scots descent, disowned for marrying African American woman, and died at Bull Run 27 Aug 1862 as part of 12th OH Infantry; family moved to Cincinnati after father's death; grad Mt Pleasant Academy there 1875 and trained to be a teacher while working with mother's father Daniel Bentley as whitewasher and painter (Daniel said to have been a fugitive assistant); taught at Covington KY and apprenticed at *Cincinnati Enquirer*; 1884 appointed to War Dept pension division in DC and began realty business in Alexandria; his home there a "safe house" for people

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of color fleeing lynching and persecution; began Murray Brothers Printing and Publishing Co with brother John; after F Douglass died he became caretaker of Frederick Douglass Memorial Cemetery; frequent opponent of BT Washington; one of founders of New Era Building Assn 1890 to help people of color buy homes and invest 1890; Washington correspondent for *Boston Guardian* and wrote for many papers, including his own *Home News*, founded 1901, and later founded *Washington Tribune*; founding member of the Niagara Movement 1906, and printed its magazine *The Horizon* 1907–10

note: wrote *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (1916)

note: hit by a car in Alexandria and died three days later, ae 90

Nell, William Cooper

DOB: 20 Dec 1816

POB: Boston

father: William Guion Nell b Charleston SC

mother: Louisa Marshall b Shrewsbury or Brookline

spouse: Frances A. Ames b 1849 Nashua NH

DOM: 14 Apr 1869

POM: Nashua NH

DOD: 25 May 1874

POD: Boston

bur: Forest Hills cem, Boston

cen: 1855 Boston/clerk in hh with James Scott et al Smith Court
1865 Boston/PO clerk in bdghouse Rachel Smith w/ Ira & Louisa Gray et al

dir: 1846 Boston/house 103 Chambers
1847 Boston/8 Barristers' Hall
1850 Boston/8 R.R. Exchange, h. Smith ct
1855 Boston/business agent 21 Cornhill
1860 Boston/business agent 221 Washington, b 20 Grove
1863 Boston/at Post Office, house — Porter
1868 Boston/at Post Office, house 13 Phillips
1873 Boston/at Post Office, house 88 Kendall

children: William G., Frank A.

note: at his 1855 testimonial, presented address in which he stated, "In the year 1829, while a pupil in the basement story of the Belknap-street church, Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, then Mayor of the city, accompanied Hon. Samuel T. Armstrong to an examination of the colored school. It chanced that Charles A. Battiste, Nancy Woodson and myself were pronounced entitled to the highest reward of merit. In lieu of the Franklin Medal, legitimately our due, Mr. Armstrong gave each an order on Dea. James Loring's Bookstore for the Life of Benjamin Franklin. This is the copy I received!—[a diminutive 18 mo. Edition, of some two hundred pages.] The white medal scholars were invited guests to the Faneuil Hall dinner. Having a boys curiosity to be spectator at the 'feast of reason and the flow of soul,' I made good my court with one of the waiters, who allowed me to seem to serve others as the fee for serving myself, the physical being then with me subordinate.

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Mr. Armstrong improved a prudent moment in whispering to me, ‘You ought to be here with the other boys.’ Of course, the same idea had more than once been mine, but his remark, while witnessing the honors awarded to white scholars, only augmented my sensitiveness all the more, by the intuitive inquiry, which I eagerly desired to express—‘If you think so, why have you not taken steps to bring it about?’ This impression made on my mind, by this day’s experience, deepened into a solemn vow, that, God helping me, I would do my best to hasten the day when the color of the skin would be no barrier to equal school rights.” [“Address of Mr. Nell,” *Proceedings: agreeably to previous notice, a meeting of the colored citizens of Boston was held in Southac Street Church . . . a memorial to Mr. Nell* (Boston, 1855), 5]

note: presented an original address on slavery at Boston Minors’ Exhibition 2d exhibition [*Liberator* 21 Jan 1832, 11]; secretary of Garrison Independent Society on its first anniversary 3 Oct 1832, elsewhere in same issue called the Juvenile Colored Assn of Boston, for males ages 10–20, whose object was “to be saving and industrious, and to be honest, sober and virtuous in our behaviour” [*Liberator* 3 Jan 1833, 3, 4]; he, Solomon S. Holmes, and John S. Shepard are committee of Juvenile Garrison Independent Society who choose to furnish Garrison with silver medal before his England trip [*Liberator* 30 Mar 1833]; Horton 76: 251–52 states that Nell’s October 1833 address at second anniversary of Juvenile Garrison Independent Society was printed in *New England Telegraph*; worked as an errand boy for the *Liberator* and “against substantial opposition” apprenticed in the office; urged abolition of MA General Colored Assn; stated in 1862 that 25 years earlier, at ae 21 (ca. 1837) he worked as an “office-boy” for Ellis Gray Loring, and in Aug 1839 told Wendell Phillips that he was working at his father’s 8 Brattle street tailor shop until the spring; Nov 1839 was librarian at West Centre St Sunday School [Nell 43]. That he worked in 25 Cornhill MA Anti-Slavery Society office appears to come from 31 Aug 1840 letter to Wendell Phillips in which he wrote that he had been employed here [at 25 Cornhill] “since February last [1840] through the instrumentality of Messrs. John A. Collins and Oliver Johnson” [Nell 43] and became compositor upon return from Rochester 1852. Oct 1840 local subscription agent for *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and other papers [Nell 43]. Attended National Negro Convention in Buffalo 1843 and there urged blacks to abandon “all separate action” and become “part and parcel of the general community”; however, was an active member of 1842 Freedom Assn, an all-black organization, which raised funds for its fugitive assistance efforts with “juvenile music concerts” and through black churches, until creation of first Boston Vigilance Committee in 1846; spent two years in Rochester NY working for Frederick Douglass’s *North Star*; 1852 signed a petition demanding that MA women be given the right to vote

note: Nell 7 states that he was born “on Beacon Hill . . . December 20, 1816, at 64 Kendall Street, Boston,” based on Nell’s *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855), 10 “(street name not identified).” In *Colored Patriots*, 10, Nell stated: “I was born on Beacon Hill, and from early childhood, have loved to visit the Eastern wing of the State House, and read the four stones taken from the monument that once towered from its summit.” Boston city archives states that Kendall St did not exist until 1845 and was not accepted until 1860 (laid out 3 Nov 1868, laid out 3 Aug 1869); it runs from Shawmut Ave to Tremont, ward 11, and Shawmut ave goes from 290 Tremont, near Common, to the West Roxbury line

note: 19 Dec 1864 the 37th Congress 2d session S. 237 passed a bill, through efforts of Sumner “to remove all disqualification of color in carrying the mails” (doc #458), and Nell became a clerk on 1 Jan 1863; “It seems well established that Nell was the first colored citizen to become employed in the post office, which carried a federal position,” Wesley in Nell 46–47; Nell, 9 Apr 1873, to WL Garrison, “I happened to be the First Colored Man employed about the United States Mail”

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note: re: fugitive assistance, see F Jackson's many notes about his work in Boston Vigilance Committee treasurer's accounts. Also, Nell to Amy Kirby Post, 9 Oct 1852, "I have just been helping Friends Garrison and Wallcut [sic] fit out a Fugitive Slave just from Virginia – his narration of scenes in the Dismal swamp and his own experience – toils and privations were very affecting – his was no fancy sketch"; Nell to Amy Kirby Post, 21 July 1853, "A slave has just been taken from a vessel in the Harbor and made a freeman – quite a stir is making as the owner is here – the friends are vigilant but cautious } more anon," but he did not write to her again of it" [Post Papers]

note7: died at his home 64 Kendall St, Boston

Pierce, Edward Lillie
DOB: 29 Mar 1829
POB: Stoughton
father: Jesse Pierce
mother: Eliza S Lillie
spouse: 1) Elizabeth H Kingsbury Prov RI d 1880 2) Maria L Woodhead b Eng
DOM: 1) 1865 2) 1882
DOD: 6 Sept 1897
POD: Paris

note: grad Brown and Harvard Law 1852, enlisted early in War in 3rd MA and detailed to assemble African Americans in Hampton VA to build entrenchments there; Dec 1862 US Sec Treasury sent him to Port Royal SC to examine conditions of Sea Islands people of color; returned to DC Feb 1862 to report; March 1862 given charge of Sea Islands plantations and freed peoples and brought first teachers there; care of freed people transferred to US Dept War, and Pierce declined to continue to serve; became district internal rev collection in MA 1863–66, district attorney 1866–69, sec of board of state charities 1869–74, in state legislature 1875–76; 1883 gave 800 volumes to whites and African Americans on St Helena Island SC and founded public library in Milton, where he lived 1865 until he died

note: secretary and close friend of Sumner; prepared and published *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner* (1881–93)

Pillsbury, Albert Enoch
DOB: 19 Aug 1849
POB: Milford NH
father Josiah Webster Pillsbury
mother: Elizabeth
DOD: 23 Dec 1930
POD: Newton

note: nephew of abolitionist Parker Pillsbury; studied at Harvard 1867–69, taught school and studied law in Sterling IL but soon after being admitted to IL bar returned to Boston; attorney who served in MA legislature, was pres MA Senate 1885–86, Atty Gen MA 1891–91; member of National Negro Committee, Boston Committee to Advance the Cause of the Negro (which became NAACP

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branch 1911); resigned Am Bar Assn when it rejected membership of Af Am atty Wm H Lewis; Howard U gave him honorary degree 1913

note: spoke at 1913 Ft Wagner semicentennial in Boston

Powell, Godfrey Henry

DOB: 1853 mrec

POB: Baltimore MD mrec

father: John D N R Powell

mother: Deborah Bowser

spouse: Leonessa Anderson b 1860 New Brunswick

DOM: 25 Oct 1883

POM: Boston

DOD: 1931 vrind

POD: Boston

cen: 1910 Boston/bldg janitor in hh bro Benj F
1920 Boston/private notary in hh bro Benj F

dir: 1880 Boston/hairdresser rms 5 Anderson
1882 Quincy/hairdresser Cross nr Copeland
1887 Canton/hairdresser h Neponset cor Washington

note: father (1832–1910) was native of Norfolk VA and barber who enlisted as private Co H 39 USCT at Baltimore 22 Mar 1864 and became 1st t sgt 31 Mar 1864, then reduced to 3rd sgt 15 Jun 1864 and died at Chelsea Soldier's Home 10 Dec 1910; had brothers John DNR 1857–1909, Jacob Wesley 1866, Ulysses Grant 1870–1930, Benjamin Franklin 1873–1935, last of whom was a city constable in Boston 1910c and 1920c

note: recited Gettysburg Address on Memorial Day 1920 at Shaw Memorial; past commander of Sons of Veterans post

note: brother Jacob Wesley Powell spoke at Ft Wagner anniversary July 1931

Ray, Henrietta Cordelia

DOB: 14 Jan 1850 OR 30 Aug 1852

POB: New York NY

father: Charles Bennett Ray 1807–86

mother: Charlotte Augusta Burroughs b 1813 GA d 1891

DOD: 5 Jan 1916

POD: Brooklyn NY

bur: Cypress Hills, Brooklyn

cen: 1870 NYC/teacher in parents' hh

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note: father an Af Am clergy and journalist b Falmouth, mother b Savannah; father attended Wesleyan Seminary in Wilbraham MA; in 1832 became first black student at Wesleyan University in Middletown CT but left two months later when white students protested; moved to NYC that year and opened boot and shoe store; became first a Methodist and then a Congregational minister, was cofounder of NY Vigilance Committee; in 1838 he and Philip Alexander Bell began *Colored American*. He m1 1834 Henrietta Green Regulus, who d 1836 in childbirth; m2 Charlotte Augusta Burroughs 1840; had seven children including Charlotte E, said to be the first female African American attorney; Florence, and Henrietta Cordelia, called Cordelia

