“The (Fort) Monroe Doctrine,” 1861

“Can't come back now massa
Dis chile's contraband

Come back you black nigger

THE (FORT) MONROE DOCTRINE.

First Confiscation Act: “Chap. LX - An act to confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes,” August 6, 1861
“I’m sorry to have to drop you, Sambo, but this concern won’t carry us both!” October 12, 1861
Proclamation Revoking General David Hunter’s
General Order No. 11 on Military Emancipation of
Slaves, May 19, 1862 (Pg.1)

By the President of the United States of America.
A Proclamation.

Whereas there appears in the public prints
what purports to be a proclamation of Major
General Hunter, in the words and figures
following, to wit:

...
Proclamation Revoking General David Hunter’s General Order No. 11 on Military Emancipation of Slaves, May 19, 1862 (Pg.2)

Proclamation Revoking General David Hunter’s General Order No. 11 on Military Emancipation of Slaves, May 19, 1862 (Pg.3)

The resolution in the language above quoted was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and now stands as an authentic, definite, and solemn pledge of the nation to the states and people most immediately interested in the subject matter. To the people of those states, and now earnestly appeal. I do not argue. I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. The strong tendency to a too prompt disposal of slaves in the South, inapparent, you can portray without your own family, I can not. You can portray it without knowing a hair of white or black. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproach upon any act, keeping not the plantation. The change in conditions would come gently as the spring of heaven, not rending or wounding anything. Will you not embrace it? So much young blood not been known, by one effort, to advance time, as in the providence of God, it is now your high privilege to see. May the next future

**Second Confiscation Act: “Chap. CXCV - An Act to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion...,” July 17, 1862 (Pg.2)**

be adjudged guilty thereof, shall suffer death, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; or, at the discretion of the court, he shall be imprisoned for not less than five years and fined not less than ten thousand dollars, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; and so shall be levied and collected on any or all of the property, real and personal, excluding slaves, or the said person so convicted shall be the owner of the property, shall be seized and conveyed to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall hereafter in any manner, by force, violence, or by any other means, engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or shall give aid or comfort to the same, or shall engage in, or give aid and comfort to, or by any means, effecting the same, or shall engage in, or give aid and comfort to, any such existing rebellion or insurrection, or by any means, cause the same to be committed, such person shall be punished by imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, or by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and by the liberation of all his slaves, if any he have; or by both of said punishments, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That every person guilty of either of the offenses described in this act shall be forever insuable and disqualified to hold any office under the United States.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That this act shall not be construed in any manner to affect the provisions of the said law relating to persons or property of the United States before the passage of this act.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the seizure of all the property of the United States, stocks, bonds, and all the persons hereafter named in this section, and to apply and use the same and the proceeds thereof for the support of the army of the United States, that is to say:

First. Of any person hereafter acting as an officer of the army or navy of the rebels in arms against the government of the United States.

Secondly. Of any person hereafter acting as President, Vice-President, member of Congress, judge of any court, cabinet officer, foreign minister, commissioner or consul of the so-called confederate states of America.

Thirdly. Of any person acting as governor of a state, member of a convention, legislature, or judge of any court of any of the so-called confederate states of America.

Fourthly. Of any person who, having held an office of honor, trust or profit in the United States, shall hereafter hold an office in the so-called confederate states of America.

Fifthly. Of any person hereafter holding any office or agency under the government of the so-called confederate states of America, or under any of the several states of the said confederacy, or the laws thereof, whether such office or agency be national, state, or municipal in its nature or character: Provided, That the persons, thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly above described shall have accepted their appointments or elections since the date of the pretended ordinance of secession of the state, or shall have taken an oath of allegiance to, or to support the constitution of the so-called confederate states.

Sixthly. Of any person who, owning property in any loyal State or Territory of the United States, or in the District of Columbia, shall hereafter assist in any way to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes, U.S. Congress, pp. 589-592, 17 July 1862. **Courtesy of Library of Congress**
Second Confiscation Act: “Chap. CXCV - An Act to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion...,” July 17, 1862 (Pg.3)
THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS. Sess. II. Ch. 200, 201. 1862.

eighteen hundred and sixty-one, as authorizes the appointment of additional aides-de-camp, be, and the same is hereby, repealed. But this repeal shall not be construed to as to deprive those persons already appointed, in strict conformity with said act of the fifth of August, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, from holding their offices in the same manner as if it had not been repealed.

