A quest for a continuing revolution
as proposed by the
Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation
through a creative
project of communication,
education and participation.
PREPARED BY

THE AFRO-AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL CORPORATION

A SUMMARY REPORT OF THIRTY SITES
DETERMINED TO BE SIGNIFICANT IN
ILLUSTRATING AND COMMEMORATING
THE ROLE OF BLACK AMERICANS IN
UNITED STATES HISTORY

DECEMBER 1973
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PREFACE

The report contained herein represents a summary of the research conducted by the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation (ABC) of thirty sites studied during the first twelve months of a proposed three-year study of historic sites determined to be significant in illustrating the role of black Americans in United States history.

The report also includes analysis of a number of related subject areas previously discussed with the National Park Service (NPS) and judged by the ABC to merit restating in this document.

The ABC is cognizant of recent policy guidelines of the NPS which emphasize the need: "To define a National Park System that is balanced and complete in its representation of the Nation's historical heritage .... [and] To identify the 'gaps' that presently exist in this representation." Thus, it is intended that the documentation represented by this report will serve to contribute toward the realization of these objectives which represent an NPS goal shared by the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation.

The directors of the ABC are especially grateful to the Honorable Julia Butler Hansen, United States House of Representatives and former National Park Service Director, Mr. George B. Hartzog for their encouragement and continuing support of this important study.

We are also indebted to the following named distinguished historians who served as members of ABC's Advisory Panel, for their invaluable contribution to the evaluation of the thirty sites listed in this document: Dr. John W. Blassingame, Dr. Letitia W. Brown, Dr. Dorothy B. Porter, Dr. Martha S. Putney, Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Dr. Charles W. Simmons, Dr. Edgar A. Toppin and Dr. Charles H. Wesley.
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Special acknowledgement is given to Ms. Marcia M. Greenlee who served as Project Director for this study and who brought to that position a dedication of purpose and professional competence.

Special Assistant to Ms. Greenlee throughout the period of this study was Mrs. Myrna D. Harris whose exceptional skills as researcher-editor and administrative assistant contributed immeasurably toward the thoroughness and quality of the documentation herein.

The ABC finally wishes to express its deep appreciation to the many state historic preservation officers and staff who gave unselfishly of their time and resources in order that this study might achieve its stated purpose.
INTRODUCTION

This document is a report of the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation's (ABC) first year of research for the National Park Service (NPS) in identifying sites, throughout the nation, important to the role of Afro-Americans in American history. From a study of Themes 3 - The Development of the English Colonies, 4 - Major American Wars, and 9 - Society and Social Conscience, as described in "The National Park System Plan - Part I," information has been compiled on thirty sites important to the black role in the historical areas addressed by each theme. Copies of the NPS' National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form (NPS 10-300) have been completed on each of these sites.

Some knowledge of the research process entailed in the identification of historic sites important to Afro-American history is an important background to a full appreciation of this study. Chapter I deals with the special research requirements for the study of historic Afro-American sites which the ABC has encountered in the course of its work.

The ABC, in consultation with its Advisory Board, has made evaluations and recommendations for the commemoration of each of the thirty sites on its study list. Chapter II gives a capsule history of each of the sites studied, an outline of the points of national historical significance for each site, and recommendations for the commemoration of each.

Chapter III is an evaluation by the ABC and its Advisory Board of the NPS' taxonomy and criteria for identification of historic sites. Chapter IV contains general recommendations to the NPS which the ABC feels will be useful in the development of a more comprehensive commemorative program for historic sites.
The ABC was very fortunate in having the assistance of some of the best scholars in the country during the course of its first year's study. These individuals advised us, did research, inspected sites, compiled bibliographies, evaluated our work and otherwise helped us. We are deeply grateful to them and, in a desire to give them a small portion of the credit due them, we have acknowledged each of them at the end of this report.
CHAPTER 1

SPECIAL RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF
HISTORIC SITES IMPORTANT TO THE ROLE OF
AFRO-AMERICANS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Although the process for identifying historic sites important to the role of Afro-
Americans in our history is basically the same as that for the identification of any other
sites, there are a number of special requirements that make the process somewhat more
difficult and time consuming than the study of Anglo-American historic sites.

Research in secondary source materials alone, is generally inadequate for a
thorough study of most subjects in Afro-American history. Many aspects of black history
have not as yet been explored. Others, that have been written of, still do not have
sufficiently detailed bibliographies to warrant exclusive reliance on secondary sources.
For example, there is a marked scarcity of secondary sources on Afro-Americans during
the colonial era. There are, on the other hand, quite a few secondary sources on black
soldiers at Port Hudson, but still not enough to use for thorough research. This means
that the student of Afro-American history often must use primary source materials to aid
his study.

Primary source materials such as government census reports, military records, land
records, wills, correspondence, and diaries are a few of the kinds of documents that
should be studied. This is of course a more time consuming and difficult task than locat-
ing the main entry of a subject in a book. It is a task, too, that usually requires a search
of more than one repository for the information needed. The historians compiling the research used by the ABC for its historic site nominations used muster rolls, records of the Veteran's Administration, the U. S. War Department's official records of the Union and Confederate Armies, private diaries and journals, census records, organizational returns for the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts regiment, reports of colonial legislatures, proceedings of Congressional committees, correspondence, wills and deeds, unpublished theses, and land records in the course of their study. They studied state and local archives in eleven states and the District of Columbia, interviewed individuals with memories of important people or events in Afro-American history, and used private family papers to aid their research. All this was in addition to their study of the available secondary historical materials.

Very seldom does the researcher in Afro-American history find useful materials for his study, or persons knowledgeable enough to assist him on any but the most general questions, in public libraries. The national assumption that the history of white men in America is synonymous with American history, instead of just a part of it, has robbed the majority of Americans of any knowledge of the part that black, brown, yellow, and red men have played in this country. The student of Afro-American history therefore, must be resourceful, independent, and imaginative in seeking the information he needs for his study. He must also recognize that, in terms of numbers, he will find far fewer books and other records on Afro-American history than are available for the study of Anglo-American history.

In identifying historic sites associated with Afro-American history, it is not possible to consult books on historic Afro-American buildings or pamphlets prepared by Chambers of Commerce outlining walking tours of historic Afro-American sites in various cities. When
by chance, a site relating to Afro-American heritage is included in the history of some
city, state, or the nation, its Afro-American associations are usually carefully omitted.
The process for the identification of black sites calls for lengthy map study, checks of
property records, the reading of wills, city directories, and as many historical accounts
contemporary to the person or event under study as can be found. All of this is often
necessary simply to establish an address.

Once an address is found, field study is called for and the site must be inspected.
Inspection too frequently ends in disappointment for the researcher who discovers that
the building he has so painstakingly sought has given way to a parking lot or an apartment
building. He must then return to his research and try again. The final compilation of a
study list is a long and demanding undertaking.

In some cases, particularly for military events, the historic sites are more easily
found, and often are already commemorated. The commemoration, however, is almost
never of the American history that is connected with the site but with the white American
history connected with it. This fact necessitates the "re-identification" of these sites in
their American context. It is not possible that 205,000 to 209,000 black men who fought
with the Union Army during the Civil War, could have been so consistently overlooked
by mistake in the historic commemorations at Chickamauga, Petersburg, and Vicksburg.
It is not an oversight, because no mention of black men is made at Chalmette, Fort Brown
or Perry's Victory either. "Re-identification" of historic sites was involved in several of
the ABC's nominations of sites associated with American military history. The evolution
of the one-sided historical treatment of sites commemorated by the NPS can be partially
accounted for by its taxonomy for the study of, and criteria for the designation of, historic
sites. This problem is discussed further in Chapter III.
CHAPTER II

CAPSULE HISTORIES, POINTS OF NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF SITES ON THE AFRO-AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL CORPORATION'S STUDY LIST I

Theme 3 - Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775, is described in "The National Park System Plan - Part I" as dealing with "physical, military, and political development of England's North American colonies during the 18th century." The years 1700-1775 are described as "a period marked by the establishment of a new colony, Georgia; by the crushing of New France; by a significant increase in population and wealth; and by a growing independence of thought and action stimulated by the distinctive environment of a new continent."

Black men and women played a vital role in the development of the colonies. They worked in every manner of skilled and unskilled trade as carpenters, printers, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, cabinetmakers, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, domestics, painters, bricklayers, farmers and agricultural laborers, to name only a few of their professions. It was their labor that made possible the ever increasing wealth of the colonies. By 1775 there were more than a half million black people in the American colonies and the majority of them were slaves.

Certainly one of the most important, if not the most important, occurrences during the period 1700-1775, one responsible for the increased population and wealth of the colonies, was the development of chattel slavery. Slavery laid the bases for the attitudinal,
social, economic, and political complexities of relationships between black and white men in every phase of American history to follow. With England, the mother country of most of the colonies, assuming command of the slave trade, acceptance of the practice of making black men "slaves for life" grew among the colonists. In revolt against this injustice, slave rebellions broke out in both northern and southern colonies. The fear engendered by these rebellions, and the threat of others to come, resulted in the passage of increasingly detailed and cruel laws against blacks by colonial legislatures. These laws, called slave codes, sharply curtailed the mobility of blacks, severely limited their assembly, and took away their right to hold property, and bear arms. Free blacks, although always a part of America's total black population, were a small minority among the masses of slaves. Their position in an environment fundamentally hostile to blacks was made all the more tenuous by the slave codes. Despite the odds, however, several of them were able to achieve positions of prominence.

The slave codes, no matter how stringent, were still unable to completely still fears of slave insurrections. In many of the colonies, opposition to the slave trade grew as a means of equalizing the black and white population in the country. As a war for independence from England seemed imminent, some colonists painfully recognized the hypocrisy of their position in their willingness to fight for the freedom they denied others. Accordingly, abolitionist sentiment increased, particularly in the northern colonies, as the War for Independence drew closer.

Slavery and the position of blacks in American society did not first become matters of widespread interest in the years before the Civil War. From 1619 when John Smith reported the purchase of twenty Negroes from a Dutch man-of-war, black people became an integral part of American history.
The ABC has selected historic sites connected with a black poet, a black scientist, a black slaveholding family, a slave revolt, and "legal" action against suspected slave conspirators to represent the black presence during the colonial period.

Theme 4 - Major American Wars, is devoted to historic sites associated with America's seven major wars between 1775 and 1945. Afro-Americans were involved in all these wars although the thirty-six sites already within the National Park System rarely make any mention of this fact.

During the American Revolution the British welcomed blacks to their side. Thousands of blacks escaped behind British lines and thereby gained their freedom. Many of them fought with the British against their former "masters". The American colonists, on the other hand, were reluctant to enlist the aid of blacks until the demand for manpower became so overwhelming that they were forced to accept soldiers and laborers in their cause, regardless of color. More than 5,000 black men fought with the Americans against the British.

At least 925 black men fought against the British during the War of 1812. They served as seamen at Lake Erie and soldiers at Chalmette. Two black regiments from New Orleans, in existence before the United States purchased Louisiana, were among the black troops that joined Andrew Jackson at Chalmette.

Between 205,000 and 209,000 black men served in the Union Army and Navy during the Civil War. In addition, thousands of black civilians aided the Union cause as laborers, scouts, spies, teamsters, and cooks. Blacks made up nearly ten percent of the Union's armed forces and they helped win the biggest war in America's history. Twenty-one black men won the Congressional Medal of Honor for their service during the Civil War.
The Ninth and Tenth Calvary and the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth Infantry, the only black regiments in the regular army, saved the fight for Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders at San Juan Hill during the Spanish-American War. The black troops also saw action at El Caney and Las Guasimas. They served in the Navy and in the occupational forces at the end of the war as well.