note: wrote poem "Robert G Shaw" in 1910; read her ode "Lincoln" at the unveiling of Ball's Emancipation Group in DC in April 1876; she and sister Florence published a memoir of her father in 1887; published 12 sonnets as *Sonnets* in 1893, including one to Toussaint L'Ouverture, and book *Poems* in 1910

note: grad University of the City of New York with masters degree in pedagogy 1891; taught for a time but quit to write; was sec of Walton Kindergarten Assn in NYC for 20 yrs, sec Woman's Loyal Union of Brooklyn 13 yrs, and first sec Empire State Fed of Women's Clubs

note: see obit *Standard Union* (Brooklyn), 6 Jan 1916, 5

Remond, Charles Lenox

DOB: 1 Feb 1810

POB: Salem

father: John Remond

mother: Nancy Lenox

spouse: 1) Amy Matilda Williams Cassey 1808-56 2) Elizabeth Magee

DOM: 1) Sept 1850 2) 5 Jul 1858

POM: 1) Philadelphia? 2) Newton

DOD: 22 Dec 1873

POD: Wakefield

bur: Harmony Grove, Salem

note: father born free in Curacao and came to US 1798 when he was ten, mother dau of Boston hairdresser Cornelius Lenox, who married Boston 1807 (married by Thomas Paul, pastor of African Church, Boston), and marriage also recorded Salem

note: early African American antislavery activist and orator, as were most of his sisters and younger brother John; became agent MA Anti-Slavery Society 1838 and traveled with Garrison to World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London 1840, where both walked out in protest when women were not seated; recruiter for 54th and for USCT during Civil War; became Custom House clerk in Boston after the war; 1870c living in Wakefield with wife, 3 children, bdg school teacher

note: Charlotte Forten, niece of first wife, lived in his Salem home during his first marriage; he and Charles W Lenox of 54th (see entry) were first cousins, his mother being sister of Charles Lenox's father John

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Rock, John Stewart

DOB: 13 Oct 1825

POB: Salem NJ

father: John b Salem NJ

mother: Maria Willett b 1796 Salem NJ d 1877

spouse: Catharine R Bowers b 1832 PA d 1864

DOD: 3 Dec 1866

POD: Boston

bur: Woodlawn, Everett

dir: 1854 Boston/physician and dentist, 210 Hanover, bds 66 Southac
1855 Boston/physician and dentist 210 Hanover, house 66 Southac
1858 Boston/physician and dentist, h 62 Middlesex
1860 Boston/eclectic physician 83 Southac, h do
1863 Boston/counsellor 6 Tremont, h 83 Southac

cen: 1855 Boston/physician in 3-fam h
1860 Boston/physician w/ wife, son John in 4-fam h
1865 Boston/lawyer in hh w/ mother

children: Toussaint L'Ouverture (1854–57), John Stewart Jr (1856–77)

note: pars' names are from his drec; mother died in Boston 1877; he grad American Medical College, Philadelphia, 1852; came to Boston 1853 and boarded with fugitive and fugitive assistant Lewis Hayden; in Salem NJ 1850 when the *Liberator* noted he served as recording secretary of an elective franchise convention at the black Bethel church there; cited in same paper as a "colored dentist of Boston" when he gave a lecture on American slavery in Worcester [*Liberator*, 26 Jan 1855]

note: wrote to Sumner from 83 Southac, dated 16 June 1860, applauding his "Barbarism of Slavery" speech; "your immortal speech has sent a thrill of joy to all the lovers of freedom everywhere and especially so to the down trodden. We feel the value of it the more since the Republican party appears determined to treat us in the spirit of the Dred Scott decision. You are a Noble man may God bless you and grant you a long & happy life."

note: mother's drec has previous address Washington DC but living then at 10 Norfolk Place; he was living at 83 Phillips at time of death and shown as a lawyer. Rock's 20 Nov 1866 will left mother his household furniture, clothes, personal, property, and library, and in addition \$120 dollars a year for two years from his death; left son John Stewart Rock Jr \$2000 to be invested in real estate within 5 miles of Boston for himself, and more for him to invest in mortgage or as executors wish; \$25 to Lydia Bowen, and rest of estate to son John; if mother died before she received her entire due balance to go to John, and if son died before he reached majority his estate to go to Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia to be held until principal reaches \$5k and then to be invested in gymnastic apparatus, books, or other things ICY board should deem best for "the physical development of the pupils"; appointed Henrietta S Duterte as guardian for son while he was a minor, and if she died or refused the Church of the Disciples to be guardian by committee; named George Colton and Edward Winslow executors

note: "Funeral of the Late John S. Rock," *Boston Herald*, 8 Dec 1866, 4: notes that he was "formerly of Philadelphia" and funeral was at Twelfth Baptist

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note: he and others form African American Home Guard in Boston Apr 1861; he and Edward Bannister call mtg Oct 1862 that formed Association for the Relief of Destitute Contrabands in Boston

note: son John Jr ae 12 living in Philadelphia 1870c probably with mother's relatives and died there 17 Aug 1877; drec lists him as student living on Lombard St

Rowe, George Clinton

DOB: 1 May 1853

POB: Litchfield CT

father: Solomon b 1819 CT

mother: Adline S 1812

spouse 1) Miranda Jackson b 1852 or 1857 Salisbury CT d 1947

DOM: 11 July 1874

POM: Litchfield CT

DOD: 3 Oct 1903

POD: Charleston SC

bur: Litchfield CT

cen: 1860 Litchfield CT/in pars' hh
1870 Litchfield/farm lab in pars' hh
1880c Chesapeake VA/printer w/ wife, 3 children
1900 Charleston SC/clergyman owns w/ wife, 4 children

dir: 1887 Charleston SC/pastor Plymouth Congreg Church
1895 Charleston SC/pastor Plymouth Congreg Church
1903 Charleston SC/pastor Battery Congreg Church

children: Geo C Jr, Agnes E 1877, Phillips 1879, Lyden E 1881 VA, Willemina 1884 GA, Maranda E 1890 SC, Clarice D 1894 SC

note: wrote "The Old Flag" about Carney in 1890

note: minister, newspaper publisher in Charleston, and poet; marriage documented in *New Haven Register* 11 July 1874; died ae 48 heart disease

note: *Worcester Daily Spy*, 22 Sept 1889, 4, notes that Rowe, pastor of colored church in Charleston SC issued a circular to various colored societies in nation to raise funds to prosecute the Georgia RR for ejecting him and some friends "on account of their color"; "General State News: Southern Colored Church Members," *Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven), 11 Sept 1891, 5, notes that *Litchfield Enquirer* yesterday wrote about Rev Geo C Rowe, "a former employe in this office but now pastor of Plymouth church, Charleston, S. C." which had just built a parsonage at corner Pitt and Bull streets; 3 years ago while visiting his folks he had this in view and "a few of his friend here" gave him funds that help; parsonage built and painted by colored mechanics of this church; 1892 nominated to committee to nominate officers for the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the US, then meeting in Minneapolis and was elected asst moderator; was editor of the African American *Charleston Enquirer* by 1897; "Carolina's Colored Poet," *Evening Post* (Charleston SC), 30 Aug 1897, 3, calls him "the leading writer of the negro race in South Carolina"

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and notes he was born Litchfield CT 1853, now pastor of church and editor *Charleston Enquirer*, author of *Thoughts in Verse* published in Charleston 10 years ago, and has also published a small volume *Our Heroes—Patriotic Poems on Men, Woman, and Saying of the Negro Race* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1890), among which are poems about Attucks, L'Ouverture, and Smalls

note: by Nov 1897 controlled the Deeming Industrial Schools to instruct black children in “useful arts”

Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre

DOB: 31 Aug 1842

POB: Boston

father: John St Pierre b ca 1814 Martinique d 28 Jun 1851 Boston

mother: Elizabeth Matilda Mahinnick b ca 1816 Cornwall Eng

spouse: George Lewis Ruffin b 1827 or 1834

DOM: 30 June 1858 mrec

POM: Boston

DOD: 13 Mar 1924

POD: Boston

cen: 1860 Boston/in hh mother-in-law, siblings
1870 Boston/w/husband and children
1900 Boston/w/ 2 youngest sons, 2 lodgers 103 Charles St
1910 Boston/children's nurse in hh son Geo 146 Charles St
1920 Boston/1 of 11 lodgers in hh Af Am dressmaker Ida B Gross

dir: 1890 Boston/wid Geo L h 103 Charles
1895 Boston/wid Geo L h 103 Charles
1902 Boston/wid Geo L removed to Brookline
1918 Brookline/h 131 Kent

children: Hubert 1859–91, Florida Yates Ridley 1861–1943, Charles Stanley 1864–1908, George Lewis Jr 1867–1952

note: no brec for her in MA, but her parents married in Boston 24 Feb 1835 or 1836 (two records) ; father a clothes dealer rear May St 1839 & 1842d Boston; father's drec has family on May St and his pob as Boston; another drec states that he dealt in second-hand clothing and died of consumption ae 37; mother remarried Dudley Tidd (b 1792) 7 Dec 1851, second m for both, and in 1860 couple lives with a dau Angela? b 1844; 1870 they live in hh porter Cezier Williams ae 32 b Nova Scotia

note: she was 17 when she married; in 1860 she is listed last with son Hubert in hh Nancy Ruffin 44 VA, children all b VA—George L 25 barber, his sibs James D 23, Emma 20, John L 17 barber, O'Connell 15, Lettie A 12, Mary L 6, Robt L 3, and bdr Margaret Hatten 36 b VA

note: 1886d Boston husband (b Richmond VA 1827, Harvard Law 1869) judge of municipal court in Charlestown and attorney living in Cambridge, son Hubert an attorney, son Geo L Jr clerk, dau Florida teacher at Grant School bd there

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note: formed American Woman Suffrage Association with Julia Ward Howe and Lucy Stone 1869, created Boston KS Relief Assn 1879; editor *Boston Courant*; founded, edited, and published *Woman's Era* 1890–97; 1894 she and dau Florida founded Woman's New Era Club to provide kindergarten and day care for children of working African American mothers, 1895 organized National Federation of Afro-American Women