SEC. 20. And be it further enacted, That the different regiments and independent companies heretofore mustered into the service of the United States as volunteer engineers, pioneers, or sappers and miners, under the orders of the President or Secretary of War, or by authority of the commanding general of any military department of the United States, or which, having been mustered into the service as infantry, shall have been reorganized and employed as engineers, pioneers, or sappers and miners, shall be, and the same are hereby, recognized and accepted as volunteer engineers, on the same footing, in all respects, in regard to their organization, pay, and emoluments, as the corps of engineers of the regular army of the United States, and they shall be paid for their services, already performed, as is now provided by law for the payment of officers and non-commissioned officers and privates of the engineer corps of the regular army.

SEC. 21. And be it further enacted, That any alien, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who has enlisted or shall enlist in the armies of the United States, either the regular or the volunteer forces, and has been or shall be hereafter honorably discharged, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, upon his petition, without any previous declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and that he shall not be required to prove more than one year's residence within the United States previous to his application to become such citizen; and that the court admitting such alien shall, in addition to such proof of residence and good moral character as is now provided by law, be satisfied by competent proof of such person having been honorably discharged from the service of the United States as aforesaid.

SEC. 22. And be it further enacted, That there shall be added to the Adjutant General's department, by regular promotion of its present officers, one colonel, two lieutenant colonels, and nine majors; and that the grade of captain in said department shall thereafter be abolished, and all vacancies occurring in the grade of major shall be filled by selection from among the captains of the army.

Approved, July 17, 1862.

CHAP. CCI. — An Act to amend the Act calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasion, approved February twenty-eight, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and the Acts amendatory thereof, and for other Purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever the President of the United States shall call forth the militia of the States, to be employed in the service of the United States, he may specify in his call the period for which such service will be required, not exceeding nine months, and the militia so called shall be mustered in and continue to serve for and during the term so specified, unless sooner discharged by command of the President. If by reason of defects in existing laws, or in the execution of them, in the several States, or any of them, it shall be found necessary to provide for enrolling the militia and otherwise putting this act into execution, the President is authorized in such cases to make all necessary rules and regulations; and the enrolment of the militia shall in all cases include all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and shall be apportioned among the States according to representative population.

July 17, 1862.

1862, ch. 86.

When militia are called forth, their term of service to be specified, not to exceed nine months.

Militia to be mustered in, &c.

The President to provide for enrolling the militia in certain States.

Enrolment to include whom, and how appointed.

Militia Act, July 17, 1862 (Pg.2)

“Chap. CCI - An act to amend the Act calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasion, approved February twenty-eight, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and the Acts amendatory thereof, and for other Purposes,” U.S. Congress, pp. 597-600, 17 July 1862.

Courtesy of Library of Congress
THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS. Sess. II. Ch. 201. 1862.

SEC. 10. And be it further enacted, That each army corps shall have the following officers and no more attached thereto, who shall constitute the staff of the commander thereof: one assistant adjutant general, one quartermaster, one commissary of subsistence, and one assistant inspector general, who shall bear, respectively, the rank of lieutenant colonel, and who shall be assigned from the army or volunteer force by the President. Also three aides-de-camp, one to bear the rank of major, and two to bear the rank of captain, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, upon the recommendation of the commander of the army corps. The senior officer of artillery in each army corps shall, in addition to his other duties, act as chief of artillery and of ordnance at the headquarters of the corps.

SEC. 11. And be it further enacted, That the cavalry forces in the service of the United States shall hereafter be organized as follows: Each regiment of cavalry shall have one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, three majors, one surgeon, one assistant surgeon, one regimental adjutant, one regimental quartermaster, one regimental commissary, one sergeant major, one quartermaster sergeant, one commissary sergeant, two hospital stewards, one saddle sergeant, one chief trumpeter, and one chief farrier or blacksmith, and each regiment shall consist of twelve companies or troops, and each company or troop shall have one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, and one supercargo or second lieutenant, one first sergeant, one quartermaster sergeant, one commissary sergeant, five sergeants, eight corporals, two teamsters, two farriers or blacksmiths, one saddler, one wagoner, and seventy-eight privates; the regimental adjutants, the regimental quartermasters, and regimental commissaries to be taken from their respective regiments: Provided, That vacancies caused by this organization shall not be considered as original, but shall be filled by regular promotion.