Some 200,000 blacks, serving in separate regiments in the Army, not admitted to the Marines, and confined to the most menial positions in the Navy, helped make the world safe for democracy during World War I. One-third of the blacks in military service were assigned to combat units while the rest were kept in labor or service regiments and not allowed to fight. The Ninety-Second and Ninety-Third Divisions, the two black combat divisions, established an excellent record of service. The entire 369th Infantry of the Ninety-Third Division, for example, was awarded the Croix de Guerre for their bravery in battle. Upon their return to the United States, black soldiers found that the fight was not yet over. They found themselves battling next, to make America safe for democracy. W. E. B. Du Bois summed up the feelings of the returning black soldiers when he wrote in 1919, "We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the U. S. A., or know the reason why!"

The ABC has selected historic sites connected with the participation of the Afro-Americans in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and World War I.

Theme 9 - Society and Social Conscience is concerned with America's "social structure, social reform movements, environmental conservation, and the history of recreation in the United States."
Each subtheme and every facet of Theme 9 could be represented by a historic site important to the role of Afro-Americans in every aspect of American social history. The ABC has selected sites connected with the Afro-American involvement in religious minorities, women's rights, social criticism and radical reform, the civil rights movement, poverty relief, abolitionism and philanthropy, as a first step toward full commemoration of the part blacks have played in American society.

Each of the thirty sites studied and nominated by the ABC for designation as a national historic landmark is listed below. Included for each is a brief statement of its history, and outline of the points which make it nationally important, and recommendations for its commemoration.

The list of sites, although representative of the themes studied, should by no means be considered exhaustive. There are many more than thirty sites important to the historical role of Afro-Americans which might have been nominated under Themes 3, 4 and 9, but because of the limits of time and finances, only a selected number of sites could be thoroughly studied. All three themes covered by the ABC this year, should be further researched before the NPS can be assured of a comprehensive listing of nominations. As a result of its first year's work, the ABC is absolutely convinced that research into black historic sites is an extremely productive field and one in which only the surface, so far, has been touched.
THEME 3 SITES
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES, 1700-1775

1.

BENJAMIN BANNEKER
1731-1806
Site of the Friends' Meeting House
3700 block of Columbia Avenue
Ellicott City, Maryland (Howard County)

AND

The Westchester Elementary School
Westchester Avenue
Oella, Maryland (Howard County)

Benjamin Banneker, a free black man, was one of the nation's most talented citizens. He studied astronomy, physics, and geology, and observed the heavens through a make-shift telescope. As a result of his competence as an astronomer, he was selected as part of a scientific team to survey and assess the federal territory designated to become the District of Columbia. Banneker began publishing his annual almanacs in 1791. Apart from his scientific interests, Banneker evidenced great social concerns. He published an important paper advocating world peace written by Benjamin Rush and devised a plan by which it might be achieved, including proposals for a Department of the Interior and a League of Nations. The site of the Friends' Meeting House in Ellicott City was nominated because of Banneker's worship there. Another site for his commemoration is the Westchester Elementary School on Westchester Avenue in Oella, Maryland. The school stands on property that was once part of Banneker's farm and has been the site of a marker commemorating Banneker's achievements. No known sites with physical remains relating to Banneker's career are extant.

BENJAMIN BANNEKER'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Benjamin Banneker is of national historical significance because:

1. He is the first widely recognized black man of science in America.

2. He was an inventor, compiler of almanacs, astronomer, mathematician, and scientist.

3. He served as a member of the Ellicott team which surveyed the nation's capital.

4. He wrote Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, calling attention to the inconsistency of Jefferson's "created equal language" with the keeping of slaves and urging him to use his influence to find ways to end the prejudice against black Americans.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF BENJAMIN BANNEKER

There are no known physical remains associated with Benjamin Banneker's career. He was however of unquestionable national importance. Because Banneker attended the Friends Meeting House in Ellicott City and was closely associated with the Ellicott brothers who built it, the site marked for its location might include commemoration of Banneker as well. The marker standing at the site was erected by the Maryland Historical Society and reads as follows:

FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE AND GRAVEYARD

After founding the town of Ellicott's Mills in 1772 the Ellicott Brothers established this burying ground in 1795 and built the adjacent friends meeting house in 1800.

The search for Benjamin Banneker's home and grave site was first undertaken by Rachel Mason in 1836 and then pursued by Bishop Payne and his A.M.E. Church Committee in 1845. In 1953 the search was resumed by the State Roads Commission of Maryland. With the aid of the Maryland Historical Society, the Commission collected and reviewed all available data relating to the location of Banneker's farm. From research on a deed of partition made at the time of George Ellicott's death in 1832, it was determined that the Westchester Elementary School in Oella, stands on part of the property which was once Banneker's farm. The property bounds correspond with some of those listed in the indenture devised by Banneker with Ellicott and Company in 1799. Accordingly, their marker was erected in February 1954, on the property of the Westchester Elementary School. The marker read as follows:

BENJAMIN BANNEKER
1731 - 1806
Self-Educated Negro
Mathematician - Astronomer
He Made the First Maryland Almanac in 1792
Assisted in the Survey of the District of Columbia
His Achievements Recognized by Thomas Jefferson
Was Born, Lived his Entire Life and
Died Near Here

This attempt to commemorate Banneker was thwarted by vandals who destroyed the marker. In 1968 it was replaced and again torn down. In 1969 the process was once again repeated. There is no marker standing today.

A more recent study has provided data concerning the location of Banneker's tobacco farm. The farm, it was found, lies between the little-traveled section of the old Frederick Road from Ellicott City toward Catonsville and extends on both sides of Oella Road which curves northward after crossing Westchester Avenue. The land slopes toward Oella Road and it was on the ridge overlooking it that Banneker's log house once stood.
According to local legend, the family burial ground was located in the area where the land drops more abruptly towards the ravine of Cooper's Branch.

In attempting to locate the site of Banneker's grave, one also encounters certain difficulties. John H. Latrobe, in his account of Banneker, maintained that "his remains are deposited, without a stone to mark the spot, near the dwelling which he occupied during his lifetime." Silvio Bedini, in a very recent work, reveals that a search for a burial site was in vain.

A marker should be re-erected on the grounds of the Westchester School and declared a national historic landmark to commemorate Benjamin Banneker.
II.

MELROSE PLANTATION
(Formerly Yucca Plantation)
c. 1790-1847
Louisiana Route 119
Melrose, Louisiana (Natchitoches Parish)

Yucca Plantation (now known as Melrose Plantation) was established by a former slave, Madame Marie Therese Coin-Coin Metoyer, who later became a slaveowner herself. As the mistress of Yucca Plantation, she was a property owner and a wealthy businesswoman at a time when most black women were slaves and most white women had no identity apart from their husbands. The African design of the earliest buildings on the plantation reflect Madame Metoyer's independence in refusing to adopt the European models of architecture around her. An important chapter might be added to American art history if the many surviving paintings of members of the Metoyer family, which may be the earliest and finest collection of portraits of Afro-American subjects in the same family, could be collected, copied, and studied. The Metoyers were very wealthy. (In 1840 the head of the family alone had property assessed at a total value of $100,360.) Melrose is already on the National Register of Historic Places but National Landmark status is yet to be achieved. Melrose is owned by the Association of Natchitoches Women for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches whose primary interest in the property is its history since 1847.

MELROSE PLANTATION'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Melrose Plantation is of national historical significance because:

1. It reflects a unique aspect of American Slavery, i.e. Negro slaveholders.

2. It has buildings of African style and design which are perhaps the only extant structures of this kind in the nation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF MELROSE PLANTATION

Melrose should be designated a National Historic Landmark. Because of the considerable size of the Melrose property and its proximity to St. Augustine Church, originally built in 1803 by Augustin Metoyer, Madame Metoyer's eldest son, and the Metoyer Cemetery on the church grounds, the village is already a historic district and should be studied for inclusion within the National Park System. In addition to appropriate historical markers, pamphlets and brochures should be developed which include the total history of the property. A public auction in 1970 resulted in the scattering of Melrose's furnishings among private collectors. Some effort should be made to obtain the original furnishings of the houses, either through purchase or by loan, so that the historic integrity of the interiors of the buildings might be maintained. The Metoyer family portraits especially, should be collected, restored if necessary, and copied. A local artist of growing reputation, Cammie Henry, has painted a vast and impressive mural inside the Africa House depicting plantation life.
at Melrose. This too, should be preserved and copied. Melrose is already a tourist attraction. When the Association of Natchitoches Women for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches sponsored a tour of the grounds a few years ago, hundreds of sightseers came to see Melrose even though there were none of the usual tourist facilities for their use.
IV.

STONO RIVER SLAVE REBELLION
1739
Site of the Hutchinson Warehouse
Rantowles Vicinity - 12 Miles West of Charleston
Rantowles, South Carolina (Charleston County)

One of the most serious slave insurrections which occurred during the colonial period took place about twenty miles southwest of Charleston, South Carolina, September 9-10, 1739. The rebellion was led by a man named Jemmy who was an Angolan slave mistakenly called "Cato" in some accounts of the insurrection. On the day of the insurrection, approximately fifty-one slaves under Jemmy's leadership attacked the warehouse of a Mr. Hutchinson, killed the guards, and seized the weapons within. Other slaves came to join them until about eighty were assembled. They burned plantations and murdered whites they encountered along the way, as they marched towards St. Augustine and the Spaniards in Florida. The local militia was alerted, however, before the slaves could make good their escape. During the encounter with the militia, fourteen blacks were killed on the spot; and within ten days, about twenty more were killed. The Stono Rebellion exacerbated the fear and terror already in the white population and resulted in South Carolina's adoption of the most comprehensive slave code adopted in the English Colonies. There are no physical remains at the site of the Hutchinson Warehouse.

THE STONO RIVER SLAVE REBELLION'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Stono River Slave Rebellion is of national historical significance because:

1. It was an early African strike for freedom and disproves the widely held belief that slave unrest in America did not occur before the period of heightened abolitionism just prior to the Civil War.

2. It shows the black man's abiding love of freedom.

3. It establishes the terror of slave revolts in which white colonists lived, and the many measures they instituted, especially the slave codes, for the control of slaves and their own protection.

4. It shows the English colonists' fears of Spanish interference with their slave system and land holdings in the southern colonies.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF THE STONO RIVER SLAVE REBELLION

The Rantowles Creek area designated, was the site of the ferry crossing and Hutchinson Warehouse mentioned in accounts of the Stono River Revolt. The area is about twenty miles southwest of Charleston, covers about five acres and should be declared a national historic landmark.
A reconstruction of the warehouse is recommended for use as a museum focusing on African and Afro-American culture. This project might complement South Carolina’s Patriot’s Point Museum sponsored by the Department of Defense and the State of South Carolina.
PHILLIS WHEATLEY
C. 1753-1784
Site of Phillis Wheatley's Meeting with George Washington
Craigie-Longfellow House
105 Brattle Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts (Middlesex County)

Phillis Wheatley, perhaps the most famous black person in Colonial America, visited General Washington, at his bidding, as a result of a poem she had dedicated to him. They met in March 1776, before the colonies had declared their independence. The meeting took place in the Craigie House (now the Craigie-Longfellow House) which was Washington's headquarters in the Boston suburb of Cambridge. This site was selected in the absence of any sites with physical remains associated with Phillis Wheatley in Boston. The Craigie-Longfellow House is a National Historic Landmark but the events and persons noted within it include no reference to Phillis Wheatley's presence there.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Phillis Wheatley is of national historical significance because:

1. She was the second American woman to write a book. (A white woman, Anne Bradstreet, was the first.)

2. As an African-born slave poet, her accomplishments made her a strong symbol of black potential and evidence against the proponents of slavery who wished to see Africans as totally degraded beings deserving a state of servitude and unable to rise above it.