Rushing, Byron

DOB: 29 Jul 1942

POB: NYC

father: William Rushing

mother: Linda Turpin b Jamaica

spouse: Freida Garcia

note: family moved from NYC to Syracuse NY; after high school he moved to Boston and attended college 3 yrs, then joined the Northern Student Movement as organizer, worked for Congress of Racial Equality in Syracuse, directed Lower Roxbury Community Corp, one of first CDCs in country, became director Urban Change program for Urban League 1969; pres Museum of Af Am History in Boston 1972–85 when it bought African Meeting House and established Boston Af Am National Historic Site with National Park Service; asst majority leader MA House of Reps 2011–2019

note: member of Save the Shaw/54th committee in early 1980s

Russell, Henry Sturgis

DOB: 21 June 1838

POB: Dorchester/Boston

father: George R Russell

mother: Mary Parkinson Shaw

spouse: Mary Hathaway Forbes

DOM: 1863

DOD: 16 Feb 1905

note: wife was dau of John Murray Forbes; after war partner in Forbes's law firm John M. Forbes and Co and later Boston police and fire commissioner (first commissioner of BFD)

note: first cousin of RG Shaw, classmates at Harvard; grad Harvard 1860; entered Army as 1st Lt 2 MA Cavalry and promoted to capt 13 Dec 1861; captured at Cedar Mtn and exchanged; returned to duty 15 Nov 1862; made Lt col 22 Jan 1863; made colonel African American 5th MA Cavalry 5 Apr 1864; wounded Siege of Petersburg; resigned command 15 Feb 1865 and breveted brigadier general 13 Mar 1865

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Saxton, Rufus

DOB: 19 Oct 1824

POB: Greenfield

father: Jonathan Ashley Saxton d 1871

mother: Miranda Wright 1799–1844

spouse: Mathilda Gordon Thompson 1840–1915

DOM: 11 Mar 1863

POM: Beaufort SC

DOD: 23 Feb 1908

POD: DC

bur: Arlington National Cem

note: father a Unitarian, Transcendentalist, and abolitionist who sent son Samuel Willard to Brook Farm; S. Willard was also brevet major US volunteers and is buried next to brother at Arlington

note: went to Deerfield Academy and at age 20 received appointment to West Point; grad US Military Academy 1849, and TW Higginson stated that he “had been almost the only cadet in his time at West Point who was strong in anti-slavery feeling”; in Army fought against Seminoles in FL and surveyed Rocky Mountains on McClellan’s staff; promoted to 1st lieut Mar 1855; when war broke out he was quartermaster and brig gen, commanded Union troops at Harper’s Ferry May-June 1862; later that year appointed quartermaster of SC Expeditionary Forces at Hilton head and later military gov of the Dept of the South; as such he organized 1st SC Regiment of Volunteers, first one composed of freed men, Aug 1862, and appointed TW Higginson colonel of reg; military governor of SC and brigadier general Union Army Dept South under whom RC Shaw served; named brevet major US volunteers 12 Jan 1865 and mustered out 20 Jul 1866; transferred to Freedman’s Bureau and served as asst commissioner in SC, GA, FL; had already tried to secure abandoned lands for freed people and delayed restoring plantations to former owners until Andrew Johnson removed him from bureau for those actions Jan 1866; was then in Quartermaster Dept of regular Army until he retired in 1888

note: initiated campaign among African American soldiers and freed people to contribute funds toward building Shaw monument on Morris Island SC; Saxton School in Charleston SC named for him

note: wife a Philadelphian who had gone South to teach freed people; 1880c he was soldier living with wife and mother in law at Presidio in San Francisco, and 1883d San Francisco has his occup as “colonel U.S.A., Assistant Quartermaster General and Chief Quartermaster Division Pacific and Department California, Presidio Reservation”

Schouler, William

DOB: 13 Dec 1814

POB: Renfrewshire Scotland

spouse: Frances Eliza Warren

DOM: 6 Oct 1835

POM: Arlington

DOD: 24 Oct 1872

POD: Boston

bur: Forest Hills, Boston

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note: came to US from Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire, Scotland, with father James in 1815, and father started a silk printworks on Staten Island and then moved with it to Arlington MA; owned and edited *Lowell Courier* 1842–48, represented Lowell in MA House in 1840s; his advocacy of shortening work day to ten hours after investigation of Lowell mill conditions triggered his defeat in reelection effort; moved to Boston 1848 and became part owner of the *Atlas* 1847–53; moved to OH 1853, edited *Cincinnati Gazette* and *OH State Journal*; 1855 Salmon Chase appointed him adjutant general of OH; moved back to Boston 1858, edits *Boston Atlas and Bee*, and became adjutant general of MA 1860; served until 1867, served a term in MA Senate, and wrote two volume *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (1868–71)

note: African American Schouler Guards of New Bedford, part of 74th Unattached Company MVM and later Co B of 2d Infantry Battalion, named for him; dissolved 1876 but revived 1878 as Co L, 6th MA Infantry

Seymour, Truman
DOB: 24 Sept 1824
POB: Burlington VT
father: Horatio Seymour 1778–1857
mother: Lucy Case 1770–1838
spouse: Louisa Weir 1832–1919
DOM: 11 Aug 1852
POM: Highland Falls NY
DOD: 30 Oct 1891
POD: Florence Italy

note: son of Methodist minister, spent two years at Norwich University and received appointment to US Military Academy, from which he grad 1846; was classmates with Geo McClellan, Stonewall Jackson, Geo Pickett; assigned to 1st US Artillery, served in Mexican war and breveted captain; asst prof drawing West Point 1850–1853, fought against Seminoles 1856–58; promoted to capt Nov 1860; 1862 commanded company defending Ft Sumter and made brevet major; Lincoln nominated him to brigadier general of volunteers, approved 30 Apr 1862; served in Peninsula campaign with Army of the Potomac Apr–Jul 1862; served at 2nd Bull Run, Antietam; Nov 1862 sent to Dept of South to be chief of staff, took part in first Ft Wagner attack and commanded the second 18 Jul 1863 and was wounded; Maj Gen Quincy Gillmore, head of Dept of South, placed him in charge of FL district, which took possession of Jacksonville Feb 1864 and was routed at Olustee; served in FL until Mar 1864, captured in Battle of the Wilderness and exchanged; present at Lee's surrender; appointed brevet brig genl May 1866; served in FL, MA, and ME after the war; grad Williams College 1865 and then retired to Europe and painted watercolors, some now in museum collections

Simpson, Joshua McCarter
DOB: 1821 or 1822
POB: McConnellsville, Morgan Co OH
spouse: Eliza/Elizabeth Panett
DOM: 28 Aug 1847
POM: Muskingum Co OH
DOD: 1876

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cen: 1850 Zanesville OH/school teacher w/ wife, 3 children

dir: 1875 Zanesville/physician

note: wrote verse "Let the Banner Broadly Wave" ca 1874

note: Poetry Foundation site: Simpson born free in Morgan County, Ohio, and bound out as a laborer to age 21; scarcely attended school but taught himself to write, attended Oberlin 1844–48, and 1852 published a pamphlet of antislavery songs, *Original Anti-Slavery Songs*. In 1874 he collected 53 song-poems and two "satirical essays" in *The Emancipation Car, being an Original Composition of Anti-Slavery Ballads, composed exclusively for the Under Ground Rail Road*.

note: African American Poets of the 19th Century site states that he attended Bennett's Abolitionist School at Big Bottom; Southern Spaces website states that he was indentured servant until he was 21, taught himself to read and write, and went to Oberlin 1844–48; then moved to Zanesville and practiced herbal medicine, took part in UGRR. Quoted here to have stated in preface to *Emancipation Car*, "As soon as I could write, which was not until I was past twenty-one years old, a spirit of poetry (which was always in me,) became revived, and seemed to waft before my mind horrid pictures of the condition of my people, and something seemed to say, 'Write and sing about it—you can sing what would be death to speak.' So I began to write and sing." In 1842 first publicly performed an anti-slavery song.

Smalls, Robert

DOB: 5 Apr 1839

POB: Beaufort SC

father: possibly Henry McKee

mother: Lydia Polite

spouse: 1) Hannah Jones 2) Annie E Wigg

DOM: 1) 24 Dec 1856 2) 9 Apr 1890

POM: 1) Charleston SC

DOD: 23 Feb 1915

POD: Beaufort SC

bur: Beaufort

note: born enslaved and hired out as a hotel worker, lamplighter, longshoreman, rigger, sail maker, and wheelman; fall 1861 he was assigned to steer the Confederate military transport *Planter* and freed himself, crew and their families by seizing the vessel in Charleston harbor when white crew was ashore, sailed it to Union blockade, and surrendered it and its cargo (four large guns, ammo, and firewood that he had picked up day before escape) to US Navy; US Congress awarded him and crew prize money for the vessel and cargo. Traveled to NYC to serve in the Navy, but David Hunter asked that he instead go to DC 1862 to persuade Lincoln and Stanton to enlist African Americans in Union Army, and Stanton permitted raising SC troops at Port Royal; Smalls transferred to Army and was made pilot of the *Crusader* and the *Planter*, then of ironclad *USS Keokuk* and *USS Isaac Smith*; Dec 1863 took over *Planter* from its captain, facing Confederate fire, piloted it to safety, and remained its pilot through war and afterwards used it to ferry supplies to freed people; vessels entered Freedmen's Bureau service; sought a Navy pension later in life and told he did not qualify because he was not commissioned; 1897 a special congressional act gave him a pension, and in 1900 Congress granted him another sum for his capture of the *Planter*

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note: began store for freed people in Beaufort 1866 and invested in development of region; owned and published African American newspaper *Southern Standard* in Beaufort 1872; guest of Boston's Shaw Vets Assn 1882; in SC House of Reps 1868–70, SC Senate 1870–75, US House of Rep 1882–87; Benj Harrison appointed him collector at Beaufort 1890, a position he held until 1913 except during Grover Cleveland's second term

Smith, John J

DOB: 2 Nov 1820 drec

POB: Richmond VA drec

father: William Smith drec

mother: Elizabeth Hamilton b 1802 Richmond VA d 1870 Boston

spouse: Georgiana Osgood Smith b 1827 Nova Scotia d 1904 Boston

DOM: 1844

POM: Boston

DOD: 4 Nov 1906

POD: Boston

bur: Forest Hills Cem, Boston

cen: 1860 Boston/barber w/ wife, 5 children, 2 bdrs
1870 Boston/barber \$1400 real prop w/ wife, 6 children, 1 bdr
1880 Boston/caterer w/ wife, 5 children, 2 bdrs

dir: 1847 Boston/barber Staniford, house Butolph
1860/hairdresser 11 Devonshire, house 7 West Centre
1863/hairdresser 11 Devonshire, house 11 Anderson
1868/do to 1863d
1871/hairdresser 74 Washington house 11 Anderson
1872/hairdresser 10 Federal, h do
1875/hairdresser 220 Washington h do
1876/restaurant State House, h do
1877/do
1878/do, house 86 Pinckney
1883/do
1888/hairdresser 4 Exchange, house 86 Pinckney
1893/hairdresser, h 86 Pinckney

children: Elizabeth (b New Bedford 23 Oct 1846 – d 18 Dec 1899 Boston); Georgiana (b Boston 29 Nov 1849 or Fall River 6 Dec 1849 – d 18 Aug 1891 Boston; m Dr Geo Franklin Grant); Florence (b 1851 – d 1 Sept 1825 Boston); Hamilton (b 5 Mar 1857 – d 21 Jan 1924 Cambridge; m Julia Luke Brooks, Baltimore); Adelaide Gertrude (b 9 Aug 1859 Boston – d 7 Jan 1913 Boston); Harriet (b Boston 6 Feb 1864 – d 20 June 1916 Boston)

note: I find no mrec for them; 1846 tax records show John J. Smith among boarders at John P. Coburn's house, 2 Southac Street; Smith's obit ["Recent Deaths: John J. Smith," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 5 Nov 1906, 3] states he came to Boston at age 20 and was member of Columbus Avenue AME Zion Church; family history states that Charles Sumner purchased 86 Pinckney for Smith (not verified). Smith's mother moved to Boston and died there 1870 [*New National Era*, 10 Feb 1870]; active abolitionist, fugitive assistant, and agitator after war for racial equality