SEC. 12. And be it further enacted, That the President be, and he is hereby authorized, to receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent, persons of African descent, and such persons shall be enrolled and organized under such regulations, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws, as the President may prescribe.

SEC. 13. And be it further enacted, That when any man or boy of African descent, who by the laws of any state shall own service or labor to any person who, during the present rebellion, has levied war or has borne arms against the United States, or adhered to their enemies by giving them aid and comfort, shall render any such service as is provided for in this act, be, his mother and his wife and children, shall forever thereafter be free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, That the mother, wife and children of any man or boy of African descent shall not be made free by the operation of this act except where such mother, wife or children one service or labor to some person who, during the present rebellion, has borne arms against the United States or adhered to their enemies by giving them aid and comfort.

SEC. 14. And be it further enacted, That the expenses incurred to carry this act into effect shall be paid out of the general appropriation for expenses.
Chap. CCI - An Act to allow and pay to the State of Missouri the amount of money expended by said State in the arming and paying of Troops employed in the Suppression of Insurrections against the Laws of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the State of Missouri shall be entitled to a credit against the direct tax apportioned to said State by the “act to provide increased revenue from imports, to pay interest on the public debt, and for other purposes,” approved August fifth, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, for all sums of money expended by said State in the arming, equipping, subsisting, and paying of troops organized under the ordinances of the convention of said State, passed during the year eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and employed in concert with the federal authorities in suppressing insurrection against the United States, and enforcing the laws thereof.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount due to said State for moneys so expended, the Secretary of War shall, immediately after the passage of this act, by commission or otherwise, cause the accounts to be examined, and a report made to him of the amount due, which being approved by the Secretary of War, and by him certified to the Secretary of the Treasury, the amount thereof shall be allowed to said State, and deducted from the amount apportioned thereto by the aforesaid act, and the remainder only, if any, shall be collected as therein prescribed: Provided, That, in the adjustment of accounts under this act, no greater rate of compensation shall be allowed than was provided for by the laws of the United States applicable to the arming, equipping, subsisting, and payment of volunteers, in force at the time of the enrolment of such troops of Missouri.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That if said State shall assume and pay into the treasury the balance of said direct tax, if any, at such time as may be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, or should said expenditures be found to be equal to the tax, the deduction or discount of fifteen per centum, as prescribed in the fifty-third section of the said revised act, shall be allowed on the whole amount thus apportioned.

Approved, July 17, 1862.

Chap. CCIV. - An Act for the better Government of the Navy of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, from and after the first
Notice of issuance of Proclamation emancipating slaves in States in rebellion on January 1, 1863. (61c)

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by Proclamation, designate the States, and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and
the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress, entitled
"An act to make an additional Article of War," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be proclaimed as an additional article of war for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

"ARTICLE. — All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article, shall be dismissed from the service."

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage."

Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

"Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort to the same, or to the Confederates within the lines of the army, and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States, shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again be held as slaves.

"Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service."

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe,
obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.
Print of Emancipation Proclamation by President Abraham Lincoln, 1865

Lincoln, Abraham, “1861-1863; Proclamation of emancipation by the President of the United States, [C. A. Alvord],” 1865. Courtesy of Library of Congress
Joint Resolution Submitting the 13th Amendment to the States, February 1, 1865
“Negroes Leaving the Plough,” March 26, 1864

Portrait of Harriet Tubman, between ca. 1871 and 1876

Lindsley, Harvey B., “[Harriet Tubman, full-length portrait, standing with hands on back of a chair],” between ca. 1871 and 1876. Courtesy of Library of Congress
Men Standing On Railroad Track in Northern Virginia, ca. 1862

African-American Teamsters in Bermuda Hundred, Virginia, 1864

African Americans Collecting Bones of Soldiers Killed in Cold Harbor, Virginia, April 1865

Group of Soldiers in Front of Tent in Camp Cameron, between 1861 and 1865

“Polishing the General’s Britches,”
between 1861 and 1865

Officers from the 4th Colored Infantry at Fort Slocum, April 1865

Storming Fort Wagner, July 5, 1890

“The Negro as a Soldier in the War of the Rebellion” Pamphlet, 1897 (Pg.1)

In the disastrous affair of Olustee, Florida, February 20th, 1864, the redeeming feature appears to have been the conspicuous gallantry of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. That regiment was hurried into action at the very crisis of affairs. It checked the onward sweep of a victorious enemy, and covered the retreat towards Jacksonville in a thoroughly creditable manner, as I am told, under the immediate direction of Colonel Edward N. Hallowell. In this battle the Eighth U. S. Colored Infantry lost three hundred and ten dead, wounded and missing,—the missing mostly dead or wounded left on the field,—one of the severest regimental losses during the war.