3. Although it is true that by the mid-18th century, many blacks had achieved distinction in education and the arts in spite of the prevailing condition of slavery, few of them, like Phillis Wheatley, were women.

4. At no time since her death has her memory been lost among Afro-Americans.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF PHILLIS WHEATLEY

It is difficult to determine which sites might be marked to commemorate Phillis Wheatley. Her life was spent in Boston more than two hundred years ago and today so much turmoil exists over rehabilitation that many of the old familiar buildings have disappeared. There is also, in addition to the demolition of buildings, the lack of precise documentation, although colonial Boston was encompassed in a reasonably well documented setting. But there were no house numbers and there was no City Directory. Property of all sorts was listed as belonging to individuals and described in relation to the terrain. The following sites were considered for Phyllis Wheatley's commemoration: 1. Where she was sold: (a) The South Market which has been described as being under the Liberty Tree. This

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would be at the junction of Washington and Boylston Streets. The plans for changing this area must be on the drawing board and most of the buildings presently standing there now probably are going to be removed. Wherever another plaque is placed to commemorate the Liberty Tree beside this might be one to note the South Market and a smaller plaque about Phillis Wheatley. (b) An alternative, but less likely spot of the purchase: Avery's house next to the White Horse Tavern. That tavern could be marked on Avery Street and a plaque next to it also appropriately marked. Bunch of Grapes Tavern, for example, is marked now on State Street. 2. Where she lived as a slave and wrote: Unfortunately, we do not have any information about more than one residence. King Street (now State Street) was the site of the home of the Wheatley family. As a result of our research, it has been substantiated that the property had to fall within the block on the south side of King Street abutted by Kilby (then Mackerel) and Broad Street. The property is now a vacant lot. It is recommended that a plaque be placed on the ground at the corner of State and Kilby Streets. 3. The meeting with George Washington: This occurred at the Longfellow House in Cambridge on Brattle Street which is a familiar national spot and the best site in our judgment for Phillis Wheatley's commemoration. A plaque could be added to the one on the entrance of the home or at some appropriate point within the home, perhaps on the wall of the room used by Washington as his study, which makes note of Phillis Wheatley and her meeting with George Washington. In addition, the Longfellow House might incorporate with its brochures and pamphlets, information concerning Phillis Wheatley. Since many postcards featuring all aspects of the house and its furnishings are available to the public, postcards might also be prepared showing Phillis Wheatley as she appeared on the cover of her book of poems published in 1773. The book of poems could also be reprinted and made available to the public. On the walls of the room in which George Washington and Phillis Wheatley met, a copy of Wheatley's poem to George Washington and his response to her might be displayed along with Phillis Wheatley's picture.
THEME 4 SITES
MAJOR AMERICAN WARS

VI.

THE BATTLE OF CHALMETTE
December 1814 – January 1815
Chalmette National Historical Park
Box 429
Arabi, Louisiana (St. Bernard Parish)

The Battle of Chalmette, also known as the Battle of New Orleans, resulted in General Andrew Jackson's stunning victory over British troops at Chalmette Plantation. This was the last battle of the last war between the United States and England and it preserved America's claim to the Louisiana Territory, prevented the Mississippi River from becoming America's fixed western boundary, and restored American military pride. It was the greatest land victory of the War of 1812 and it made Andrew Jackson a national hero. Black men played their part in this American victory as members of the Seventh Infantry Regiment, in the "Battalion d'Orleans," in the First Battalion of Free Men of Color, under the command of Major D'Aquin, as part of the Fifteenth Regiment of Louisiana Militia, and as free men of color authorized in Natchitoches Parish. General Jackson made a special appeal "To the Men of Color" to join the fighting forces. It is widely believed that a black man was responsible for the death of the British General Pakenham and that his death sealed the loss of the English forces. Jackson, in a letter to President Monroe, added his testimony to circumstances of Pakenham's death saying, "I have always believed he fell from the bullet of a free man of color, who was a famous rifle shot and came from the Attakapas region of Louisiana." Despite their role in winning victory for the American forces, few black men who survived the battle at Chalmette Plantation were successful in obtaining the bounty and land promised them by General Jackson for their service. Only a few of them were awarded lump sums or pensions. Chalmette is a unit of the National Park Service. In all the elaborate commemoration of the history that took place there, only fleeting mention is made in the visitor center of the presence of black soldiers at Chalmette. No representation of black men appears in the museum exhibition and none is in evidence on the grounds of the park itself.

THE BATTLE OF CHALMETTE'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Battle of Chalmette is of national historical significance because:

1. It was the greatest land battle of the War of 1812.

2. Black men were instrumental in the victorious outcome of the fighting despite the omission of their role in most histories of the event.

3. Joseph Savary, a black man from Santo Domingo, who was principally responsible for raising the second Battalion of Free Men, was the first black man to be appointed to the rank of sergeant major in the United States Army.
4. A black man was responsible for the death of the English General Pakenham—an event that all agree was very important to the outcome of the battle. (See General Jackson's comment above.)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF THE BLACK ROLE IN THE BATTLE OF CHALMETTE

Although Chalmette is a unit of the Park Service, the commemoration of historical events that occurred there does not reflect the black role. Since the black role was a very important one and is well documented in many historical sources, the park should make reference to it.

The markers at tour stops around the grounds of the park should also make reference to the participation of blacks in the battle. The marker indicating where General Pakenham fell, should include the full remarks of General Jackson regarding the black man who killed Pakenham. References to troop movements on markers and in diagrams should include the movements of the black units.

Several changes within the visitor center would be beneficial. In the display area, black soldiers should be included in all exhibits. The panel titled "They Served With Jackson" includes Davey Crockett, Sam Houston and William Carroll. It might easily include such black men as Joseph Savary and Noble Jordan. The slide history and the lighted "battle board" should be revised to show the history of blacks in the battle. Postcards for sale at the visitor center could easily incorporate black depictions.

The Park Service staff at the site should be immediately desegregated and the guides dressed as "southern belles," changed to the Park Service uniform or dress authentic to the Battle of New Orleans. It is very doubtful that southern belles were in attendance at that time. All the brochures and pamphlets at the visitor center, dealing with the history of the Battle of Chalmette, should be revised to cover the complete history of the event. The revised (1967) Chalmette National Historical Park pamphlet notwithstanding, it is extremely unlikely that any black person would agree that the Beauregard House was built by a culture of "hospitalite warmth and inner glow." There is nothing warm or glowing about a culture built on slave labor. Another revision of this pamphlet is in order.

VII.

THE BATTLE OF MILLIKEN'S BEND
7 June 1863
Seven Miles Northeast of Tallulah
Ashly, Louisiana (Madison Parish)

On June 7, 1863, approximately twenty miles along the Mississippi north of Vicksburg a highly significant Civil War battle exploded at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana. Three thousand Confederates, commanded by General Henry McCullough, undertook offensive maneuvers to destroy a considerably smaller Union force which garrisoned a depot, once headquarters for General U.S. Grant. Estimated at less than half the Rebel strength and comprised almost entirely of untrained black recruits, the Union regiments were commanded by General Elias Dennis. The blacks suffered heavy losses from the guns and bayonets of the Rebels, but they defended their post until gunboat help arrived at which time they repelled the enemy with unblemished honor.

THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE BATTLE OF MILLIKEN'S BEND

The Battle of Milliken's Bend is of national historical significance because:

1. It firmly established the bravery of black soldiers under fire.

2. It provided concrete testimony that the Union policy of arming the ex-slaves was militarily sound.

3. It made the Confederates re-evaluate their views regarding the use of black soldiers.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF THE BLACK ROLE IN THE BATTLE OF MILLIKEN'S BEND

The State of Louisiana has erected highway markers in Ashly at the battle site but the property is not even on the National Register of Historic Places. It should be a national historic landmark and have a sculpture erected depicting the blacks who fought there. Pamphlets noting the site and giving the history of events that occurred there might be distributed at the Vicksburg National Military Park so that anyone interested could drive across the Mississippi and visit the site.
VIII.

THE BATTLE OF THE CRATER
30 July 1864
Petersburg National Battlefield
Petersburg, Virginia (Dinwiddie County)

The Battle of the Crater centered around a Union plan to blast a mighty gap in the Confederate line by exploding four tons of gunpowder in a tunnel dug below their position and rushing the Confederate forces before they could recover from the shock. Originally, black soldiers were to enter the crater area first and engage the Confederate troops in battle. General Grant, however, changed this plan and sent white troops in first, instead. Following the blast, the Union soldiers, dazed by the astonishing results of the explosion, hesitated before charging the Rebel lines as planned. The Confederate troops, initially stunned, recovered and regrouped rapidly and were able to hold their new positions. By the time the black soldiers were ordered into the fighting, they found the white soldiers blocking their way. Some of them were able to push past, however, and capture about 200 Confederates. With the second advance into the crater, the blacks suffered heavy losses not only from the Confederates but from their own men. The orgy of shooting, clubbing, and bayonetting that followed was one of the worst of the war. Two black men, Sergeant Major Thomas Hawkins and Sergeant Decatur Dorsey, were awarded the Medal of Honor for their bravery in the Battle of the Crater. Petersburg National Battlefield is already a unit of the National Park Service but little representation of the black soldier's role is included in the park's historical commemoration.

THE BATTLE OF THE CRATER'S
NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Battle of the Crater is of national historical significance because:

1. It shows the skill and courage of black soldiers despite white doubts regarding them.

2. It was one of the few battles for which blacks were trained to lead. Despite the fact that they were not allowed to do so, they won two Congressional Medals of Honor.

3. It establishes the risks black soldiers often encountered in facing hostile action not only by the Confederate forces but from Union troops as well.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF THE BLACK ROLE IN THE BATTLE OF THE CRATER

New pamphlets and markers are needed at Petersburg National Battlefield that indicate the black role in the battles. The tape-recorded history used for self-guided tours should be revised to include the complete history of the Petersburg campaign and the Battle of the Crater in particular.
IX.

BLACKS IN THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE
10 September 1813
Perry’s Victory and International Peace Memorial National Monument
Put-in-Bay, South Bass Island, Ohio (Ottawa County)

At Presque Isle, later renamed Erie, the preliminary steps were taken to set in motion a plan to gain control of the Great Lakes, to retake Detroit, and to make another attempt to conquer Canada. The project started, was the construction and equipping of six vessels, in addition to the repair of four additional units. These ten ships were to become the flotilla commanded by Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, the historic hero of the Battle of Lake Erie. The American victory at Erie provided a tremendous boost to the sagging American morale and marked the turning point of the western phase of the War of 1812. Black men made up approximately twenty-five percent of the crew of the American squadron. The site of Perry’s Victory is already a unit of the National Park Service but it does not reflect through the commemoration of events that occurred there, the black role in the Battle of Lake Erie.

THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF BLACKS IN THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

The blacks in the Battle of Lake Erie are of national historical significance because:

1. They show the willingness of black men to fight for the cause of freedom even though not free themselves.

2. Individual blacks, such as John Johnson and John Davis, were men of exceptional merit symbolizing the roles of blacks in the maritimes and naval history, and deserve specific commemoration. Johnson, though dying, urged his comrades to fight on and not haul the colors down. Davis, after he suffered injury, begged that he be thrown overboard so as not to impede the progress of the battle.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF THE BLACK ROLE IN THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

In addition to the incorporation of the black role in all the existing literature at the site, a special pamphlet on the history of blacks in the American Navy, including the role in the Battle of Lake Erie, could be written and distributed with the other historical information available for visitors at Put-in-Bay. A plaque that makes reference to the fact that some of the men whose names are listed on various park monuments were black, should also be erected.
X.

THE BROWNSVILLE AFFAIR
13 August 1906
Fort Brown
Brownsville, Texas (Cameron County)

The Twenty-fifth Infantry was established after the Civil War in 1896 and was composed of black men from the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Regiments. Following duty in Texas, South Dakota, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Cuba (during the Spanish-American War, where they helped save Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders from disaster), the Twenty-fifth was assigned to Ft. Brown in Brownsville, Texas. Shortly after their arrival, three black companies of the Twenty-fifth Regiment were said to have been involved in a riot which left one citizen killed, another wounded, and the chief of police injured. Whites, full of hatred and resentment at the presence of black soldiers in "their" town, maintained that the blacks had left their base to "shoot up" Brownsville and murder and maim its white citizens. President Theodore Roosevelt, who had earlier benefited from the heroism of the Twenty-fifth Regiment and other black troops in Cuba, responded to white charges by dismissing the entire battalion without honor and disqualifying its members for service in either the military or the civil service of the United States without a full and fair trial. A subsequent Senate Committee upheld the President's contention of the soldiers' guilt. Despite the efforts of such individuals as Ohio Senator Foraker to win a semblance of due process for the black soldiers, it was not until 1972 that the Army saw fit to reverse itself and grant the two surviving black soldiers of the regiment an honorable discharge. Fort Brown is already a national historic landmark but no mention is made of its involvement in the historical events of 1906.

THE BROWNSVILLE AFFAIR'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Brownsville Affair is of national historical significance because:

1. It illustrates irrefutably the dual system of "justice" then current in the United States, even in an age of reform.

2. It shows that, although blacks have served in all of America's wars, to do so, it has generally been necessary for them to "fight" to fight.

3. It became a cause celebre among Afro-Americans who kept the injustice of the affair alive and before the public eye until the Army reversed itself.

4. It shows the necessity of historic revisionism. Without it, the record of the Twenty-fifth Infantry might never have been cleared.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF THE BROWNSVILLE AFFAIR

It is recommended that Fort Brown, already a national historic landmark, incorporate the
history of the Brownsville Affair in the markers and plaques already at the site. A recon-
struction of the barracks in which the blacks were quartered is also suggested. The re-
constructed barracks could serve as a museum focusing on the role of black troops in the
West. Some statuary representing the Twenty-fifth Infantry and other blacks who served
the United States in the West should also be erected.
XI.

SERGEANT WILLIAM H. CARNEY AND
THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY REGIMENT AT FORT WAGNER
16 July 1863
Folly Island Staging Area
Folly Island, South Carolina (Charleston County)

"The old flag never touched the ground, boys."

- Sergeant William H. Carney

The Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was organized by Governor John A. Andrew. Because of the small number of blacks in the state of Massachusetts, recruiters, including such men as Frederick Douglass and John M. Langston, were sent to various other states to raise men for the new regiment. Thus, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was composed of men from several northern states and became the first northern black regiment to be employed in the Civil War. William H. Carney of New Bedford, Massachusetts was among the black men recruited for the Fifty-fourth.

The regiment was assigned to the Department of the South under General David Hunter at Hilton Head, South Carolina. There, the Fifty-fourth was destined to participate in the second and most significant assault upon Fort Wagner on Morris Island. In the fierce fighting that occurred between the Confederate and Union forces, Sergeant Carney, despite wounds in his legs, in his breast, and in his right arm, planted the flag upon the parapet and flattened himself on the outer slope for protection, remaining in that position for half an hour. Later, when darkness fell, Carney, almost lifeless and exhausted by the loss of blood, crept back to camp on one knee still bearing the colors aloft. In the hospital, he proudly announced in response to the cheers of his comrades, "The old flag never touched the ground, boys." Sergeant Carney was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery.

Although Fort Wagner was considered by many to be impregnable and the Confederate forces successfully repulsed the Union assault against it, the attack is still not without significance in terms of the blacks who participated in it. They fought bravely and proved their courage to all those with "honest doubts." Because of the erosion of sand and water, Morris Island today is almost completely submerged by the Atlantic Ocean. Folly Island was selected because of its proximity and passing involvement, as a staging area, in the events that occurred on Morris Island.

THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SERGEANT WILLIAM CARNEY
AND THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY REGIMENT AT FORT WAGNER

Sergeant William H. Carney and the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment at Fort Wagner are of national historical significance because:

1. Sergeant William H. Carney, a member of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regi-
   ment, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.
2. In the midst of overwhelming obstacles, the performance of Sergeant Carney and the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts secured the right for all blacks to serve as combat soldiers. Their performance encouraged blacks as well as whites to respect the combat ability of the black soldier.

3. The Massachusetts Fifty-fourth was the first black regiment recruited in the free states.

4. The Massachusetts Fifty-fourth was the first black northern regiment recruited by blacks.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF SERGEANT WILLIAM CARNEY AND THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT AT FORT WAGNER

The islands off the Charleston coast are being rapidly eroded by wind and water. Morris Island, for all practical purposes, is already gone and the site of Battery Wagner is under water. The staging area of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment has therefore been chosen for their commemoration. A statue to Sergeant Carney should be erected, and in addition to markers designating the site a national historic landmark, some measure should be taken to preserve this island and save it from the fate that has befallen Morris Island.
XII.

THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT
(1778-1783)
Site of the Battle of Rhode Island
Portsmouth, Rhode Island (Newport County)

The Battle of Rhode Island was the only engagement of the Revolutionary War in which black Americans participated as a distinct racial group. The unit was the First Rhode Island Regiment, an all black unit raised and trained in Rhode Island very early in 1778. With less than three months training, the black soldiers joined Major-General John Sullivan's army in Providence in an effort to capture the British garrison of 6,000 in Newport. The Battle of Rhode Island was fought on 29 August 1778. It ended with General Sullivan leading his forces in retreat despite the defense of the 138 black soldiers of a key redoubt. For two years following the battle, the black regiment was stationed at various points around Narragansett Bay. By 1781 it was no longer composed entirely of blacks. Still in the following years the regiment was in action in the Yorktown and Fort Oswego campaigns before being disbanded in June, 1783.

THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The First Rhode Island Regiment is of national historical significance because:

1. It was the only all black American regiment to fight in the Revolutionary War.

2. Although the soldiers acquitted themselves well, a law passed in Rhode Island on 10 June 1778 prohibiting the enlistment of black soldiers remained in effect. Rhode Island's slave holding members of the General Assembly were in the majority and the critical situation of early 1778 which led to the formation of the black group was alleviated by the Battle of Rhode Island.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT

As a result of research commissioned by the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, the Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission is nominating the site of the Battle of Rhode Island to the National Register. Because of the role of black soldiers in the conflict, the site is nationally important and should be declared a national historic landmark. A large statue depicting the black men who fought in the battle, with General Sullivan's praise of them written on it, should be erected at a prominent location on the site. Any plans for further development of the property as a historical park should include the black participation in all its aspects.
XIII.

THE FIRST SEPARATE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP
June 1917
Fort Des Moines
Des Moines, Iowa (Polk County)

Fort Des Moines made history when it became the site of the first black officers' training camp in 1917. Within a few days after America's entry into World War I on 6 April 1917, the two black infantry units and the two black cavalry units were filled. The government was then left with the "problem" of what to do with the unallocated thousands of blacks who wanted to serve their country as fighting men. Many, especially in the South, feared arming black men, expecting retaliation for their mistreatment of them. It was grudgingly that the War Department yielded to the demand that black men not be denied the right to fight and agreed to qualify black officers to lead their compatriots into battle. One thousand college men and two hundred non-commissioned officers from the existing black military units were sworn into the Provisional Army Officers' Training School at Fort Des Moines on 17 June 1917. From this group, 639 black men were commissioned as officers on 15 October 1917 and sent to seven different camps. The units were then assembled in France as the Ninety-second Division. The Ninety-second Division, incorporating the officers from Fort Des Moines, was an important force in the fierce battles in France during September, October and until the Armistice -- 11 November 1918.

THE FIRST SEPARATE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The First Separate Officers' Training Camp is of national historical significance because:

1. It was the first camp established by the United States Army for training black men as officers and it came about through the initiative of blacks themselves.

2. It represents the first recognition by the United States Army of its responsibility in training black officers.

3. At least fourteen of the officers commissioned at Fort Des Moines were cited for bravery in action and were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION

It is recommended that Fort Des Moines be declared a national historic landmark and studied for possible inclusion within the National Park Service as a museum for Afro-American military history.

There are continuing reports that Fort Des Moines is to be closed as a military installation. This is of great concern to the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation because with the limited awareness of the history of the facility already evidenced by its present occupants, it is entirely possible that any redevelopment of the property might destroy the remaining structures associated with the First Separate Officers' Training Camp.
Since there is currently no museum dedicated to Afro-American military history in the United States, the establishment of such a museum at Fort Des Moines would provide a unique development plan for the site. The role of the black soldier in all of America's wars could be illustrated through exhibits, films, documents, memorabilia, etcetera. An archives of black military history could also be established at Fort Des Moines to serve as a central repository for copies of government documents, private manuscripts and other historical materials of interest to the researcher of this aspect of Afro-American history.
Most Southerners chose to believe that blacks in military uniform were not soldiers but rebellious slaves who should be treated as such if captured in battle. Captured black soldiers were generally killed or sold into slavery—few were recognized by the South as prisoners of war. Perhaps the most extreme example of this Southern attitude was the massacre at Fort Pillow. The Confederate forces under the Command of General Nathan B. Forrest captured the Fort garrisoned by black soldiers. They refused to let the blacks surrender, preferring to slaughter them instead. Every sort of atrocity occurred. A Congressional Committee was called to investigate this "battle," heard testimony from both sides, and concluded that the Confederates were indeed guilty of atrocities including the murder of most of the garrison after it had surrendered. For black soldiers, the slaughter of their people at Fort Pillow hardened their resolve to avenge the murders and to see their former "masters" vanquished.