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note: wife born Halifax, Nova Scotia, by drec, pars Lewis Smith b Little York VA and Judith Sutton b Halifax; John J and wife living at New Bedford upon birth of first child in 1846; Georgiana represented Boston black parents at 1855 WC Nell testimonial [*Liberator* 28 Dec 1855]; she was a “prominent member” of Freedman’s Aid Society; her obit in *Boston Guardian*, 16 Jan 1904

note: dau Georgina’s husband, Dr. Geo Franklin Grant, born 1847 Oswego NY, lived and practiced at 108 Charles St, next door to former home of Gov John A Andrew, Boston; died at ae 63 in Boston [*Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 Aug 1910]; had summer home in Chester NH; said to have been second man of color to receive doctorate in dentistry in US; son Hamilton, who received his law degree in North, could not get work in Boston and so went to DC to work for Bureau of Pensions; eldest dau Elizabeth believed to have been first teacher of color in integrated Boston school system, at Phillips School, in 1870s

note: dau Adelaide Gertrude was a mezzosoprano who sang professionally at numerous East Coast venues before her marriage; sang “Battle Hymn of the Republic” at 1 Aug 1887 54th reunion

note: recruiter for MA 5th Cav; organized procession of Af Am Bostonians at passage of 15th Amendment 1870

note: he and wife living at 45 Wellesley Park, Dorchester, at their deaths

Stearns, George Luther

DOB: 8 Jan 1809

POB: Medford

father: Luther b Lunenberg

mother: Mary Hall b Brattleboro VT

spouse: 1) Mary Ann Train 1818–40 2) Mary Elizabeth Preston b 1821 Bangor ME d 1901

DOM: 1) 21 Jan 1836 2) intention 20 Sept 1843

POM: 1 & 2) Medford

DOD: 9 April 1867

POD: NYC

bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

note: met Sumner mid-1840s; active fugitive assistant; worked for Boston committee for relief of KS people and chair of KS state committee 1856; John Brown dined at his house Jan 1857; among the “Secret Six” who financed John Brown’s Harper’s Ferry raid 1859; urged recruiting African American troops at Medford town meeting Dec 1862 and probably most active recruiter on Andrew’s 54th committee

note: 6 June 1863 became commissioner for organizing USCT in War Dept with rank of major and recruited in nearly all free states but resigned after Stanton rebuked him for not returning fugitives to enslavers in KY; advocated use of African American troops in combat rather than fatigue duty and paid African Americans volunteers wages from his own funds; lobbied actively for equal pay for African American soldiers; founded an African American school in Nashville

note: ship chandler and manufacturer of linseed oil and lead pipe; his wife was niece of Lydia Maria Child

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note: see “Freedom’s Hero Honored,” *Springfield Republican*, 30 May 1897

Stephens, George E

DOB: 1832

POB: Philadelphia

father: William

mother: Mary

wife: Catherine Tracy

DOM: 1875

POM: Brooklyn NY

DOD: 24 April 1888

POD: Brooklyn NY (?)

dir: 1865 Philadelphia/cabinetmaker h 1280 Kemble [no mid init]
1867 Philadelphia/cabinetmaker h 1299 Kemble

rank: 1st serg, lt Co B 54th

children: Geo E Jr 9 June 1876 Brooklyn

note: Donald Yacovone, ed., *Voice of Thunder: A Black Soldier’s Civil War* (1998): parents were free and lived in Northampton Co VA at time of Nat Turner revolt 1831, so they moved to Philadelphia; “so many blacks traced the same route that fear-stricken whites deluged both houses of the Pennsylvania legislature with demands to halt the influx” [3]; Stephens wrote in *Weekly Anglo-African* 7 December 1861 that his “own dear father was exiled from Northampton county, Virginia, before I was born—in 1830—by the persecutions which followed the Nat Turner insurrection. From infancy up to my manhood he has been relating the wrongs of my people.” [140] His father a bootblack, laborer, and waiter who helped fugitives on UGRR; Yacovone 4, 8 states that George “although little evidence survives concerning Stephen’s early years . . . became part of Philadelphia’s black-led underground railroad system” and helped raise funds for legal defense of people who tried to rescue fugitive Moses Horner; Stephens arrested in 1858 in Charleston when he was serving as a seaman in US Navy [140]; at outbreak of war became cook and servant to Benjamin C. Tilghman, officer in 26th PA Regiment in Army of the Potomac, of which he became commander in 1862 and then resigned Aug 1863 to lead the 3rd USCT [15]; correspondent for *Weekly Anglo-African* beginning 14 Nov 1859; 27 Feb 1863 wrote in *Weekly Anglo-African* that he planned to enlist in the 54th [33]; in late 1866 or early 1867 he started a freedmen’s school at Liberty Hill near Port Royal VA but soon returned to Philadelphia [99], then founded Tilghman School in Nov 187 in Tappahannock, Essex Co VA, made desks and whitewashed building himself and provided books, slates and clothing [100] with support of PA branch of American Freedmen’s Union Commission (Morris L. Hallowell served on its board) [101] but controversy with another teacher troubled him; in fall 1869 became sheriff and postmaster in Tappahannock, but Congress did not recharter the school fully after it had already cut back on its funds [105]; returned to Philly 1870; 1873 moved to Brooklyn NY; 1867 helped organized Philadelphia’s National Convention of Colored Soldiers and Sailors; 1883 went to NYC to take part in 20th anniversary of Wagner battle and marched as head of WL Garrison Post of GAR; in 1887 was on exec committee of Grand Reunion of Colored Vets in Boston 1–2 August 1887 [107–8]; files for disability pension 1881 and for commission as 1st lieutenant in 1885 so that his wife and kid could receive larger pension, but petition

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rejected; widow convinced gov to reverse its decision in 1891, and she received the pension minus \$6 for the rifle he lost at Wagner [108-9]

note: “negro cabinetmaker” when he enlisted in Navy as seaman 1858 at Philadelphia; cabinetmaker at time of enlistment 30 April 1863 at Readville and married; promoted to sergeant 10 May 1863, only ten days after mustering [Greene 249, Yacovone 34]; mrec shows him absent on furlough Nov 1863 and detailed as clerk “genl C. Martial per SD 9 Hd1rd USFN Dis Dept South Folly Island” 3 May 1864–Aug 1864

Story, William Wetmore
DOB: 12 Feb 1819
POB: Salem
father: Joseph Story
mother: Sarah Waldo Wetmore
spouse: Emelyn Bartlett Eldredge d 1894 Rome
DOM: 31 Oct 1843
POM: Boston
DOD: 7 Oct 1895
POD: Vallombrosa Abby, Firenze, Toscana, Italy
bur: Protestant cem, Rome

note: father Harvard prof, huge influence on Charles Sumner, and later asst justice of US Supreme Court

note: grad Harvard 1838, Harvard Law 1840, studied with father, and published on contract and personal property law; turned to sculpture and lives in Rome from 1850 forward

note: sculpted *Libyan Sibyl* 1861, said to be inspired by life of Sojourner Truth; Sumner’s first choice as sculptor for Shaw Memorial

Street, John Gordon
DOB: 25 May 1858 natrec
POB: Kingston Jamaica nat rec
spouse: Lida Martin b 1862 Nova Scotia d 1917 Boston
DOM: 7 July 1887
POM: Boston

cen: 1900 Boston/ wife w/ neph, niece, 2 bdrs
1910 Boston/editor w/ lodgers Monroe and Geraldine Trotter & 2 others

dir: 1883 Boston/reporter rooms 31 Grove
1886 Boston/reporter h 30 Grove
1892 Boston/editor Boston Republican h 26 Grove
1901 Boston/editor h 46 Grove
1908 Boston/editor h 46 Grove
1910 Boston/widow at 63 Windsor, Roxbury

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1914 Boston/lab h 63 Windsor
1916 Boston/do to 1910

note: began career as Boston correspondent in fall 1884 for *Detroit Plaindealer*, Nov 1884 Boston corr for the *NY Globe*, which soon suspended publication; then Boston corr for T Thomas Fortune's *NY Freeman* 1884–1888; became principal of agricultural dept at Zion Wesley College in NC but returned to Boston summer 1885, correspondent *Boston Evening Record*, then Oct 1885 Boston corr for the *Freeman*, then reporter at *Boston Herald* ca 1885–91 or later; established *Boston Courant* and editor 1890 [I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, MA: Willey and Co., 1891), 352–56; *Boston Herald*, 17 Apr 1890, 4: “The Boston Courant is the name of a new weekly paper published in the interests of the colored people, the first number of which has just been issued. Mr. J. Gordon Street is its editor. He is an intelligent gentlemen, who had had experience in connection with the press, and is well qualified to make his paper interesting.”]

note: 1880 nat rec has him as John G. Street, Boston, black, bellman, b Kingston Jamaica 25 May 1858; came to NYC 15 Apr 1868; reporter at time of marriage, wife seamstress; was of the *Herald* and the *NY Freeman* in 1887 [“Colored Odd Fellows,” *Boston Herald*, 17 Feb 1887]; *Boston Journal*, 24 Apr 1891, 4, notes that Street, editor of *Courant*, and LF Baldwin, *Courant's* business manager, were heading a corporation to form and publish another paper, this being the *Boston Republican* [*Boston Herald*, 7 Jun 1891]

note: “Was Shot and Is Missing,” *Boston Herald*, 10 Sept 1892, 5, states that Elijah Stewart shot Street, editor and prop of *Boston Republican*, over Stewart's wife, who worked for Street and hadn't been living with her husband for some time; Street fired back and was later arrested; Stewart found guilty and Street was tried, had EG Walker as his attorney and was acquitted; he was in debt and went to debtors' court in 1893 and seems to disappear from newspaper after that; 13 Aug 1892 he's in Washington DC and on executive board of the National Afro-American Press Association [*Washington Bee*, 13 August 1892, 3]

notes: lived at 63 Windsor, Roxbury, 1910, widowed; can find no drec for him in MA

Strong, George Crockett
DOB: 16 Oct 1832
POB: Stockbridge VT
father: David Ellsworth Strong
mother: Harriet Fay
DOD: 30 July or 1 Aug 1863
POD: Beaufort SC or NYC
bur: Brooklyn NY

note: father died when he was young, and he and others adopted by uncle Alfred Strong in Easthampton; grad US Military Academy 1857; 1859 became asst at Watervliet arsenal and commander there May 1861; enlisted as 1st lieu 25 Jan 1861 in Army ordnance dept; ordnance officer at Bull Run, then attached to staff of McClellan, then beame chief of staff to Benj F Butler May 1862; helped organize New Orleans expedition, commanded expeditions to Biloxi and Ponchatoula and destroyed large ammo train; made brig general of volunteers (?) either 29 Nov 1862 or 23 Mar 1863; commissioned capt of ordnance 3 Mar 1863; in command of 2nd Brigade, 2d Division, 10th Corps that led 18 Jul 1863 Union assault on Ft Wagner, wounded in charge and taken to NYC; wounds became infected and he died 12 days later; promoted to Mjr Gen posthumously