Honey Hill, S. C., November 30th, 1864.

This assault, in its main features, was a repetition of Wagner. The only approach attempted to the rebel batteries and intrenchments was the narrow cutting through which the road crossed the swamp. Through this defile five companies of the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts were ordered to storm the enemy's works. The order is not free from the charge of down-right recklessness. Against the concentrated fire of artillery and musketry at one hundred yards' range the five companies charged in vain, were rallied twice and then withdrawn with a loss of twenty-nine killed and one hundred and fifteen wounded, or one half the officers and one third of the enlisted men engaged. A useless slaughter, not compensated for by some brilliant fighting both before and after the charge.

In passing, I desire in affectionate remembrances to simply give the names of Captain William Dwight Crane

and Lieutenant Winthrop Perkins Boynton, who were chums in Harvard College, officers in the same company, devoted friends, who seemed always to move, to think and to act in beautiful accord, and who here fell together in a common death.

Besides these, the more important actions, there were many minor affairs, not large enough to be dignified by the name of battles, but entirely sufficient to test the mettle of the men as soldiers. In these, our Massachusetts regiments appear to have been uniformly successful. There were reconnaissances and raids, rifle pits were charged and captured, prisoners were taken, and the resources of the enemy removed or destroyed. There is not time, nor is it necessary, to mention more than the conspicuous service rendered by the colored troops in the other military departments.

PORT HUDSON.

At Port Hudson and at Milliken’s Bend, Louisiana, the official reports commend the colored troops for steadiness in maintaining positions and for heroism in charging the batteries of the enemy.

In a paper read before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, by General John C. Palfrey, the conduct of the black regiments at Port Hudson, June 27, 1863, is recorded in these forceful words: “Between the attacks of Weitzel and Angur an assault was ordered from our extreme right by the black regiments as a diversion. Their ground was very difficult and disadvantageous, and the garrison received them with special temper and exasperation. But they fought without panic, and suffered severely before falling back in good order. Their conduct and its indication of character and manliness made a profound impression.
on the army, and later through the country. The day should be one of the famous dates in the progress of their race.

PETERSBURG.

At the first attempt on Petersburg, Virginia, in June, 1864, Hinks' Division of the 18th Corps, under fire for the first time, carried the line of works in its front, and captured in succession seven pieces of artillery with great spirit and dash. This decided success of the colored troops gave to General Smith an opportunity to seize Petersburg, advantage of which, however, was not taken, whether through a misinterpretation of General Grant's orders, or because the city was believed to be untenable, is a matter of considerable debate.

CHAFFIN'S FARM AND FORT GILMER.

Paine's Division of the 18th Corps and Birney's Colored Division of the 10th Corps were conspicuously engaged at Chaffin's Farm, in the assault on Fort Gilmer and the intrenchments at New Market Heights. At Fort Gilmer they scaled the parapet by climbing upon each other's backs. A distinguished rebel general wrote at the time: "Fort Gilmer proved the other day that they would fight."

THE CRATER.

At the battle of the Crater, at Petersburg, July 30th, 1864, the colored troops were ordered in after the assault was a bloody failure. They failed to retrieve the disaster, but were in no way responsible for it. Their casualties in Ferrero's Division were 1327 killed, wounded and
IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

27

missing. The white soldiers in the Crater were permitted to surrender; many of the blacks were given no quarter.

NASHVILLE.

In the victory at Nashville, December 16th, 1864, the heaviest loss in any regiment occurred in the 13th U.S. Colored Infantry,—55 killed and 106 wounded: total 221. General George H. Thomas, the hero of that battle, a Virginian and at one time a slaveholder, when riding over the field, saw the dead colored troops commingled with the bodies of the white soldiers, and said, “This proves the manhood of the negro.”