FORT PILLOW'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Fort Pillow is of national historical significance because:

1. It clearly establishes the refusal of Confederates to treat black men as soldiers.
2. It hardened the resolve of black soldiers, in future engagements of the war, to fight so as to give every possible support to the Union cause.
3. It symbolizes the Southern view of the future for blacks in the South.
4. It led President Lincoln to promise reprisals against the South should reports of the massacre prove true.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF FORT PILLOW

Fort Pillow has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places by the Tennessee Historical Commission. It should be designated a national historic landmark as well. Since the historical development of the site has not as yet begun, there is every reason to hope that the complete history of Fort Pillow, including the massacre that occurred there, will be represented in the plaques, markers and pamphlets eventually devised. Fort Pillow represents an opportunity for the Park Service to commemorate the total history of an historic site at the time such recognition is first made.
Prince Hall, an abolitionist, clergyman, and masonic leader, was also a soldier during the Revolutionary War. He served with other Americans, black and white, at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Born in Barbados, Hall came to America in 1765. An earnest student of the Bible and a talented writer, Hall became a Methodist minister and was responsible for the formulation of petitions for the redress of grievances held by many blacks both slave and free. He urged the establishment of schools for black children and adults in Boston, sought the end of slavery, and pleaded for the protection of free blacks against being kidnapped and sold into slavery. Prince Hall is probably best remembered, however, as the founder of black Masonry in America. He established the African Lodge Number 459 in 1787 with a charter obtained from England. Thereafter, black masonic lodges sprang up in other cities and their members devoted their efforts to the social welfare of black people. Prince Hall's grave site in Boston has been chosen for his commemoration in the absence of other sites with extant structures relevant to his career.

PRINCE HALL'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Prince Hall is of national historical importance because:

1. He organized the first black masonic lodge in America.

2. He organized the first masonic lodge in America with an English charter.

3. He was an active champion for civil rights and exhibited unselfish concern for the good of others without any benefit to himself. Although he was a freeman, he still labored to bring about the end of slavery.

4. He was a pioneer advocate of free state education for black children and adults as well.

5. He was a Revolutionary War soldier who saw service at the Battle of Bunker Hill.


RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF PRINCE HALL

Prince Hall's Boston grave site should be declared a national historic landmark and an appropriate plaque should be erected to him there.
Lemuel Haynes, Revolutionary War soldier and later a prominent theologian, was born in 1753 at West Hartford, Connecticut. In 1774 at the age of twenty-one he enlisted as a Minuteman. He served at Lexington, Boston, and at Fort Ticonderoga with the Green Mountain Boys. Upon Haynes' return to Granville following his military service, he began studying theology under a Connecticut clergyman. After the completion of his studies, he took the pulpit at the Middle Granville church. Some of his published sermons received wide circulation and led to his preaching in many New England pulpits. In 1804 Haynes received an honorary Master of Arts degree from Middlebury College. In connection with his religious duties, Haynes attended many conventions and meetings. After his death in 1833 Haynes was the subject of a biography by one of his colleagues, Dr. Timothy Mather Cooley.

LEMUEL HAYNES' NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Lemuel Haynes is of national historical significance because:

1. He was the first black Congregational pastor and the first regular black pastor to a white congregation.

2. He was a theologian of recognized scholarly competence.

3. He received the first honorary Master of Arts degree ever bestowed on a black man. The degree was awarded him by Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont.

4. He was a black Minuteman.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF LEMUEL HAYNES

An historic district centered around Lemuel Haynes' church, home, and grave site, should be established in Granville, New York. The district should include the construction of a visitor center and be made a unit of the Park Service. The visitor center could include a museum of Haynes' memorabilia such as copies of his sermons, portraits of him and other of his possessions. There is a great deal of knowledge of, and interest in, Lemuel Haynes' history in Granville. Efforts to have Haynes receive national recognition would doubtlessly be enthusiastically supported by the local community.
XVII.

PORT HUDSON
27 May 1863
Port Hudson, Louisiana (East Feliciana Parish)

Two regiments of New Orleans free blacks and Louisiana ex-slaves participated in an assault on Port Hudson, a Confederate stronghold on the lower Mississippi. The attack failed but the blacks fought heroically, advancing over open ground in the face of deadly fire. The free black regiment, known as the Native Guards, was particularly courageous. One of its members, Captain Andre Callioux, a well-to-do man who could certainly have avoided the risks of battle had he chosen to, encouraged his troops for the final attack despite a shattered arm. He died running ahead of them, crying "Follow me," in French and then in English. There too, Sergeant Planciancois, given the charge to defend the colors, replied, "Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you in honor, or report to God the reason why!" Six hundred black men, out of a total nine hundred, died at Port Hudson. Here, as elsewhere on the battlefield, they demonstrated their courage and ability as fighting men.

PORT HUDSON'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Port Hudson is of national historical significance because:

1. Blacks fought valiantly under black leadership despite extremely heavy losses from their ranks including the loss of their very popular leader, Captain Callioux.

2. Free blacks who could have isolated themselves from the struggle of their slave brothers chose instead to sacrifice the security and comfort of their position to fight for the freedom of their people.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF PORT HUDSON

The Louisiana Department of Art, Historical and Cultural Preservation is preparing to nominate Port Hudson to the National Register of Historic Places. The site should also be designated a national historic landmark. Since development of the site has not begun, plans should be made now to include the black role in the historical interpretation of the property. In addition to the full coverage of the black role in plaques, markers and pamphlets developed for the site, there should also be a monument erected to Captain Callioux. Sergeant Planciancois' famous promise to defend the colors of his country should also be prominently displayed—perhaps atop a mural which depicts the black soldiers in battle, that could be hung in the visitor center.
XVIII.

ROBERT SMALLS
1839-1915
511 Prince Street
Beaufort, South Carolina (Beaufort County)

Robert Smalls, the hero of the Planter, state legislator, United States congressman from South Carolina during the turbulent years of Reconstruction, and customs collector for the Port of Beaufort, dedicated his life to securing for his people, not special privileges, but "an equal chance in the battle of life." Born a slave in the McKee household on Prince Street in Beaufort, Smalls was hired out by his "master" to Charleston where he lived until the outbreak of the Civil War. During the Civil War, he distinguished himself first with the capture of the Confederate boat, the Planter, and then as a guide for the Union ships attacking the Sea Island area. Following the war, he served in the Constitutional Convention for South Carolina in 1868. He was later elected to the state legislature to buttress the rights recently gained by the freedmen. Elected to the Congress of the United States in 1874, Smalls continued his fight for black rights and succeeded in getting many of his proposals accepted by the Congress. Smalls remained in the public eye well into the declining years of his life as the customs collector for Beaufort. Robert Smalls occupied his house on Prince Street first as a slave and later as the master and owner of the property.

ROBERT SMALLS' NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Robert Smalls is of national historical significance because:

1. His abduction of the Planter is symbolic of the slave's passionate love of freedom.

2. His abduction of the Planter is symbolic of the role of blacks, particularly as harbor pilots, in the American naval and maritime traditions.

3. His public career in state and federal service, as a state legislator, U.S. congressman and customs collector, stretching from the Civil War to Woodrow Wilson's election, typifies, in several ways, the aspirations and hopes of many blacks during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

4. He exemplifies the role of military leaders who become political leaders.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF ROBERT SMALLS

Robert Smalls' Beaufort home should be declared a national historic landmark. The house should bear his name in any commemoration made. His "master," Henry McKee, was of no known historical significance. The house is important only because of its connection with Smalls.
Colonel Charles Young, the third black to have graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, was the highest-ranking black officer in World War I. Upon graduation from West Point, Young started his career in the Tenth Cavalry, was briefly seconded to the Twenty-fifth Infantry and on October 31, 1889, was permanently reassigned to the Ninth Cavalry. In 1894 he was assigned as Professor of Science and Military Tactics at Wilberforce University in Ohio. Young served with marked success until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. At this time he was given the command of the Ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry (Colored) for a brief time before being honorably mustered out to rejoin the Ninth Cavalry. Following distinguished service in the Phillipines, Young commanded Troop "I" at San Francisco in 1902, and then was appointed acting Superintendent of the Sequoia and General Grant National Parks, California. Following his service in the West, Young was appointed as the U.S. military attache to Haiti by Theodore Roosevelt. He later served as military attache and adviser to the Liberian Frontier Force, and as commander of the Second Squadron of the Tenth Cavalry in Mexico. Expecting active service with the outbreak of World War I, Colonel Young was instead found medically unfit for active service by army doctors and forced to retire from service. Rather than accept this verdict, Colonel Young rode five hundred miles from his home to Washington, D.C., to personally appeal for a reversal of the Army's decision. Less than a week before the armistice, the Army recalled Young. He was reassigned to Liberia. He died in Nigeria in 1922 on his way to a reunion with his family in Paris. Colonel Young's home at Wilberforce where he met with such men as Paul Laurence Dunbar and W.E.B. Du Bois has been chosen as the site for his commemoration.

**Colonel Charles Young's National Historical Significance**

Colonel Charles Young is of national historical significance because:

1. He was the highest-ranking black officer in World War I.

2. He was the first black military attache in American history.

3. He was the second black to receive a federal appointment to a military department.

4. He was nationally known and admired by black people who identified with his triumphs and felt his defeats as though they were their own. It was largely through public outcry following his dismissal from the Army that the Army later reinstated him.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF COLONEL CHARLES YOUNG

Colonel Young's home at Wilberforce should be declared a national historic landmark. A part of the house could be developed as a Young museum incorporating documents important to Colonel Young's career. A secondary focus of the museum might be devoted to the history of the black soldier at West Point.
THEME 9 SITES
SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

XX.

RICHARD ALLEN
1760–1831
Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church
419 South Sixth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia County)

Richard Allen was the first black American leader with a national following. He was an organizer of the first black organization in America, the Free African Society, and the leader of black protest meetings such as one held in 1817 to oppose the plans of the American Colonization Society to send free blacks back to Africa. As a noted "bleeder," Allen generously gave his medical services during the "Black Plague" in Philadelphia in 1793. In 1814 when the British Army occupied Washington, D.C., Richard Allen organized 2,500 men of color to defend Philadelphia against any attempted invasion. He also organized day and night schools, and was co-organizer of the first Masonic Lodge for black men in Pennsylvania. Allen presided over the first black national convention which met in 1830 in Philadelphia to consider political matters crucial to American blacks.

Allen's most impressive achievement, however, was the formation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first black religious denomination. The black congregation which was to make up the first church of this denomination was formed in 1787. In 1793 a church building was secured and dedicated for use in 1794. The property on which this church stood at Sixth and Lombard Streets in Philadelphia has been the site of all subsequent churches to the present day and is the oldest parcel of real estate owned continuously by black people in the United States. Since Bishop Allen's residence at 150 Spruce Street is no longer extant, Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church has been selected as the site for his commemoration.

RICHARD ALLEN'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Richard Allen is of national historical significance because:

1. He was the first black American leader of national stature.

2. He established the Free African Society, the first permanent association of blacks. He was also the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church— the first black religious denomination.

3. His leadership in issuing a call for a national convention of blacks, led to the establishment, in 1831, of the American Society of Free Persons of Colour. This organization served an invaluable role in the development of political consciousness and group solidarity among American blacks.