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Tanner, Benjamin Tucker

DOB: 25 Dec 1835

POB: Pittsburgh PA

father: Hugh Tanner drec

mother: Isabella Howard drec

spouse: Sarah Elizabeth Miller

DOM: 1858

POM: PA

DOD: 14 Jan 1923

POD: DC or PA drec

note: worked as barber and studied at Avery College, then 3 years Western Theological Seminary; AME bishop Daniel Payne appointed him to Sacramento but he could not afford to move there; went to DC and organized Sunday School for children of freed people at Navy Yard; named interim pastor at 15th St Presbyterian Church in DC; ordained 1862; 1863 became pastor in Georgetown, 1866 pastor in Baltimore; as principal of AME Annual Conference School in MD organized a school for Freedmen's Bureau; 1868 elected secretary of AME general conference and became editor of *Christian Recorder*; 1870s Wilberforce awarded him honorary Dr of Divinity degree; 1884 editor *AME Review*; elected bishop of AME church 1888

note: father of artist Henry Ossawa Tanner

Taylor, Susie King

DOB: 6 Aug 1848

POB: Isle of Wight, Liberty Co GA

father: Raymond Baker

mother: Hagar Ann Reed

spouse: 1) Edward King d Sept 1866 2) Russell L Taylor d Oct 1901

DOM: 2) 1879

POM: 2) GA

DOD: 1912

POD: Boston

bur: Mt Hope cem, Boston

cen: 1880 Boston/servant in hh Gorham Gray, cotton merchant
1900 Boston/w/ husband, shore man dock, niece, 10 lodgers
1910 Boston/servant at hospital

note: born enslaved on Grest plantation as Susan Ann Baker; at ae 7 she and brother allowed to go to Savannah to live with grandmother, who educated her and was arrested for singing "freedom songs"; she returned to Ft Pulaski GA and escaped Apr 1862 with uncle and family to St Catherine's Island; transferred to St Simon's Island and became first African American teacher among freed people in GA

note: first husband in 1st SC Infantry, and she accompanied his regiment as laundress and teacher; after war they returned to Savannah, where he d Sept 1866; she was forced to close her school and returned to Liberty County to teach, then back to Savannah 1868; in 1872 Mrs Charles Green hired her as a laundress and brought her with family to Rye Beach NH for summer 1873, then returned

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South; in 1874 a daughter of ex-Mayor Otis of Boston arranged for her to work in Boston for Thomas Smith on Walnut Ave, Boston, and when Mrs Smith died she went into hh of Mrs Gorham Gray on Beacon St until she married Taylor, who in 1880 was a GA-born hostler living in a Boston lodging house

note: 1886 helped organize Women's Relief Corp 67, auxiliary to Robert Bell Post GAR in Boston; conducted WRC census of Af Am vets in Boston's West End 1896; wrote and published *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp* (1902) in Boston

Teamoh, Robert Thomas

DOB: 25 March 1860 brec, grave

POB: Boston brec

father: Thomas ca 1827–92

mother Margaret E Patterson ca 1839–71

spouse: Julia M Jackson 1857–1930

DOM 29 June 1894

POM: Fall River

DOD: 20 June 1912

POD: Boston

bur: Portsmouth RI

cen: 1870 Boston/in pars' hh parents with 2 sisters
1880 Boston/student in hh uncle Wm Paterson
1900 Boston/reporter rents, w/ wife, 3 lodgers 109 Brookline Ave

dir: 1885 Boston/draughtsman in hh father 24 Garden
1892 Boston/reporter bds 24 Garden
1895 Boston/reporter Globe rms 85 W Cedar
1906 Boston/reporter h 109 Brookline Ave

note: both parents b Norfolk VA by their mrec but father b Hampton VA by Thomas's brec and his own drec; father in Boston by 1854 and a waiter at the time of his second marriage in Boston 13 July 1859 to Margaret Patterson, pars Robert and Margaret, her first marriage; his parents David and Rebecca Teamoh by mrec; living at 5 Southac Court when Robert was born ["Death of Thomas Teamoh," *Boston Globe*, 17 Feb 1892, 9]; mother's mother Margaret Patterson in Boston by 1855 with children Ellen, Margaret (15), Sarah, Roseanna, George (9), Robert, Columbia (6), and Clara; mother d of phthisis ae 29 yrs 7 mo and was living then 46 N Anderson

note: his father was half-brother to fugitive George Teamoh, and according to George's bio *God Made Man*, 187–88 n. 78 Thomas's parents David and Rebecca were enslaved as were parents of Thomas's wife Margaret Patterson; another half-brother was John Wm Teamoh b 1827 m 1860 Lorence P Gault of Norfolk; both were married by Leonard Grimes at Twelfth Baptist

note: attended English High, Boston Latin, and Boston Mechanical and Architecture schools; began newspaper work at *Boston Leader* in 1880, on *Boston Star* in 1881, and 1893–95 editor on the *Boston Courant*; became a *Boston Globe* reporter 15 Dec 1889 (but see below)

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note: 1870c hh included family of mother's brother George Patterson, waiter b Norfolk VA 1846

note: mrec has wife as dressmaker born and res Fall River dau of John E. and Annie E Jackson, but her drec states she was from Portsmouth RI; his drec states he was living at 109 Brookline Ave at the time; wife Julia M appointed executor of his estate; she was buried with him at Portsmouth

note: *Christian Recorder*, 25 Feb 1886: "The Boston Daily Globe is to have on its staff a colored reporter"; among 60 "representative and influential colored men of Boston" who formed the Benevolent Fraternal Association by 1889 ["Influential Colored Citizens," *Boston Globe*, 8 Jan 1889, 4]; among those who met to pass resolutions on death of Lewis Hayden ["Loss of Their Leader," *Boston Globe*, 9 Apr 1889, 2]; appointed to committee of the Colored National League to advise on feasibility of a home for aged colored men ["Against a White Party," *Boston Globe*, 19 Jun 1889, 2] and remained active in the league in 1890; elected member of the Boston Press Club in May 1890 and was then on staff of *Boston Globe* ["Boston Press Club," *Boston Journal*, 21 May 1890]; wrote an analysis of "Supt. Porter's unreliable bulletin of the colored school children of Massachusetts" presumably for the *Globe* [*Boston Globe*, 22 Apr 1891, 4]; "Teamoh Will be There," *Boston Globe*, 4 October 1891, 9: young black men of ward 9 put Teamoh's name up for General Court and he was there described as "a young newspaper man in this city. He is very popular in his ward with all classes of citizens. He is also through his newspaper connections better known among his people than any other young colored man in New England. His friends hold that, owing to the unsettled condition of the war by the determination of the colored people to have an intelligent representation or none, that his chances for the nomination next Tuesday night are excellent."

note: headed ticket in Ward 9 Sept 1892 but was defeated [*Boston Globe*, 8 Sept 1892, 2]; GUOOF on North Russell St, under auspices of the colored Young Men's Republican Club of Ward 9, endorsed Teamoh as rep of Genl Court; elected to House to rep ward 9 along with George Von L Meyer of Boston (who while member of Boston city council arranges for city to donate the Common site for Shaw Memorial) ["Indorsed Teamoh," *Boston Post*, 17 Oct 1893, 3; "The Legislature," *Boston Post*, 9 Nov 1893, 2]; attended and spoke at numerous meetings of colored Bostonians protesting treatment of colored people in the South through 1890s; gave Memorial Day address before the Bell Post 134 in 1894, in which he said, "While the future of our race may look dark at present, while our friends appear to have deserted and left us to the cruelties of our enemies, I do not believe that the high American principle of justice and fair play is dead. The denial of our rights, the disfranchisement of our voters, the untried murderings, the uncounted ballot, the destroying of our property wilfully [*sic*], and the nonprotection of our people all over this country can not much longer go on. I believe that its determination will be brought about by the quickening conscience of the great American people. / But this will largely depend on the manhood and intelligence which we must display in our appeals for right, protests against wrong and the capacity shown in the performance of our duties as men and citizens. The conditions we are forced to bear today should be an incentive for every man and woman of the race to aspire to the loftiest realms in every relation of life. With good character, industry, thrift and intelligence will come a greater liberty, a greater prosperity; and a strict performance of duty will bring about the bright future the foundation of which our fathers made possible when they gave up their lives to save the flag and nation." [*Boston Globe*, 1 Apr 1894, 15; "What They Said," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1894, 11]

note: Sept 1894 he, EG Walker, Morgan, EE Brown and "Mrs Col Thomas" were appointed at Colored National League meeting to investigate why young colored women were refused teaching positions in Boston schools, and a committee of "colored political officeholders" appointed to get the Rep, Dem, and Prohibition parties to insert an anti-lynching plank in their party platforms ["Colored National League," *Boston Globe*, 5 Sept 1894, 4]; Dec 1896 elected president of the Young

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Men's Congressional club, "one of the more prominent debating and literary associations among the young colored men of this city" ["Heard Its New President," *Boston Globe*, 3 Dec 1896, 12]; 1908 elected Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons ["Teamoh at Head," *Boston Globe*, 4 December 1808, 7]

note: created controversy when a member of 1895 MA committee visiting Richmond VA and in his advocacy of statue to John Hancock 1896

note: "Robert T. Teamoh Dead," *Boston Globe*, 21 Jun 1912, 6: he was a reporter on the *Globe* more than 22 years, died at 7:45 last evening at MGH; represented ward 9 in House 1894-95 and was a member of committee of legislative affairs that went South "when Gov O'Ferrall of Virginia sharply drew the 'color line,' and caused a sensation throughout the North and South"; "Funeral of R. T. Teamoh," *Boston Globe*, 24 June 1912, 9, identifies him as Robert Thomas Teamoh; body to be taken to Portsmouth RI family plot; at his funeral at Charles St AME church Rev Wm H Thomas noted that Teamoh when in legislature wrote bill guaranteeing black citizens right to public eating houses and other places; his wife was from Portsmouth RI

Trotter, James Monroe

DOB: 7 Feb 1842

POB: Grand Gulf MS

father: Richard S Trotter drec

mother: Letitia drec

spouse: Virginia Isaacs b 1842 VA or WV d 1919

DOM: 1868

POM: Chillicothe OH

DOD: 26 Feb 1892

POD: Boston MA

bur: Mt Hope

cen: 1870 Boston/PO clerk \$6k real, w wife Virginia
1880 Hyde Park/PO clerk w/ wfe, children Wm M, Maud A
1900 Hyde Park/widow, Maude & Bessie lodging with WH Dupree & wife
1910 Dorchester/widow and dau Virginia

serv: 2d Lt, Co K 55th

children: William Monroe 1872 (m 1899 Geraldine L Pindell), Maude A Oct 1874, Virginia L (Bessie or Bessie Virginia) June 1883 (m 1912 Henry K Craft)

note: born enslaved, mother a slave and father white; by one account, when father married 1854 he freed Letitia and her children, James and two sisters, and sent them to Cincinnati, but Fox 4 states that "around 1854 Letitia and her children either escaped or were freed and went to live in Cincinnati"; he went to Gilmore School there, founded to educate freed people, and then Albany Manual Labor Academy in Athens Co OH; taught in black schools in various Ohio places including Chillicothe, where he met future wife; Trotter enlisted in June 1863 at Boston in 55th and became sergeant and then 2nd lieut, second man of color to achieve that rank. After war and marriage moved to Boston along with wife's sister Virginia and her husband Wm H Dupree, also a veteran lieutenant. Had three children; was first man of color to be employed by US Post Office (WC Nell