Fox enumerates 52 battles and actions in which colored troops were prominently engaged, and from the same authority it appears that before the war closed there were 145 regiments of infantry, 7 of cavalry, 12 of heavy artillery, 1 of light artillery, and 1 of engineers: total 166. Of these, about 60 were brought into action on the battlefield, the others having been assigned to post or garrison duty. Fox makes the following judicial remark: “Of the regiments brought into action, only a few were engaged in more than one battle; the war was half over, and so the total of killed does not appear as great as it otherwise would have done. The total number killed or mortally wounded was 143 officers and 2751 men.”

The actual fighting done by the colored troops was not, under the conditions stated, inconsiderable. The indirect benefit to our armies was incalculable. When General Grant gathered together his forces to make the supreme effort that

1 Yan Hurn’s Life of Thomas, 347.
2 Fox’s Regimental Losses, 56.
culminated in the capitulation of General Lee, he added to his Army of the Potomac the white veterans that held the forts, the cities and the islands of the Atlantic Coast, as well as some of the more interior parts of the mainland. The vacated points must be held against the enemy by some one. They were so held by the colored troops. I am not able to state accurately the number of reinforcements thus contributed to the Army of the Potomac. Certainly the entire 10th Army Corps was relieved and sent to Virginia. It is probably safe to say that 10,000 men is not an over-estimate. When we remember that General Grant lost 60,000 men in 60 days, a number equal to General Lee’s effective army at that time, it well becomes a question worthy the serious attention of the historian what might have been the fate of Grant’s Army in the Wilderness had there been 40,000 fewer veterans than there were.

It remains to be recited that in the last desperate days of the expiring Rebellion the Confederate Congress passed a bill which provided that not more than twenty-five per cent of the male slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be called out. It is worthy of note that General Lee gave his unqualified advocacy of the proposed measure. Unfortunately the passage of the act had been so long delayed that the Confederacy collapsed before results were obtained. I wish it had been otherwise. I have no hesitation in saying that the slave regiments would have deserted en masse to the Yankees, and that the supposition that they would have fought for the Confederacy is hugely and grotesquely preposterous.

In conclusion, let us never forget the debt we owe to the colored soldiers. Let us always be willing to give

them whatever credit is their due. We called upon them in the day of our trial, when volunteering had ceased, when the draft was a partial failure and the bounty system a senseless extravagance. They were ineligible for promotion, they were not to be treated as prisoners of war. Nothing was definite except that they could be shot and hanged as soldiers. Fortunate indeed is it for us, as well as for them, that they were equal to the crisis; that the grand historic moment which comes to a race only once in many centuries came to them, and that they recognized it. They saw that the day of their redemption had arrived. They escaped through the rebel lines of the South; they came from all over the North; and, when the war closed, the names of one hundred and eighty-six thousand men of African descent were on the rolls.
MEN OF COLOR, TO ARMS! NOW OR NEVER!

This is our Golden Moment. The Government of the United States calls for every able-bodied colored man to enter the Army for THREE YEARS' SERVICE, and join in fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubts and darkness. But now the whole aspect of our relations to the white race is changed. Now therefore is our most precious moment. Let us rush to arms! Fail now and our race is doomed on this the soil of our birth. We must now awake, arise, or be forever fallen. If we value liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we love our country, if we love our families, our children, our homes, we must strike now while the country calls us to rise in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country believe that we are slaves, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we die with this stigma resting on our graves? Shall we leave this inheritance of shame to our children? No! A thousand times NO! We WILL Rise! The alternative is upon us; let us rather die free men than live to be slaves. What is life without liberty? We say that we have manhood—now is the time to prove it. A nation or a people that cannot fight may be pitied, but cannot be respected. If we would be regarded, Men, if we would forever silence the tongue of calumny, of prejudice and hate, let us rise now and fly to arms! We have seen what Valor and Heroism our brothers displayed at Port Hudson and at Milliken's Bend; though they are just from the gallows, poisoning grasp of slavery, they have startled the world by the most ardent heroism. If they have proved themselves heroes, can not we prove ourselves men? Are FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES? More than a million white men have left comfortable homes and joined the armies of the Union to save their country; cannot we leave ours, and swell the hosts of the Union, to save our liberties, vindicate our manhood, and deserve well of our Country?