4. He was co-organizer of the first Masonic Lodge for black men in Philadelphia.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF RICHARD ALLEN

Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church should be a national historic landmark. A plaque with Allen's features should be mounted on the front of the church. Additional historical information regarding Richard Allen should be developed for visitors to the site.
Paul Cuffe was one of the most prominent black men of the 18th and early 19th centuries. He was an effective counter balance to the hostile stereotypes of blacks included both in the literature of James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville and in the widely circulated story papers and cheap pamphlet literature of the 1840s. In some ways, his life, as revealed in his Journal and "Letterbook," is a classic example of rags to riches. He was a largely self-educated son of a freedman father and an Indian mother. Cuffe began life under impecunious conditions on a marginal farm. He went to sea, as did many ambitious young men of his time, and became a prosperous ship owner, sea captain, merchant capitalist and philanthropist. He was, as well, a pioneer in the struggle for minority rights in Massachusetts and was involved in the vanguard of the movement for black settlement in Africa. Cuffe joined the Westport Monthly Meeting of Friends in 1808. He was of great help to the Society of Friends because of his financial assistance and advice. Paul Cuffe is buried on the grounds of the Meeting House. This is also the site of a large monument to Cuffe erected in 1913. Another Cuffe site is his farm on the east branch of the Westport River. Remains of the dock where his vessels were built and launched are still visible on the farm. This property, however, would require considerable repair for Cuffe's commemoration.

**Paul Cuffe's National Historical Significance**

Paul Cuffe is of national historical significance because:

1. He was one of the most prominent black men of the 18th and early 19th centuries as an international merchant-captain.

2. He was the first international ship builder.

3. His petitions to the state, county, and local government for relief from the payment of taxes for Negroes and Indians because they were not allowed to vote, made him a pioneer in the struggle for minority rights in Massachusetts.

4. He was a philanthropist of wide concern and lent his support freely to schools, the Quakers, an improved life for colored men in America, and the town of Westport itself.

5. He was a social reformer who sought asylum for his fellow blacks in the United States through settlement in Sierra Leone.

6. He had sufficient national prestige to bring a petition for special trading privileges to Africa to a favorable vote in the Senate.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF PAUL CUFFE

Paul Cuffe's grave site and memorial at the Westport Monthly Meeting of Friends should be designated a national historic landmark. His farm property and the remains of his docks should also be so designated. Even though the farm is less accessible to the public than the Friends Meeting House, it is more closely associated with Cuffe's career than is the Meeting House.

It is recommended that the docks on his farm property be restored and a visitor center, including an exhibition depicting Paul Cuffe's career and the New England shipping industry, of which he was a leader, be established on the grounds.

Cuffe is Westport's local hero. Many of the villagers know something about him and are interested in seeing greater recognition given his accomplishments. It has been suggested that a Cuffe historic district might be developed around a number of sites such as the Handy House (home of Cuffe's physician whose medical records showing Cuffe's treatment are extant), the site of the school Cuffe built for free Negro, Indian and white children, and other sites connected with his career, in addition to the Friends Meeting House and Cuffe's farm.
XXII.

W. E. B. DU BOIS
1868-1963
John Brown's Fort
Site of the Niagara Movement Pilgrimage of 1906
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (Jefferson County)
AND
Site of the New York NAACP Offices, 1914-1923
70 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York (New York County)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (pronounced Du Boyce) was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts in 1868. By the time he was sixteen, Du Bois was left a penniless orphan. Encouraged by his former principal to seek a college education, Du Bois enrolled in Fisk University in the fall of 1885. Du Bois graduated from Fisk in 1888, still determined to seek a degree from the school of his first choice, Harvard College. He entered Harvard in the fall as a junior and graduated with an A.B., cum laude, in 1890. He earned his M.A. degree in 1891; after two years at the University of Berlin, he completed his dissertation and became in 1895 the first Negro to receive, from Harvard, the degree of Ph.D. (in sociology). Du Bois published his dissertation, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870 as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Studies.

After completing his work at Harvard, Du Bois accepted a position at Wilberforce College in Ohio as a teacher of classics, although he was anxious to begin his work in the social sciences which he hoped would eventually free the Negro from racial prejudice. Offered a fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania, he left Wilberforce to conduct a research project in the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. Du Bois believed that the race problem was primarily due to ignorance; he therefore set out to uncover as much information as he could to provide a cure for race prejudice. The end result of his work was a monumental study, The Philadelphia Negro. Du Bois viewed this work as the first in a series of organized studies on urban and rural Negroes.

In 1897, Du Bois was invited to Atlanta University to supervise the sociology program and to direct a series of conferences on the Negro sponsored by the University. From 1897 to 1914, Du Bois was associated with the Atlanta Conferences and supervised the preparation of sixteen monographs. Several aspects of Du Bois’ career deserve commemoration. Two of these are his role as a leader in the Niagara Movement and his work with the NAACP.

Organized opposition to Booker T. Washington’s policy of surrendering political, civil, and social rights in return for better economic opportunity came with the Niagara Movement, led principally by W.E.B. Du Bois. The Movement passed militant resolutions demanding full equality and denouncing Washington’s appeasement. During its existence from 1905 to 1909, the Movement met at places significant in the history of blacks in America. In 1906 its members met at Harpers Ferry where John Brown made his raid. The Niagara Movement provided the nucleus for, and was a forerunner of, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Harpers Ferry is a unit of the Park
Service but in the commemoration of events that occurred there, no mention is made of black reaction to John Brown’s deeds of 1859. Some recognition of the site’s importance to members of the Niagara Movement would be a first step in correcting this omission. It would also provide an opportunity for special note to be made of W.E.B. Du Bois.

The Niagara Movement was superseded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Du Bois served as a member of the board, director of publicity and research, as well as editor of The Crisis. During the years 1914 to 1923, the NAACP protested enforced segregation by the Wilson Administration in the District of Columbia, opposed the American invasion of Haiti, carried on a vigorous anti-lynching campaign, urged the establishment of a separate officer’s training center to train black officers during World War I, sponsored the Fourth Pan-African Congress (the first to be held in the United States), and worked to overturn the Grandfather Clause, to list only a few of its activities. Du Bois was involved in all these projects. The NAACP’s New York offices from 1914-1923 were at 70 Fifth Avenue (their third location) and could be used to commemorate both the NAACP and Du Bois. The first and second NAACP offices in New York are extant but do not lend themselves to commemoration. The fourth NAACP office, the one the organization occupied the longest time while Du Bois was on the staff, is no longer extant.

THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF W. E. B. DU BOIS,
THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT AND THE NAACP

We. E.B. Du Bois is of national historical importance because:

1. He was America’s first Afro-American scholar and the first Afro-American Ph.D. from Harvard. He was a novelist, poet, author of two-score books, several hundred articles and pamphlets, and editor of one of the most effective polemical magazines in the United States.

2. He became the father of the Pan-African Movement when he established a Pan-African Conference in 1919, organizing five Pan-African Congresses, thereafter.

3. As one of the founders of both the Niagara Movement and the NAACP, he sought to further the cause of black equality in the United States through national organizations which could treat the problems of achieving full civil rights through nation wide publicity and agitation.

4. The Niagara Movement provided the first organized public forum for black expression of dissatisfaction with Booker T. Washington’s policy of black accommodation to whites in return for economic security.

5. The NAACP, through a national membership and skilled staff, fought for the cause of black equality through the American courts, and in the court of public opinion, by educating as many people as possible to issues which affected the black man’s full enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as
guaranteed him in the U. S. Constitution. W. E. B. Du Bois, in his position as editor of the NAACP's magazine The Crisis, was responsible for the publicity that many of these problems received.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF W. E. B. DU BOIS

Additional information should be included in the brochures and pamphlets at Harpers Ferry which show how blacks viewed John Brown's raid there. The importance with which W. E. B. Du Bois and other distinguished members of the Niagara Movement credited his act should be made known—particularly at John Brown's Fort. An additional marker at this site which made reference to Du Bois and the Niagara Movement should be erected. A plaque, including special mention of Du Bois, should also be mounted on the NAACP office building at 70 Fifth Avenue and the building declared a national historic landmark.
In the year after Martin Luther King, Jr., came to Montgomery, Alabama as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, the blacks of the city elected him to head the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). MIA was organized to protest the injustice of segregation on city buses. A black boycott of the buses began in December of 1955 and continued until December of 1956 under Dr. King’s leadership. This boycott, which demonstrated the force of unified black power, enraged the white population of Montgomery. It also brought Martin Luther King national recognition as a civil rights leader. Many of the rallies and meetings of the MIA were held in Dexter Avenue Church where Dr. King instructed his followers in non-violent principles, stirred their flagging spirits, and provided inspirational leadership. Dr. King served as the pastor of Dexter Avenue from 1954 to 1959. This was his first and only full-time pastorate. This site was selected because work is already under way for the commemoration of sites important to Dr. King’s career in Atlanta, Georgia.

THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
AND THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is of national historical significance because:

1. He launched the largest, social-humanitarian movement in the United States since the abolitionist period on the issue of minority rights.

2. He properly assessed the civil rights movement as one of national importance and concern. He viewed the problems of blacks as ones that needed national support for their solution.

3. The Montgomery Improvement Association launched the most successful direct action campaign, the Montgomery bus boycott, that laid the foundation for the national Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and early 1960s.

4. His ministry symbolizes the best of the black religious tradition: empathy with his flock, spiritual fervor, and strong leadership of his people.

5. Through the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. King received international recognition as a world leader for peace.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church should be declared a national historic landmark. It is recommended that a plaque with Dr. King's likeness be mounted outside the church and some appropriate statuary representing him be set inside. The church should receive some interior restoration such as painting and new carpeting.

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is near a "redevelopment" area of Montgomery. Although it is not immediately endangered, care should be taken to protect it against the possibility of any future threat by "redevelopment" programs.
Through the years, Quinn Chapel's public forums have served as a source of inspiration and information, both to its congregation and the larger community. One such forum of special importance was the second biennial meeting of the National Association of Colored Women in 1899. This organization was the first national body which sought to promote the welfare and rights of women. Its most outstanding president was Mary Church Terrell who was an early activist and champion of women's rights. Educated at Oberlin College, Mrs. Terrell was a linguist, an educator (she was the first black woman on an American school board), a writer, and an international lecturer. In her late eighties, Mrs. Terrell led the drive and brought the Thompson restaurant suit that resulted in the 1953 Supreme Court ruling ending segregation in public accommodations in the nation's capital. With a long history of involvement in the Woman's Suffrage Association and clubs for black women, Mrs. Terrell became in 1896 one of the founders of the National Association of Colored Women. This organization was founded to strengthen the voice of black women in their battle for educational opportunities, job opportunities, moral and social reform, anti-lynching proposals, the fight against discrimination and the Jim Crow car laws. The largest biennial convention of the NACW was held at Quinn Chapel and was presided over by Mary Church Terrell.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Mary Church Terrell is of national historical significance because:

1. She was the first black woman to serve on an American school board.

2. She was responsible for re-discovering the so-called "Lost Laws" of the District of Columbia which dealt with public accommodations and was successful in her subsequent Thompson restaurant suit that resulted in the 1953 Supreme Court ruling ending segregation in public accommodations in the nation's capital.

3. She was an influential and respected leader in the women's suffrage movement and was fearless in her expressions of black rights as evidenced by her work as a civil rights activist and president of the National Association of Colored Women.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF MARY CHURCH TERRELL
AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN

Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church should be designated a national historic landmark. It is recommended that a plaque outlining the achievements of Mary Church Terrell and the National Association of Colored Women be placed outside the building.
SOJOURNER TRUTH

SOJOURNER TRUTH

The Grave Site

Oak Hill Cemetery

255 South Avenue

Battle Creek, Michigan (Calhoun County)

Sojourner Truth was one of the most outstanding abolitionists and social reformers of the nineteenth century. She was a familiar figure at women's suffrage meetings, temperance meetings and abolitionist rallies. Born "Isabella," she took the name "Sojourner Truth" in 1843 and embarked upon a cross-country tour speaking against slavery wherever she could find listeners. Never long in one place, Sojourner Truth went to New York in 1850 with a number of noted white abolitionists including Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. In 1856 she settled in Battle Creek, Michigan for a brief time but soon was on the move again. During the Civil War she traveled to Washington to confer with President Lincoln and stayed on to work among the freedmen at Freedmen Village, Arlington Heights, Virginia. Sojourner Truth traveled to Kansas in 1879 to urge blacks to apply for land from the government. Later, she returned to Battle Creek where she died in 1883. Her grave site has been chosen for her commemoration in the absence of any other site with physical remains relevant to her career.