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also claimed that) and worked there 18 years, ultimately resigning after failing to earn promotion; 1878 wrote what is said to be first comprehensive study of music written in this country; 1887 Pres Cleveland appointed him as second African American (after Frederick Douglass) to be Recorder of Deeds in DC, in part because he had switched allegiance to Democrats, and he served until 1891 ["New Register of Deeds," *Boston Globe*, 1 Mar 1887, 2; Fox 12]; died of TB after returning to Boston

note: wife Virginia was the daughter of Anne Elizabeth Fawcett, born enslaved on Jefferson's Monticello, and Tucker Isaacs, who bought his wife in order to free her. Anne Fawcett the granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings [Yellin, ed., *Harriet Jacobs Family Papers*, 2:793]. Father said to be one of five men whom Jefferson freed in his will 1826.

note: his daughter Bessie (Virginia Trotter 2d) married 25 Sept 1912 Henry Kempton Craft, grandson of fugitives Wm and Ellen Craft, who was b Charleston SC Jan 1883 or 1884, son of son of Charles P and Emeline Aubin Craft. Charles P Craft b London, England 1853, 1854, or 1858 and d 1938 in Charleston, RR postal clerk. Henry Kempton Craft grad Harvard 1907, doing graduate work there 1915, and was YMCA secretary in DC 1920, Pittsburgh 1930, NYC 1940

note: he was 21 and a school teacher when he enlisted in Co K MA 55th 15 June 1863; mustered in 22 June 1863; promoted from orderly sergeant of Co K to sergeant major 19 Nov 1863; muster roll Mar–June 1864 notes, "commissioned as 2d Lieut. and awaiting muster" and still awaiting muster Mar–Apr 1865 and finally mustered in at that rank 27 June 1865; 30 Nov 1864 wounded at Honey Hill SC; "on special duty member of Commission on Labor Orangeburg S. C. G. O. 49 . . . June 18/65"; mustered out 29 Aug 1865 at Charleston; 21 June 1885 [looks like] letter from Orangeburg SC states that Wm Trotter of Co F 55th to be detailed on "engineer duty and will report to Capt. C. C. Soule, president of Commission on Freedmen's Affairs, without delay"

note: wrote verse "Fifty-fourth at Wagner"

note: widow applied for pension 27 Nov 1905; husband shown as Serg Major in Cos F and K of 55th

note: "Sympathy for Cuba," *Boston Globe*, 24 Dec 1872, 8, notes that Trotter chosen chair of meeting of "colored citizens" to consider how to free the slaves in Cuba; he was delegate to the "Colored Men's Convention" held in Boston mid-Dec 1873, along with RS Brown, WH Dupree, and JB Smith, who was expected the next day "and will be the guest of Mr. Sumner" and principal business is to promote passage of "Mr. Sumner's civil rights bill" ["The Colored Convention," *Boston Globe*, 8 Dec 1873, 1]; aide in the procession of people of color at funeral of Sumner [*Boston Globe*, 16 Mar 1874, 5]; secretary at meeting of "colored men" at N Russell St church "to consider the recent outrages by 'White Leagues' in the Southern states" at which WW Brown, Geo L Ruffin, John J Smith, EG Walker, and Robert Morris spoke ["The White League," *Boston Globe*, 3 Sept 1874, 1]; Trotter, Geo L Ruffin, Robert Morris, John J Smith, Chas L Mitchell, Richard S Brown, JD Lewis, Geo S Williams, and Wm H Dupree petitioned US Senate asking that PBS Pinchback be admitted member of Senate from LA ["Pinchback's Case," *Boston Globe*, 17 Feb 1875, 5]; he, Ruffin, Morris, JT Smith RS Brown, Chas N Miller, Chas L Mitchell, Lewis Hayden Geo W Wms, Alexander Ellis, Wm F Dickerson and Edward G Walker wrote to General Benjamin F Butler asking him to attend a meeting when he returned to New England so that they may express gratitude for what he has done to "secure legal guarantee and efficient protection of our race and rights" and Butler wrote back to accept ["General Butler and the Colored People," *Boston Globe*, 18 Mar 1875, 4]; among those who formed a club named for Wendell Phillips in Feb 1876, with Ruffin as president, JB Smith, RS Brown, and Edwin G Walker as vps, and Trotter as corresponding

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secretary (club still existed in 1884); in 1877, feeling Pres Hayes's withdrawal of last federal troops from South was a betrayal of blacks, became a Democrat [Fox 11]; he and at least 10 others petitioned to use FH "for a public meeting to aid the suffering colored people now going west" on 24 April; other signers included Julius B Chapelle but none of the other usual signers ["Faneuil Hall Asked For," *Boston Globe*, 15 Apr 1879, 2; "The Colored Exodus," *Boston Globe*, 24 Apr 1879, 5]; Trotter, then living at Hyde Park, spoke at meeting of residents of Hyde Park and Dedham and "declared that in effect the past war was a failure, and that the colored people down south were in a worse condition now than before the war" ["Hyde Park: A Negro Exodus Meeting," *Boston Globe*, 20 May 1879, 4]; gave \$5 to the Garrison Memorial Fund in Aug 1879; Gov Butler nominated him as trustee of state workhouse [*Boston Globe*, 3 Mar 1883, 5] confirmed as trustee of school of idiotic and feeble-minded youth in place of Leverett Saltonstall ["The Council," *Fitchburg Sentinel*, 27 Jun 1883, 2]; "Mr. Walker Rejected / The Council Refuses to Confirm His Nomination / Great Indignation Expressed Among the Colored People," *Boston Globe*, 6 October 1883, 5, states that Edwin G Walker rejected by a tie 4-4 vote to become judge of Municipal Court at Charlestown; a group of colored men had waited upon the council to urge his confirmation, and "a very large number of colored citizens also waited about the doors for the first intimation of the result"; Trotter and black atty Edward Everett Brown also vigorously supported his confirmation; "they told the Council pointedly that it now had the power to make Massachusetts the first State which had ever dared to place a black man in a high and honorable position." African Americans argued that "not alone the 6000 colored voters of Massachusetts, but the colored citizens of the whole country, were waiting with bated breath for the action of this Council—waiting to see whether it would stand by the repeated assurances of Republicanism, or prove, in the hour of trial, that when they said they were the friends of the colored man they did not mean what they said." After vote governor again nominated Walker, and *Globe* sought comment of Harvard Med School graduate James T. Still, black, who stated, "The effect of that rejection will be, in my opinion, to cause the colored voters to support Governor Butler to a man. The Republican party has been for years promising the colored voters' recognition, but the moment an occasion occurs for a practical demonstration of their faithfulness to promises they desert a man simply because of his color. I sincerely look for a fitting rebuke by the colored voters of Massachusetts, and the exposure of Republican hypocrisy." The Council again rejected him in a morning session "sprung on" Boston's black citizens, who had planned to "crowd the council room" with Walker's supporters [*Boston Globe*, 17 October 1883, 4]; Trotter, Walker, Geo T Downing and others spoke at a colored citizens' rally for Butler in mid Oct 1883 [*Boston Globe*, 19 Oct 1883, 2]; Gov nominates Trotter as trustee Taunton Lunatic Hospital in June 1885 [*Boston Globe*, 4 Jun 1885, 5]

note: was on the exec comm appointed at Worcester 1886 to plan a national reunion of colored veterans for 1887; "Colored Men's Politics," *Boston Globe*, 14 Sept 1886, 5: Trotter was chair and among those on the committee (with Downing, JJ Smith, Chapelle, EE Brown, GT Downing, Edwin Garrison Walker) for two-day conference of colored men at AME church on Charles Street "because the colored citizen is discriminated against in so many depressing and injurious manners, notwithstanding the letter of the law does not favor the same." Trotter was paraphrased to state that "a conference of intelligent colored men discussing the inequalities and injustice and unequal position of the colored race of this country, faults, which were their own, could be erased by the colored men taking an independent stand. The fault that such a state of things as is enumerated in the call of the convention is allowed to exist is that of the colored race alone. Since the ballot was put into the hands of the colored men he has had the right and power to demand his rights, all that belongs to him. He questioned whether the colored man had been brave enough to do anything for himself. . . . until the colored people could muster up sufficient courage to make public acknowledgment, through those who call themselves leaders, of their gratitude to the only man who ever had the courage to appoint a colored man a trustee of a public institution, and

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dared to make a negro man a judge, until then they may expect to have reason to complain of not being respected by their white brethren of this State and country [talking of Genl Butler].” He was chair of New England Colored Men’s Convention in Boston Sept 1886 [“No Political Desires,” *Boston Globe*, 15 Sept 1886, 5]; after Cleveland nominated him as Register of Deeds in DC, Senate committee rejected the nomination [“Adverse to Mr. Trotter,” *Boston Globe*, 2 Mar 1887, 1] and one LTE to *Boston Globe* notes that the *Herald* had been saying “unkind things” about Trotter; still, nomination confirmed by 5 March 1887 [“Trotter and Cleveland,” *Boston Globe*, 5 Mar 1887, 3, includes comments from African American men, including Lewis Hayden]; “Triumphs of a Race,” *Boston Globe*, 7 Apr 1890, 4, features letter from NP Hallowell, “well-known wool broker,” to the “Veteran Colored Soldiers of the 55th Regiment” noting that he’d read Higginson’s 30 March letter to the *Globe*, notes that Lt Wm H Dupree of regiment was appointed letter carrier in Boston PO, then a clerk, then supt of PO station A in South End; Charles L Mitchell clerk at custom house and a “gallant soldier” who lost a leg at Honey Hill; Trotter “needs no encomium from me. . . . Soon after his appointment by President Cleveland to be recorder of deeds at Washington, D. C. it was no surprise to his comrades to read in the daily press that he was at war with the dead-beats ensconced in his department, and that he had routed them horse, foot and dragoons.”

note: after his death his widow, 16 West Cottage St, Roxbury, sponsored an Omar night at her home to honor WEB DuBois and Paul Lawrence Dunbar [“Observed ‘Omar Night,’” *Boston Globe*, 21 March 1899, 2]

note: daughter Maud Trotter Stewart grad Wellesley 1897, editor of her brother Wm Monroe Trotter’s Boston Af Am newspaper *Guardian*, founded 1901

note: “Washington Society,” *Philadelphia Press*, 8 Apr 1887, notes that Trotter, new recorder of deeds, was very ill with lung issues and was living in the 3119 K St boardinghouse of Harriet Jacobs, where “recorder Matthews,” Trotter’s predecessor, was one of her first boarders; notes that Mrs Trotter had come to be with her husband when she learned of his illness [quoted in Jean Fagan Yellin, ed., *Harriet Jacobs Family Papers*, 2:792–93]

note: his 31 Dec 1891 will left sister Fanny A Smith, then in Wichita, \$1000; to nephew and namesake James Monroe Byre prob at Xenia OH \$500; to Wm H Dupree of Boston \$50; to Dupree’s wife \$50; all rest to wife Virginia on assumption that she will provide for children Wm Monroe Trotter, Maude A Trotter, and Bessie L Trotter; wife his executor

note: “Memorial on the Death of Lieut. James M. Trotter, adopted by the ‘Association of Officers of the 55th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry,” October 27, 1892” [typescript]: since last meeting Trotter had died, and notes he was one of the first selected from ranks of 55th to be promoted to a officer; he was in Boston PO and then appointed by president as recorder of deeds in DC and they recorded “our sorrow for his premature death, and our sense of personal loss in the departure of one of the most faithful and constant attendants at our annual gatherings” signed by NP Hallowell pres and Chas B Fox sec [folder 6, box 6, *Guardian/Trotter Papers*, Boston University]