MEN OF COLOR! All Races of Men—the Englishman, the Irishman, the Frenchman, the German, the American, have been called to assert their claim to freedom and a man's character, by an appeal to the sword. The day that has seen an enslaved race in arms, has, in all history, seen its last trial. We can now see that OUR LAST OPPORTUNITY HAS COME! If we are not lower in the scale of humanity than Englishmen, Irishmen, white Americans and other races, we can show it now.

MEN OF COLOR! BROTHERS AND FATHERS! WE APPEAL TO YOU! By all your concern for yourselves and your liberties, by all your regard for God and Humanity, by all your desire for Citizenship and Equality before the law, by all your love for the Country; to stop at no subterfuges, listen to nothing that shall deter you from rallying for the Army. Come forward, and at once Enroll your Names for the Three Years' Service.


“Men of Color to Arms! Now or Never!” 1863. Courtesy of Library of Congress
“One Cause, One Country - 45th Regt. U.S. Colored Troops,” between 1863 and 1865

“A man knows a man ‘Give me your hand, comrade! We have each lost a leg for a good cause; but, thank God, we never lost heart’,” 22 April 1865. [Courtesy of Library of Congress]
"Pardon. Franchise Columbia," August 5, 1865

"The Darkies Rally" Song, 1863 (Pg.2)

EX-SLAVE STORIES
(Texas)

FELIX HAYWOOD is a temperamental
and whimsical old Negro of San
Antonio, Texas, who still sees the
sunny side of his 92 years, in
spite of his total blindness. He
was born and bred a slave in St.
Hedwig, Bexar Co., Texas, the son
of slave parents bought in Missis-
pippini by his master, William Godlow.
Before and during the Civil War
he was a sheep herder and cowpuncher.
His autobiography is a colorful con-
tribution, showing the philosophical
attitude of the slaves, as well as
shedding some light upon the lives
of slave owners whose support of
the Confederacy was not accompanied
by violent hatred of the Union.

"Yes, sir, I'm Felix Haywood, and I can answer all those
things that you want to know. But, first, let me ask you this: Is
you all a white man, or is you a black man?"

"I'm black, blacker than you are," said the caller.
The eyes of the old blind Negro, - eyes like two murky brown
marbles - actually twinkled. Then he laughed:

"No, you ain't. I knewed you was white man when you comes up
the path and speaks. I just always asks that question for fun. It
makes white men a little insulted when you don't know they is white, and
it makes niggers all conceited up when you think maybe they is white."

And there was the key note to the old Negro's character and
temperament. He was making a sort of privileged game with a sportive
twist out of his handicap of blindness.

As the interviewer scribbled down a note, the door to the little
shanty on Arabella Alley opened and a backless chair was carried out on
the perch by a vigorous old colored woman. She was Mrs. Ella Thompson,
Felix' youngest sister, who had known only seven years of slavery. After a timid "How-do-you-do," and a comment on the great heat of the June day, she went back in the house. Then the old Negro began searching his 92 years of reminiscences, intermixing his findings with philosophy, poetry and prophecies.

"It's a funny thing how folks always want to know about the War. The war wasn't as great as folks suppose. Sometimes you didn't know it was gain' on. It was the endin' of it that made the difference. That's when we all wakes up that somethin' had happened. Oh, we knew what was gain' on in it all the time, 'cause old man Gudlow went to the post office every day and we knew. We had papers in them days jus' like now.

"But the War didn't change nothin'. We saw guns and we saw soldiers, and one member of master's family, Colin Gudlow, was gone fightin' - somewhere. But he didn't get shot no place but one - that was in the big tea. Then there was neighbors went off to fight. Some of 'em didn't want to go. They was took away (conscription). I'm thinkin' lots of 'em pretended to want to go as seen as they had to go.

"The ranch went on jus' like it always had before the war. Church went on. Old Mew Johnson, the preacher, seen to it church went on. The kids didn't know War was happenin'. They played marbles, see-saw and rode. I had old Buster, a ex, and he took me about plenty good as a horse. Nothin' was different. We get laid-smate (whipped) time on time, but generally life was good - just as good as a sweet potato. The only misery I had was when a black spider bit me on the ear. It swelled up my head and stuff came out. I was plenty sick and Dr. Brennan, he took good care of me. The wives always took good care of people when they was sick. Hospitals couldn't do..."
no better for you today.... Yes, maybe it was a black widow spider, but we called it the 'devil's bitter'.