SOJOURNER TRUTH'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Sojourner Truth is of national historical significance because:

1. She exemplifies the crucial role black women have played in the struggle for freedom. She had a commanding public presence which impressed the high and low, including William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Abraham Lincoln.

2. She was of great importance to the success of the abolitionist and women's rights movements as a result of her many speaking tours.

3. She was a trusted and respected counselor to freedmen wherever she met and worked with them. Much of her work was directed towards their welfare and their enjoyment of all their newly acquired freedoms.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF SOJOURNER TRUTH

Sojourner Truth's grave and the monument to her at the site should be declared a national historic landmark.
Harriet Tubman is remembered as perhaps the most famous conductor on the Underground Railroad. All told, she led more than 300 persons, including her brothers, sisters, and her aged parents, from the Deep South to freedom—sometimes as far north as Canada. She made nineteen trips to the South and never was she caught nor one of her "passengers" lost. At one point, rewards for her capture totalled $40,000. In between trips South, she led the rescue of the fugitive slave, Charles Nalle, in Troy, New York, in 1859. She was lionized by the New England reformers and intellectuals. She was privy to the plans of John Brown and had planned to join him at Harper's Ferry but a cataleptic seizure kept her from their rendezvous. During the Civil War, she aided the Union Army as a spy, nurse, cook, and guide. From Port Royal, South Carolina, early in June 1863, she guided and directed a detachment of 150 blacks in a raid up the Combahee River, destroying Confederate mines, storehouses, crops, and plantations, and liberating nearly 800 slaves. After the war, she returned to her home in Auburn, New York, to continue her humanitarian labors. In 1908 she established her Home for Aged and Indigent Negroes on property she had purchased at auction and which she deeded to the A.M.E.Z. Church. The church owns the property today and uses it as a small museum and as the residence for the local A.M.E.Z. pastor.

HARRIET TUBMAN'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Harriet Tubman is of national historical significance because:

1. She is the best known, and probably was the most successful, single conductor on the Underground Railroad. Through her efforts more than any other single individual, black slaves were able to escape to freedom in the North. She made nineteen trips to the South and rescued more than 300 slaves.

2. She continued her humanitarian activities long after the end of slavery in her efforts to aid the poor and the aged and to establish schools for freedmen.

3. She served in the Civil War as a spy, nurse, cook, and guide. She was largely responsible for a successful raid by blacks from Port Royal, South Carolina which resulted in the liberation of nearly 800 slaves.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF HARRIET TUBMAN

The Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged should be designated a national historic landmark. The property should also be studied for possible inclusion within the National Park System. The acreage on which the home stands could easily accommodate a visitor center, parking facilities, and whatever other development might later be determined useful. In addition to a plaque noting Harriet Tubman's achievement, a monument to her should be erected on her property.

The Harriet Tubman Home is a popular stop for visitors even though a visit takes some time to complete, since only a few visitors can enter the museum at one time. Bus loads of school children visit the site each year and there is a great need for expanded facilities. The town of Auburn distributes a pamphlet regarding Harriet Tubman through the Chamber of Commerce and a plaque commemorating her, erected by the citizens of Auburn, is outside the city courthouse. She and William Seward, whose house is a national historic landmark, are Auburn's best known citizens.

Harriet Tubman is buried in Auburn's Fort Hill Cemetery. Her grave would probably be visited by most people who visit her Home for the Aged and vice versa.
XXVII.

NAT TURNER
c. 1800-1831
The Richard Porter House
State Highway 712
Near Cross Keys, Virginia (Southampton County)
AND
Southampton County Courthouse
Main and Court Streets
Courtland, Virginia (Southampton County)

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.

Thomas Jefferson

Nat Turner's revolt involved fewer slaves than the great Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey conspiracies; hence, whites were caught unawares and some sixty were killed before the revolt was suppressed. Although Nat Turner's revolt lasted only two days, August 22-23, 1831, its effects reverberated for years thereafter. The most immediate reaction to the revolt was a reign of white terror in Virginia which quickly spread to other states in the south and north. Blacks were "tortured to death, burned, maimed and subjected to nameless atrocities." New revolts were anticipated throughout the South and suspicion was especially focused on black preachers, teachers, and the whole class of free blacks as potential instigators of revolts yet to come. Laws were passed in both the North and South which placed new and harsh restrictions on blacks both slave and free. The Richard Porter House was one of those visited by Turner's men during the rebellion. Upon their arrival, however, no one was found at the house. Warned by their mulatto slave girl, Mary, the Porter family had escaped to nearby woods and thereby avoided making Turner's acquaintance. Although other houses involved in the rebellion are extant, the Porter House is the best for commemorative development and would be easily accessible to visitors. The Southampton County Courthouse is an additional site for Turner's commemoration although there is some question as to whether the present structure was actually standing at the time of Turner's "trial."

NAT TURNER'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Nat Turner is of national historical significance because:

1. In the best of the American revolutionary tradition, he exemplifies the universal right of oppressed men to strike a blow for freedom in the face of tyranny. At a time when the emancipation of slaves and the redress of grievances for black men seemed impossible, Turner was not deterred from his determination to revolt against injustice and see his people freed.

2. His revolt was a moral success in the degree to which it marked a new tone in the abolitionist crusade against slavery, even though Turner and his men were unable to complete their work themselves.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF NAT TURNER

The Richard Porter House should be declared a national historic landmark. The property should be fully restored and the site studied for possible inclusion within the National Park System. The restored house could be used as a combined visitor center and museum containing historical materials relating to Nat Turner and the slave community of Southampton County of the nineteenth century. Highway 58, which has a historical marker regarding the Nat Turner insurrection near where the event occurred, should be renamed the Nat Turner Highway along that same portion of road.
Ida B. Wells-Barnett was a daring civil rights advocate in Tennessee in the 1890s. As editor and co-owner of the weekly Memphis Free Speech, she carried on a tireless crusade for justice which brought her a wide readership among blacks and the enmity of whites. Despite threats against her, she continued her efforts to see justice done her people. Wells was particularly interested in seeing the end of lynchings. Often first on the scene after a lynching, she kept up a careful record of facts surrounding each lynching of which she learned. Through a series of publications and speeches she set out to acquaint whoever would listen, with the truth about lynching. In 1892 her revelation of how three Memphis blacks had been lynched merely because they had become successful grocers and proved too competitive for whites, brought on white violence once again. This time her paper's office was destroyed and she was forced to flee for her life. After eventually settling in Chicago, she continued to play an active role in the community. She continued to write and crusade against lynching. She also organized women's clubs in New England and Chicago, two of which, the Ida B. Wells Women's Club and the Alpha Suffrage Club, were firsts for black women. Mrs. Wells-Barnett was an organizer of the NAACP, and an official of the Afro-American Council. Ida B. Wells-Barnett's Chicago home was chosen as a site for her commemoration because, although a Memphis site would have been preferable, no known Memphis site has physical remains associated with her career.

IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT'S NATIONAL HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Ida B. Wells-Barnett is of national historical significance because:

1. Her careful cataloguing of lynching incidents provided an invaluable document for the NAACP's anti-lynching campaign and support of the Dyer anti-lynching bill.

2. As an outspoken journalist she was able to publicize events important to her black readers and enlist their support in efforts to bring about social reform despite vociferous opposition to her work.

3. She was a tireless crusader for women's rights and was responsible for establishing several clubs devoted to improving the condition of women, especially black women, in the United States.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT

Ida B. Wells-Barnett's Chicago home should be designated a national historic landmark. It is recommended that a plaque with a bust of Mrs. Wells-Barnett should be placed on the house.
CHAPTER III

AN EVALUATION OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE'S TAXONOMY AND CRITERIA FOR THE DESIGNATION OF HISTORIC SITES

The NPS taxonomy is essentially ethnocentric. It is organized to cover American history from a white American's perspective. With the exception of Indian Americans, non-European ethnic groups are treated in sub-themes, and facets of sub-themes; that is to say, afterthoughts to the main focus of concern which is white American history.

Theme 2 - European Exploration and Settlement is clearly exclusive. Only the Spanish, French, English, Scandinavians, Dutch, and Russians are considered. Non-European explorers are denied even a facet of a sub-theme. What of the Indians who explored the country centuries before the first white man arrived on America's shores? Where are explorers of African descent, men such as James P. Beckwourth, George Washington Bush, Jean Baptiste DuSable, and Estevanico to be considered? Evidently the assumption has been made that only white men explored this country since there is no theme included in the taxonomy to cover Non-European Exploration and Settlement.

Theme 3 - Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775, as stated earlier, should include a major facet dealing with slavery. Black men in America during this period had everything to do with the physical development of the English colonies, their political, diplomatic, and their military affairs. Slavery is not introduced into the taxonomy until Theme 9 - Society and Social Conscience, and then it is only a facet of a sub-theme. In view of the impact slavery had, not only on the English colonies, but
every period of American history to follow, it certainly merits more detailed attention.

The major problem with Theme 4 - Major American Wars, and Theme 5 - Political and Military Affairs, is not the delineation of the wars and the political and diplomatic events surrounding them, but the selective study they have been given. The role of non-whites in America's wars, her politics, and diplomacy, has not been explored in the sites the NPS has studied and commemorated for their importance to American history. Once again there seems to have been the assumption that once the white role in the war, diplomatic, or political event has been established, American history has been told.

Theme 6 - Westward Expansion, 1763-1898, reads well. If in its study by the NPS it is remembered that other than white men settled, trapped, mined, farmed, and explored in the West, it can also be commemorated well. Theme 8 - Contemplative Society, and Theme 9 - Society and Social Conscience, are good themes. Two of the three NPS commemorations of sites important to Afro-American history are included in Theme 9. Our hope is that such commemoration continues, not just in Theme 9, of course, but all the themes.

Theme 7 - America at Work, has a startling omission in Sub-Theme a - Agriculture. The sub-theme is supposed to "emphasize the historical practices and techniques of farming" and yet there is no mention of slavery. The sub-theme has a facet for "Plantation Agriculture, since 1607" but still no reference to slavery. Slavery, among many other things, provided a technique for farming -- especially on plantations.

There appears to be a marked reluctance on the part of the NPS to openly deal with some of the less appealing aspects of American history, especially slavery. By refusing to face it, however, nothing is solved. The "side-stepping" must continue every time a Southern plantation is considered for commemoration, or a battle site from the Civil War, or the
home of a Southern politician such as John C. Calhoun. Although the past cannot be changed, it can be honestly faced, and the future can be made differently.