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Vogelsang, Peter

DOB: 21 Aug 1815

POB: NYC

father: Thomas M Vogelsang

mother: Mary

spouse: 1) Theodosia DeGrasse 1817–54 2) Maria M DeGrasse 1809–85

DOD: 4 Apr 1887

POD: NYC

bur: Cypress Hills, Brooklyn

serv: 1st Lt and quartermaster Co H 54th

note: father is said to have been from Danish Virgin Islands, though one census has Norway as pob for him and wife

note: oldest member of the 54th; was recruited by Francis Geo Shaw, commissioned quartermaster sgt 17 Apr 1863, promoted to 2nd lieut 28 Apr 1865, 1st lieut 20 June 1863, quartermaster 18 Jul 1865; mustered out 20 Aug 1865; wounded at James Island Jul 1863; attended 1879 reunion of 54th and 55th Regiment officers and active in regiment's reunions; after the war was a porter and then a customs house messenger in NYC 1873–76; "change of politics" forced his removal, though his obit states that "until last year he was special messenger to collector of port of NY" at Custom House; left that post with change in administration; 1880 was a clerk; lived in Brooklyn 1862 to death

note: his father helped found African Society for Mutual Relief in NYC; one of founding members of St Luke's Episcopal church in New Haven and left with 46 other African American members when Trinity voted to consign them to back pews

Wolcott, Roger

DOB: 13 Jul 1847

POB: Boston

father: Joshua Huntington Wolcott

mother: Cornelia Frothingham

spouse: Edith Prescott

DOM: 2 Sept 1874 mrec

POM: Boston

DOD: 21 Dec 1900

POD: Boston

note: older brother Huntington killed in Civil War and family moved to Europe, then returned to Boston; grad Harvard 1870, Harvard Law 1874; opened law office in Boston 1875 and became active in Republican politics; on Boston Common Council 1877–80, MA legislature 1881–84; Lt gov of MA 1893–97 who became acting gov at death Gov Frederick Greenhalge in 1896; elected gov in own right 1897 and served until 1900

note: MA gov at time of Shaw unveiling

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Walker, Edwin Garrison

DOB: 1830 mrec, 28 Feb 1835 by drec

POB: Boston

father: possibly David

mother: Eliza Butler Dewson, Susan Dusen b ca 1805 VA 80c

spouse: Hannah Van Vronker

DOM: 15 Nov 1858

POM: Boston

DOD: 13 Jan 1901

POD: Boston

cen: 1855 Charlestown/morocco dresser in hh Eliza Dewson, bro Alexander
1865 Charlestown/lawyer in hh Eliza Dewson w/ sons Edwin, Georgie G, Eliza
1870 Charlestown/lawyer in hh Eliza Dawson with children Edwin, Grace
1880 Charlestown/lawyer in hh mother Susan Dusen, sons Edwin, Georgie Belmont St
1900 Boston/lawyer in Mary Coburn lodging house 2 Phillips

dir: 1876 Boston/lawyer 2 Warren Ave Charlestown, h 36 Belmont Charlestown
1880 Boston/lawyer 68 Cornhill & 7 City Sq h 36 Belmont Charlestown
1885 Boston/lawyer 175 Washington h 36 Belmont Charlestown
1894/lawyer 4 Pemberton Sq h 26 Grove
1898/lawyer 4 Pemberton Sq h 2 Phillips

children: Edwin E 1859 Charlestown, George G 1861 Lowell, Eliza A 1863 Lowell

note: Rev Samuel Snowden married his widowed mother Eliza Butler Walker 19 Sept 1833 to Alexander Dewson (sometimes Dawson), who by drec b Sandwich Islands 1805 and d 1851 consumption; she d 1883 ae 80 res 36 Belmont (Edwin's longtime home in Charlestown) and drec identifies her as widow of Alexander and dau of Jonas Butler

note: a morocco dresser living in Charlestown at the time of his marriage; wife is from Lowell and dau of Henry and Lucinda Van Vronker ae 23; at death living at 2 Phillips St in Boston, lawyer

note: Edwin Garrison Walker is in many places cited as the son of David Walker, but Hinks notes that only one record of a child is recorded from the 1826 union of David Walker and Eliza Butler, that being the death record of Lydia Ann Walker ae 1 yr 9 mo on 31 July 1830 of lung fever. His widow Eliza remarried Alexander Dewson or Duson 19 Sept 1833, who is not shown in Boston records after 1839 (except drec); their child Margareta died 11 Apr 1837 of lung fever; Edwin Garrison Walker, according to his obituaries, was born in 1835, though there is no birth record, and his death record has his birth as 1835, when David Walker was already dead (6 Aug 1830, a week after his daughter died). The 1830 census lists 2 boys under the age of ten in Walker's household, but HH Garnet said David Walker had only one child, a son, which doesn't take Lydia into account, or the son David M whose death the *Liberator* records on 16 July 1832 at ae 5; Hinks states that Garnet made numerous errors in his 1848 bio of Walker, so David M and Edwin may have been the two boys under 10 in Walker's 1830 household. Why the 1835 birthdate is often stated is unclear; Hinks says David was probably the father of Edwin Garrison Walker, and Eliza Butler Walker Dewson lived with Edwin most of her life. She died 1883. Edwin Garrison Walker learned the leather trade after Boston public school education and by 1857 had a shop with 15 men working for him; he studied law on the side and passed bar 1861, becoming the third black atty in Suffolk County. Elected to MA Genl Court in 1866, but by 1867 he switched to Democrat and

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allied himself with Civil War general Benjamin Butler, and when Butler was governor in 1883 he nominated Walker as judge to Charlestown municipal court, which Republicans thwarted 3 times; he was president of the Colored National League in the 1890s and died of pneumonia 13 January 1901 [Peter P. Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 269–71.]

Watkins, James B

DOB: 1818

POB: Richmond VA mrec, drec

father: Francis mrec2, Benjamin drec

mother: Martha mrec2

spouse: 2) Margaret T McGraw Tompkins b 1821 MA

DOM: 2) 21 Mar 1863

POM: 2) Boston

DOD: 18 Sept 1887

POD: Boston

cen: 1860 Boston/lab \$1000 real prop bdg in white hh
1865 Boston/lab w/ wife, son

dir: 1869 & 1870 Boston/jobber h 5 James place
1876 Boston/128 Cambridge h 53 Phillips
1877 Boston/128 Cambridge h 4 Almont place
1882 Boston/128 Cambridge h 13 Grove
1886 Boston/employment office 1 Garden h rear 82 W Cedar

children: James L 1855

note: officer in 1857 Liberty Guards and capt 1859 [*Boston Courier*, 1 Aug 1859]; elected 1st lieu Shaw Guards under Lewis Gaul when infantry co is raised Sept 1863 ["Colored Infantry," *Boston Journal*, 23 Sept 1863, 4]; he commanded 40 member of the Shaw Vet corp on its trip to NYC 1883 [*Springfield Republican*, 19 Jul 1883, 5] and remained prominent in it; capt Co A 2d Battalion MVM 1866

note: lab at time of m2, printer at time of death

White, Charles Fred.

DOB: 1876

POB: TN

DOD: 1955

POD: Philadelphia?

note: parents enslaved and moved to Springfield IL when Charles was young; left school at 15 to help support family; in his early 20s enlisted in African American 8th IL, which served in Cuba during the Spanish-American war; was a serg major, chaplain's assistant, and regimental clerk; 20 members of his unit died in combat or from disease; returned in 1899 and was disgusted by

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discrimination he met everywhere; in 1903 he attended Exeter but left when whites protested his presence, then to Boston Latin, then to Williston Seminary, where he enrolled in sophomore class in 1906; Charles wrote a sketch while a student at Williston Seminary 1909 called "A Tale of a Youth of Brown"; was on debating team, in its musical association, and published poetry in the *Willistonian*; worked at Enterprise Printing in Easthampton MA, which published his *Plea of the Negro Soldier* in 1908 (Peter Valine, "The Charles Fred. White Story," 10 September 2012, Williston Northampton School Website, <http://willistonblogs.com/archives/the-charles-fred-white-story/>)

note: Roger J. Bresnahan, "Charles Fred White: A Forgotten Black Poet," *Negro History Bulletin* 40 (1977): 661-62; White b 1876 b 1955, notes that Maline Kasparian did a master's theses on White in 1972 at U MA; after the war he learned that he could work and study at the same time at Philips Exeter but stayed only two years; graduated Williston Seminary in 1909, went on to U PA Law School, then went into real estate and politics; his first published poem was probably "The Negro Volunteer," written for *National Standard-Enterprise* in Springfield IL; in 1908 published his poems at his own expense at Easthampton MA *Enterprise*, where he worked, with title poem "Plea of the Negro Soldier," which had appeared in 1907 in *Springfield Republican* and then was reprinted by Trotter in the *Guardian*

note: a Charles F White b 1877 TN of TN parents and grocery store proprietor with children Charles 6 and Louis 4 b PA living in Springfield IL 1920c; contact was Alice G in 1914 when he registered for WW1; SSDI offers dob as 5 Aug 1876 and pob Humboldt TN, father Edmund L White, mother Alice G Herndon

Whitman, Albery Allson
DOB: 20 May 1852 gr
POB: Munfordville, Hart Co KY
spouse: Katie White 1861-1908
DOD: 29 Jun 1901
bur: South View cem, Atlanta GA

note: long verse "Not a Man and Yet a Man" mentions Wagner

note: born enslaved near Munfordville, Hart County, KY; parents died before emancipation, when he was 12, did manual labor, taught, and published first poetry collection when he enrolled at Wilberforce in 1870, then became financial agent for the school and an AME pastor in Springfield OH; his poetry gathered in Ivy G. Wilson, ed., *At the Dusk of Dawn: Selected Poetry and Prose of Albery Allson Whitman* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2009).