"Sometimes someone would come along and try to get us to run up North and be free. We used to laugh at that. There wasn't no reason to run up North. All we had to do was to walk, but walk South, and we'd be free as soon as we crossed the Rio Grande. In Mexico you could be free. They didn't care what color you was, black, white, yellow or blue. Hundreds of slaves did go to Mexico and got on all right. We would hear about 'em and how they was goin' to be Mexicans. They brought up their children to speak only Mexican.

"Me and my father and five brothers and sisters weren't goin' to Mexico. I went there after the war for a while and then I looked 'round and decided to get back. So I come back to San Antonio and I got a job through Colonel Breckenridge with the waterworks. I was handling pipes. My foreman was Tom Flanigan -- he must have been a full-blooded Frenchman!

"But what I want to say is, we didn't have no idea of runnin' and escapin'. We was happy. We got our lickings, but just the same we got our fill of biscuits every time the white folks had 'em. Nobody knew now it was to lack food. I tell my children we didn't know no more about pants than a hawg knew about heaven; but I tells 'em that to make 'em laugh. We had all the clothes we wanted and if you wanted shoes bad enough you got 'em shoes with a brass square toe. And shirts! Mister, them was shirts that was shirts! If someone gets caught by his shirt on a limb of a tree, he had to die there if he weren't cut down. Them shirts wouldn't rip no more'n buckskin.
"The end of the war, it come jus' like that -- like you snap your fingers."

"How did you know the end of the war had come?" asked the interviewer.

"How did we know it! Hallelujah broke out --

"Abe Lincoln freed the nigger
With the gun and the trigger;
And I ain't goin' to get whipped any more.
I got my ticket,
Leavin' the thicket,
And I'm a-needin' for the Golden Shore!

"Soldiers, all at a sudden, was everywhere -- comin' in bunches,
crossin' and walkin' and ridin'. Everyone was a-singin'. We was all
walkin' on golden clouds. Hallelujah!

"Union forever,
Hurrah, boys, hurrah!
Although I may be poor,
I'll never be a slave--
Shoutin' the battle cry of freedom."

"Everybody went wild. We all felt like heroes and nobody had made
us that way but ourselves. We was free. Just like that, we was free. It
didn't seem to make the whites mad, neither. They went right on giving us
food just the same. Nobody took our homes away, but right off colored folk
started on the move. They seemed to want to get closer to freedom, as they'd
know what it was -- like it was a place or a city. Me and my father stuck,
stuck close as a lean tick to a sick kitten. The Budlows started us out on
a ranch. My father, he'd round up cattle, unbranded cattle, for the whites.
They was cattle that they belonged to, all right; they had gone to find
water 'long the San Antonio River and the Guadalupe. Then the whites gave
me and my father some cattle for our own. My father had his own brand,
7 B), and we had a herd to start out with of seventy.
"We knew freedom was on us, but we didn't know what was to come with it. We thought we was gain' to get rich like the white folks. We thought we was gain' to be richer than the white folks, 'cause we was stronger and knew how to work, and the white folks didn't and they didn't have us to work for them anymore. But it didn't turn out that way. We seen it, and we found out that freedom could make folks proud but it didn't make 'em rich.

"Did you ever stop to think that thinking don't do any good when you do it too late? Well, that's how it was with us. If every mother's son of a black had thrown 'way his hoe and took up a gun to fight for his own freedom along with the Yankees, the war'd been over before it began. But we didn't do it. We couldn't help stick to our masters. We couldn't no more shoot 'em than we could fly. My father and me used to talk 'bout it. We decided we was too soft and freedom wasn't goin' to be much to our good even if we had an education."

The old Negro was growing very tired, but, at a request, he instantly got up and tapped his way out into the scorching sunshine to have his photograph taken. Even as he did so, he seemed to smile with these blurred, dead eyes of his. Then he chuckled to himself and said:

"Warmth of the wind
And heat of the South,
And ripe red cherries
For a ripe, red mouth."

"Land sakes, Felix!" came through the window from sister Ella.

"How you carries on! Don't you be a-mindin' him, mister."