The NPS criteria for the determination of historic sites is architecturally biased in its application and therefore is discriminatory, by making it extremely difficult to qualify those sites which are directly associated with the Afro-American contribution to the history and development of this country. Buildings do not make history, except for a history of architecture. People make history. While it is unquestionably true that people are the ones responsible for buildings, architectural history is a relatively minor aspect of American history. Far more important are the ideas and philosophies people create which shape men’s minds and guide their actions, and which in the long run certainly have a more profound effect on history than any edifice, even if it is preserved for milleniums to come, is ever likely to have. To commemorate American history through American buildings alone, displays an extremely limited understanding of what history is.

In answer to the assertion that the real problem in preservation is one of inclusiveness, that if different types of buildings, from every period of American history, in every area of the country were designated historic sites, the result would be the commemoration of American history; it must be pointed out that unless such buildings could be found for every ethnic group in America, from every historical period, across the country, the result of such commemoration would not be American. And, if by some miracle these buildings were found, and the use of the word "American" legitimatized, the resultant commemoration would still only be one of American architecture, not American history and would best be represented in the American Building Survey Program.

Afro-Americans, in common with several other ethnic minorities in the United States, have few historic sites with physical remains because of two factors — slavery and racism.
There are many reasons why this is so, but the most encompassing explanation for Afro-Americans is their history as slaves in this country. Freedom is essential for any people or culture to develop and prosper. Slaves were without material wealth. They were compelled to devote their labors to the establishment of white men's wealth. Many of the structures which have now been declared historic by Anglo-Americans were built by black men although that aspect of their history is almost never mentioned. The end of slavery did not result in an equalization of opportunity for blacks to receive an education, obtain employment, or participate in the political process on the same level with whites. While it is true that more blacks became educated, more of them found jobs of their choosing, and more of them played a role in their own government, there continued a gross disparity between their opportunity for achievement and that of whites. That same disparity continues today. Although blacks own more property today than they did during slavery, there is no question that they still have less of an opportunity to receive an education, that will result in their obtaining a job, that will pay a high enough salary to allow them to purchase property or erect buildings. If they are fortunate enough to have the money to purchase property or to build, they still must often contend with prejudice against them by real estate agents, bank loan managers, construction firms, and others. These are facts that must be faced if historic commemoration is ever to be representative of American people and American history. The opportunity for material success has not been, and is not now, equal for all American people. It is therefore, grossly unfair to operate a system of historic commemoration that is biased towards material things. Such a system perpetuates, rather than seeks to rectify, the inequities of the past.

In addition to its bias toward architecture, the NPS criteria is not sufficiently attuned to the importance of social history. For example, Section C of the Criteria of National
Significance states:

Structures or sites which are primarily of significance in the field of religion or to religious bodies but are not of national importance in other fields of history of the United States, such as political, military, or architectural history, will not be eligible for consideration.

Social history should be included with the other fields of political, military, and architectural history. The black church has been historically the most dominant and enduring institution in the black community. It has provided spiritual solace and temporal security for millions of black people. A brief digression on the history of the black church may help illustrate this point.

During slavery, church meetings were often the only times the slaves could congregate. In addition to the religious aspects of these meetings, they also had political and social significance. It was often during church services that, by songs and other signs, slaves learned of the Underground Railroad, the fate of those who had gone before them, and how they too might escape. Socially, particularly after slavery, the church meetings meant a chance for training in industrial and domestic skills, as well as seeing friends and learning news of others. The black church was responsible for the development of black religious music which is one of the truly American art forms. The slave preacher, often able to read and write, established a pattern of leadership in the black community which has been carried down to the present day.

Primarily in the North, before public schools were established for blacks, free black church members, both adults and children, were instructed to read the scriptures and thereby were provided with the rudiments of an education that would otherwise have been denied them. As the writer Sterling Brown has put it, the blacks were so eager to learn that, "taking advantage of every chance, the free Negro frequently left Jonah waiting and the Walls of Jericho standing while he fathomed the mysteries of the alphabet." The black
church historically has been the heart of the black community. The nomination of a black
church as an historic site is therefore far more significant than just the commemoration of
a group of people with a particular set of religious beliefs.

Section D states the following:

Birthplaces, graves, burials, and cemeteries, as a general rule, are not eligi-
ble for consideration and recognition except in cases of historical figures of
transcendent importance. Historic sites associated with the actual careers and
contributions of outstanding historical personages usually are more important
than their birthplaces and burial places.

How is "transcendent importance" determined? What individual or group makes this
decision? The ABC suggests that section D be revised to include figures of national im-
portance for whom no site suitable for commemoration, other than a grave site or cemetery,
remains.

The fifty year rule expressed in section E, in addition to the problems of determining
"transcendent importance", as discussed above, would most assuredly result in the perma-
nent loss of many Afro-American historic sites if it were strictly enforced. Section E reads
as follows:

Structures, sites, and objects achieving historical importance within the past
50 years will not as a general rule be considered unless associated with per-
sons or events of transcendent significance.

Afro-American historic sites with physical remains are seldom so well-preserved and
unthreatened by "redevelopment" programs that it can be assumed they will survive for fifty
years from the time they are first identified. It is therefore imperative that they be nomi-
nated for commemoration as soon as they are found.

There have been several inconsistencies in the application of the NPS criteria for
Anglo-American sites already commemorated. The site of the flagpole from which the
American flag was raised in Sitka, Alaska; the site of the first Pacific Coast cannery in
Broderick, California; the restaurant on the site of the building which housed the first commercial telephone exchange in New Haven, Connecticut; and the site of Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond, are all national historic landmarks. It would appear that the criteria expressed do not reflect hard and fast rules. On the state and local level, a marker indicates where the temple of the Latter-Day Saints would have stood had it not been built in Salt Lake City, and the site of the first Roman Catholic mass in the northern Rocky Mountains has been approximated and marked on the plains of Sublette County, Wyoming. Both these sites are included on the National Register of Historic Places. These are only a few examples of the vagaries in the application of the NPS criteria, but they indicate that both the NPS taxonomy and criteria can serve as guides to the commemoration of historic sites and are not inflexible laws.

The ABC has tried so far as possible to conduct its research within the restraints of the NPS taxonomy and criteria but the experience has often been like trying to attach a rider to the main bill. It is the ABC's hope that the NPS' taxonomy and criteria will be revised and applied in such a manner as to maximize recognition of the contributions of all Americans to American history.
CHAPTER IV

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

AND

CONCLUSIONS

There are several ways that the goal of more Afro-American sites can be achieved. As a start, the Park Service should make a concerted effort to hire black historians, as well as historians of other minorities, to work in every phase of its historical research. It is difficult to understand why the historical research staff of the National Park Service, in 1973, still has not been integrated. Black, brown, yellow, and red historians could do much to increase the awareness of the present staff in terms of the breadth and complexity of American history.

An adequate library of secondary source materials on the histories of all of America's ethnic groups should be made available to all Park Service historians and they should be required to use it -- not as an "extra" or a "sidelight" to the main point of their research, but as an absolute necessity to any discussion of American history. This practice could result in a sensitivity to the broad and varied texture of American history that might lead these historians to read and evaluate their research, and that of the states making nominations to the National Register, for objectivity, inclusiveness, and "American-ness". It would be a tremendous achievement if the NPS historians could just come to recognize that Anglo-American history and American history are not the same thing, but that Anglo-American history is only a part of American history. Acceptance of this single fact alone,
would have a revolutionary effect on the type of research that comes out of the Park Service in the future.

A series of special seminars on the history of Afro-Americans and other minority groups might also be very helpful. Consultants could be engaged to conduct these seminars and offer guidance on how to carry out the research of American history. The ABC would be happy to help arrange any seminars on Afro-American history that the NPS might wish.

There needs to be a thorough re-evaluation of all the landmark sites and units of the Park Service to insure that the historical interpretations at each include the complete history of the site. This is particularly important for military sites since they are the most obvious offenders with incomplete historical interpretation. In addition to changing the pamphlets, audio-visual programs, exhibitions, and markers at these sites, an intense retraining of the tour guides is essential. It has been said that since the tours are relatively short, the guides cannot talk about everything and are forced to make certain omissions. While it is true that the information gained by the guides on these tours is usually superficial, the inclusion of the complete scope of the site's history, no matter how abbreviated, is possible. The excuse of limited time does not explain the selective exclusion of any mention of Afro-Americans at sites which they helped make historically important. The revision of the history presented at historic sites is essential if the NPS does not wish to perpetuate a distorted picture of American history.

The NPS review boards for the determination of historic sites should be racially mixed. A racial mixture is also important for the various state review boards which nominate sites to the National Register. Unless the composition of these bodies is changed, it is unlikely that other than Anglo-American sites will receive adequate consideration.
It would be very helpful if the NPS would take a firm lead in directing the state organizations to begin the study and nomination of other than Anglo-American historic sites in their localities. It was very seldom during the course of the ABC's first year of Afro-American historic site identification, that a State Historic Preservation Officer was able to offer any information about Afro-American sites in his state, knew any Afro-American scholars in his state, or had other than Anglo-Americans on his site nomination and review boards. This is a lamentable situation and one that should certainly not be allowed to continue. So long as the historic preservation program in this country is supported by American taxpayers, it should involve all Americans and preserve the history of them all.

The reconstruction of many Afro-American sites is essential because of the historical deprivations of Afro-Americans which have severely limited their accumulation of property, the threat of urban renewal against much of what, despite the odds, they have been able to obtain, and the aesthetic biases of Anglo-American architectural historians who view these remains. Reconstruction is the only way that some very important Afro-Americans can have sites for their commemoration. And, there are too many important Afro-Americans whose lives and work are significant to the history of this country for them to be forgotten simply because their houses or places of business are now gone.

The NPS could do much to educate local communities throughout the country about the programs available for the identification, restoration, and preservation of historic properties. This could be done through literature, films, and other resources including a referral service for interested groups to government programs able to help them in historic preservation. This kind of education would be invaluable because it is the local communities that insure the ultimate success or failure of commemorative programs. They need to become
more aware of the value of their neighborhoods and to appreciate more fully the impor-
tance of their historical heritage.

An expanded use of historic site facilities would also be an excellent way to increase
the public interest in historic commemoration. Sites that possess adequate space could be
used for activities associated with the performing arts, for symposiums, and as special
classrooms for school groups. Such use would create an opportunity for professionals of
various disciplines to meet and work together more closely. Such use of historic sites,
besides increasing the sensitivity between these groups, could also increase the public
appreciation of their future educational role in a modern-day society. Students studying
some aspect of American history could spend a period of time actually working at a site
connected with their research. This would certainly make their study more meaningful
and the site more useful to the public. In view of the coming Bicentennial celebrations,
these recommendations should be implemented without delay so that they can be included
with the Heritage theme of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

In conclusion, the ABC would like to express its appreciation to the NPS for the
chance to assist it with an important and very interesting project. Historic sites relating
to Afro-American history have been greatly neglected by the NPS nationally and by its
State Historic Preservation Officers locally. The situation is a very serious one but is by
no means irremediable. The ABC is gratified that it has an opportunity to assist the NPS
in identifying some of these neglected sites. It is our hope that in the near future the num-
ber of historic sites important to Afro-Americans, that are commemorated by the NPS, will
greatly increase. We have enjoyed our work very much despite some of its difficulties. We
believe that the task we are engaged in is worthwhile and we look forward to what we may
accomplish in the future.
CONTRIBUTORS

The ABC was very fortunate to have had the assistance of many fine scholars in the course of its research. These individuals, many of whom have published works on the subjects of our study, are listed below. An asterisk is used to indicate those works by our contributors which were used in the bibliographies for several of our historic site nominations.

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