Whitney, Anne
DOB: 2 Sept 1821
POB: Watertown
father: Nathaniel Ruggles Whitney Jr
mother: Sarah Stone
DOD: 23 Jan 1915
POD: Boston
bur: Mt Auburn, Cambridge

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note: family was Unitarian and abolitionist; educated by private tutors; ran a small school in Salem 1847–49; began making portrait busts ca 1855 and moved to NY to study anatomy at Brooklyn hospital 1859–60 and then studied drawing and modeling at PA Academy Fine Art; exhibited first sculpture, *Laura Brown*, at Nat Academy Design NYC 1859 and published a volume of poems same year; set up studio in Watertown MA 1860 and then rented in Boston 1862 near Wm Rimmer, with whom she studied; moved to Rome 1867 and was friends there with Edmonia Lewis, Harriet Hosmer; returned to US 1871, exhibited her Toussaint L'Ouverture sculpture *Africa Awakening from Slavery* (1864) in Boston that year, and set up studio in Boston 1872; competed for Charles Sumner statue 1875 and won before judges realized she was female and rejected work because they did not believe a woman could sculpt men's legs; she exhibited the Sumner at Philadelphia centennial the next year; created the Samuel Adams at FH 1880, Leif Erikson 1887 in Boston; WL Garrison (1879); she bought house at 92 Mt Vernon St 1876 and farm in Shelburne NH 1882

note: LM Child urged her to model a horse for Shaw Memorial committee to consider

Williams, George Washington

DOB: 16 Oct 1849

POB: Bedford Springs PA

father: Thomas Williams

mother: Ellen Rouse

spouse: Sarah Sterrett

DOM: 1874

DOD: 1 Aug 1891

POD: Blackpool Eng

bur: Layton cem, Blackpool

note: enlisted in Union Army 1864 at age 14, later served with Republican forces of Mexican Army and with 10th US Infantry in Indian territory, and was wounded and discharged 1868; began college at Howard but soon transferred to Newton Theological Institution and became first African American to graduate from that school, 1874; ordained and was minister at Twelfth Baptist in Boston, then in DC and in Cincinnati; published eight weekly issues of *The Commoner* in DC; studied law in Cincinnati and passed bar, and was first African American elected to OH legislature 1880–81; President Arthur nominated him as “minister resident and consul general” to Haiti and Santo Domingo early 1885, but he was not confirmed; went to Europe 1889 as rep of Associated Literary Press and traveled to Congo 1890, appalled by “near-slavery” and brutality there and wrote protest to King Leopold II of Belgium, whom he'd earlier met and who personally owned Belgian Congo, and spoke out about it for years (ultimately Belgian government took over supervision of Congo Free State); died while returning from Africa

note: wrote *A History of the Negro Race in America, 1619–1880* (1882), and *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865* (1888)

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Wilson, Butler Roland

DOB: 22 Jul 1861

POB: Greensboro GA

father: John R Wilson

mother: Mary Jackson

spouse: Mary P Evans

DOM: 27 June 1894

POM: Boston

DOD: 31 Oct 1939

POD: Boston

bur: Forest Hills cem, Boston

note: father a physician

note: attended Atlanta University and grad 1881, came to Boston to enter Boston University School of Law and began writing for Archibald Grimké's newspaper *The Hub*; grad 1884 and admitted to MA Bar same year; he and Grimké were law partners for several years, and worked also with GL Ruffin and his son Hubert; in 1887, after both Ruffins had died, he opened criminal law practice on his own in Boston; 1898 Gov Roger Wolcott appointed him a master of chancery; 1905 signatory to creation of Niagara Movement; 1911 he, Wm H Lewis, and Wm R Morris of Minneapolis are first African Americans admitted to Am Bar Association membership, but upon learning they are men of color ABA soon rescinded membership, and Boston NAACP and MA Bar mount protest; 1913 Albert E Pillsbury resigned from ABA over issue, and in 1914 ABA stated that applicants must identify race; 1912 helped found and is first secretary of Boston branch NAACP (first local of organization), became branch president early 1902 and remained so until 1936

note: was attorney prosecuting Boston skating rink on racial discrimination charge; 1893 he defended Wm H Lewis in similar suit against Harvard Square barber shop; he and Lewis lobbied MA legislature to amend and expand anti-discrimination law; he and Clement Morgan urged Boston YMCA to end swimming pool segregation; he led delegation of Mayor Curley's office to protest showing *Birth of a Nation* in Boston 1915; worked to defeat interracial marriage ban in MA and to desegregate officer training camps during WW1; director of Boston Home for Aged Colored Women and sec of Harriet Tubman settlement in South End

note: among those Af Ams who lobbied for Attucks monument

Wolff, Albert Gooch

DOB: 7 Dec 1884

POB: Boston

father: James H 1848-1913

mother: Mercy Birmingham b 1858 Pelham NH

spouse: Nellie B d 19 May 1955

DOD: 20 Apr 1973

POB: Boston

cen: 1900 Boston/in pars' hh

1910 Boston/in pars' hh

1920 Boston/lawyer w/ bro James G in mother's hh

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1930 Boston/lawyer w/ bro James G in mother's hh

dir: 1907 Boston/student bds 36 Bayard
1916 Boston/lawyer Wolff & Wolff 294 Washington bds 36 Bayard
1922 Boston/lawyer 43 Tremont res 36 Bayard
1931 Boston/lawyer 294 Wash St res 36 Bayard
1940 Boston/lawyer h 1 Cobden Roxbury
1953 Boston/lawyer h 99 Camden
1957 Boston/lawyer h 99 Camden

note: father Civil War Navy vet (see Appendix C), equal rights activist, and Boston atty; family at 36 Bayard St 1910–30; several censuses show his pob as NH, but 1900 correctly has it as Mississippi

note: mother's father b DE and mother b PA; she was alive in 1922 and at 36 Bayard

note: capt Co A, first battalion, first regiment Boston School Cadets at English High [*Boston Globe*, 11 Nov 1903, 5]; identified as "colored man" when he was appointed office asst to John B Moran and ran to rep Ward 25 in Boston City Council; extremely active in Sons of Vets

note: among more than 300 Af Am Bostonians who gathered at FH to protest the Tulsa riot, and he demanded that Coolidge "make good his slogan of law and order. . . the time has come when we want something besides a theory of protection for the colored people in this country; we want it in actual practice. There were brave men in Pueblo when the floods came, but I want to ask, where were the brave men in Tulsa when negro men, women and children, helpless, were being burned and shot by yellow curs?" and urged financial and moral support for Tulsa victims ["Protest against Tulsa Outrages," *Boston Globe*, 9 Jun 1921, 10]; same year he, MAN Shaw, Wm Monroe Trotter and Rev David Klugh rep National Equal Rights League before congressional committee investigating the KKK ["Boston Delegates Go to Fight Ku Klux Klan," *Boston Globe*, 11 Oct 1921, 4]; sec (1925) and president (1930) of Boston chapter of National Equal Rights League

note: presided over exercises at Attucks monument 1932 ["Anniversary of Massacre Here," *Boston Globe*, 5 Mar 1932, 9]; under auspices of National Equal Rights League placed wreath at Ball Emancipation Group statue in Park Square 1938 [*Boston Globe*, 12 Feb 1938, 3] and stated that DAR should be "ashamed" of denying Marion Anderson right to sing at Lincoln Memorial at Attucks Monument 1939 [*Boston Globe*, 6 Mar 1939, 20]

Wolff, James Graham

DOB: 30 Aug 1881

POB: Cambridge

father: James H 1848–1913

mother: Mercy Birmingham b Pelham NH 1858

spouse: 1) Alice Hathaway Cunningham d Apr 1916 2) ?

DOM: 1) June 1915 [*Globe* 5 Jun] 2) 1949 vr ind

POM: 1) Boston 2) Boston vr ind

DOD: 14 Apr 1960

POD: Boston

cen: 1900 Boston/in pars' hh

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1910 Boston/law clerk in pars' hh
1920 Boston/widowed lawyer w/ bro Albert G in mother's hh
1930 Boston/widowed lawyer w/ bro Albert G in mother's hh

dir: 1907 Boston/h 36 Bayard
1916 Boston/messenger & lawyer Wolff & Wolff 294 Washington h Dorchester
1922 Boston/lawyer and messenger 318 Court House and 43 Tremont res 36 Bayard
1931 Boston/asst corp counsel City of Boston & lawyer res 36 Bayard
1940 Boston/lawyer h 36 Bayard Allston
1953 Boston/asst atty genl State House and lawyer h 36 Bayard Allston
1957 Boston/lawyer 36 Bayard Alson h Roxbury

note: see brother Albert G's entry above on parents

note: grad Boston Latin 1900 and was class poet; Harv cum laude 1904; studied law at Northeastern and Boston Universities; went to work in father's law office; he and others in Allston (ward 25) formed a "Timely Topics Club" to promote good government 1905 and he was secretary that year and president 1907; pic shown with article ["Timely Topics Club," *Boston Globe*, 12 Feb 1905, 56]; appointed clerk in office district attorney Moran and in same year was junior vice commander of Joel D Dudley Camp 89, member of Sons of Veterans ["Takes Charge of Campaign," *Boston Globe*, 8 Sept 1907, 6]; became clerk and messenger to Atty Genl Joseph C Pelletier 1909 [*Boston Globe*, 14 Nov 1909, 13]; chair of citizens' auxiliary committee planning centenary of Frederick Douglass [*Boston Globe*, 31 Jan 1917, 9]; asked to leave Suffolk Co DA's office 1923 after 15 years there as messenger and atty [*Boston Globe*, 19 Jan 1923, 4]; was asst corporation counsel for City of Boston by 1930 and was honored by Colored Democratic Political League of MA that year ["Colored Democrats Honor Rainey and Wolff," *Boston Globe*, 27 Mar 1930, 13]; hired as special asst in lands division of US attorney's office 1942

note: like his brother very active in Sons of Veterans organization; delivered oration at Shaw Memorial 1917 ["Robert A. Bell Veterans Visit Five Cemeteries," *Boston Globe*, 31 May 1917, 4]; present at National Equal Rights League exercises (of which brother Albert was chair) at Attucks monument 1936 [*Boston Globe*, 5 Mar 1936, 13] and spoke at same 1939 ["Massacre Day Speakers Attack D.A.R. Prejudice," *Boston Globe*, 6 Mar 1939, 20]; presided over ceremony at Emancipation Group statue in Park Square sponsored by Sons of Vets 1957 [*Boston Globe*, 13 Feb 1957, 3, with photograph]

note: obit identifies him as former ass atty gen MA and "long-time friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt" whom he met at Harvard; appointed clerk atty genl's office 1907, named to post in city law dept 1930, in city land office 1942-48; former commander Dudley Camp 39 Sons of Vets

Woods, Robert Archey
DOB: 9 Dec 1865
POB: Pittsburgh PA
father: Robert Woods
mother: Mary A Hall
spouse: Eleanor Howard Bush b 1872 Staten Island d 1957
DOM: 18 Sept 1902

APPENDIX E

POM: Cambridge
DOD: 18 Feb 1925
POD: Boston
bur: Sleepy Hollow cem, Concord

note: grad Amherst College 1886, entered Andover Theological Seminary same year and grad 1890; served briefly as chaplain at Concord Reformatory; at request of Andover prof Wm Jewett Tucker worked as resident at Toynbee Hall in London, world's first settlement house (1885); returned to US 1891, offered series of lectures published that year as *English Social Movements*, and he and Tucker opened Andover House settlement, renamed South End House in 1896, the first settlement in Boston and fifth in US; he was head worker there from 2 Jan 1892, and 1900c shows him there (6 Rollins St) w/ sec, servants, and staff; with others founded Robert Gould Shaw House as settlement for African Americans in Boston's South End 1908; 1910c he and wife both settlement social workers; helped organize National Federation of Settlements 1911; author of *The City Wilderness: A Study of the South End* (1898) and *Americans in Process: A Study of the North and West Ends* (1902); he and Albert J Kennedy edited *Handbook of Settlements* (1911) and *Young Working Girls* (1913) and together write *The Zone of Emergence*, not published until 1962. 1920c he and wife on Bond St in Boston as in 1910c

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