7-2014

Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era

Lauren H. Roedner '13
Gettysburg College

Angelo Scarlato

Scott Hancock
Gettysburg College

Jordan G. Cinderich '15
Gettysburg College

Tricia M. Runzel '13
Gettysburg College

See next page for additional authors

Follow this and additional works at: http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/libexhibits

Share feedback about the accessibility of this item.

Roedner, Lauren H. '13; Scarlato, Angelo; Hancock, Scott; Cinderich, Jordan G. '15; Runzel, Tricia M. '13; Lentz, Avery C. '14; Johnson, Brian D. '14; Fitch, Lincoln M. '14; and Seabrook, Michele B. '13, "Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era" (2014). Musselman Library Exhibits & Events. Book 2.
http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/libexhibits/2

This open access book is brought to you by The Cupola: Scholarship at Gettysburg College. It has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of The Cupola. For more information, please contact cupola@gettysburg.edu.
Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era

Description
Based on the exhibit *Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era*, this book provides the full experience of the exhibit, which was on display in Special Collections at Musselman Library November 2012- December 2013. It also includes several student essays based on specific artifacts that were part of the exhibit.

Table of Contents:

**Introduction** Angelo Scarlato, Lauren Roedner ’13 & Scott Hancock

**Slave Collars & Runaways: Punishment for Rebellious Slaves** Jordan Cinderich ’14

**Chancery Sale Poster & Auctioneer’s Coin: The Lucrative Business of Slavery** Tricia Runzel ’13

**Isaac J. Winters: An African American Soldier from Pennsylvania Who Fought at Petersburg** Avery Lentz ’14

**Basil Biggs: A Prominent African American in Gettysburg after the Battle** Lauren Roedner ’13

**Linton Ingram: A Former Slave Who Became a Notable African American Educator in Georgia** Brian Johnson & Lincoln Fitch ’14

**Uncle Tom’s Cabin Theatre Poster: Racism in Post-Emancipation Entertainment** Michelle Seabrook ’13

**Essay Bibliographies**

**Grand Army of the Republic**

**Exhibit Inventory**

**Acknowledgments**

**Keywords**
Gettysburg College, Musselman Library, Slaves, Slavery, United States Colored Troops, USCT, Civil War, African Americans, Emancipation, Citizenship, Freedom, Suffrage

**Publisher**
Gettysburg College

**Comments**
The exhibit showcased items from Angelo Scarlato's personal collection of Civil War, Slavery, United States Colored Troops, Gettysburg, and West Point artifacts.

The exhibit was curated by Lauren H. Roedner ’13 in conjunction with her senior capstones in History and Africana Studies.

This book is available at The Cupola: Scholarship at Gettysburg College: [http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/libexhibits/2](http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/libexhibits/2)
Selected student papers were graciously provided by the students of Professor Scott Hancock's course, Slavery, Rebellion and Emancipation in the Atlantic World in the Spring of 2013.

Authors
Lauren H. Roedner ‘13, Angelo Scarlato, Scott Hancock, Jordan G. Cinderich ‘15, Tricia M. Runzel ’13, Avery C. Lentz ’14, Brian D. Johnson ’14, Lincoln M. Fitch ’14, and Michele B. Seabrook ’13

This book is available at The Cupola: Scholarship at Gettysburg College: http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/libexhibits/2
SLAVES, SOLDIERS, CITIZENS: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era

From the collection of Angelo Scarlato  Curated by Lauren H. Roedner '13
## Table of Contents

Exhibit Dates: November 2012—January 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Angelo Scarlato, Lauren Roedner ’13 &amp; Scott Hancock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slave Collars &amp; Runaways: Punishment for Rebellious Slaves</td>
<td>Jordan Cinderich ’14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancery Sale Poster &amp; Auctioneer’s Coin: The Lucrative Business of Slavery</td>
<td>Tricia Runzel ’13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac J. Winters: An African American Soldier from Pennsylvania Who Fought at Petersburg</td>
<td>Avery Lenz ’14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basil Biggs: A Prominent African American in Gettysburg after the Battle</td>
<td>Lauren Roedner ’13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linton Ingram: A Former Slave Who Became a Notable African American Educator in Georgia</td>
<td>Brian Johnson &amp; Lincoln Fitch ’14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Tom’s Cabin Theatre Poster: Racism in Post-Emancipation Entertainment</td>
<td>Michelle Seabrook ’13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essay Bibliographies</td>
<td>Grand Army of the Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibit Inventory</td>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction
Angelo Scarlato, Lauren Roedner ’13 & Scott Hancock

Angelo Scarlato
As a collector, I have been purchasing and researching artifacts for over 35 years. Initially I focused on Gettysburg artifacts, but my interest expanded to include West Point, United States Colored Troops, and slavery artifacts as well. Each piece in my collection has significance, either as a historical object, or because of the people and stories associated with it. My emphasis is on individual slaves and soldiers themselves rather than slavery as an institution and slaves as an aggregate.

I contacted Dr. Jennifer Bloomquist, Director of the Africana Studies Program, and she was the catalyst of the project. Director of Special Collections, Carolyn Sautter, brought the project to Special Collections and I could not be more pleased. Lauren Roedner became the student curator and has done an amazing job interpreting the items in a historical narrative for the exhibit. Being a former educator, I am so happy that students and faculty can research the items and look for additional information about the people, places, and time frame. I believe knowing the personal stories of historical artifacts and the people who owned them makes their meaning much more powerful and relevant.

Lauren Roedner ’13
Angelo Scarlato’s collection was initially shared with me by Carolyn Sautter and Jennifer Bloomquist. They proposed a full exhibit of his collection to interpret dozens of African American artifacts, and they invited me to curate it. I was starting my senior year of college and was well on my way to finishing my History and Africana Studies majors, as well as my Civil War Era Studies minor, so did not have an abundance of time. However, for pieces of history as important and meaningful as these, the answer had to be yes!

In my mind, this wasn’t just any exhibit because this wasn’t just any collection. These incredible items demanded thought, consideration, and respect. My job was to take the collection and tell its’ story in a logical, powerful way. How to accurately tell the stories of slaves, United States Colored Troops, and newly legalized citizens? How to remain historically accurate to the trials of the nineteenth century while remaining aware of my twenty-first century audience?

I did a lot of thinking and even more planning. How could I properly and accurately tell the stories of the people connected to these artifacts? This is their history. I needed to make it accessible, while also giving it enough historical context, so that the full meaning of their stories could be felt by each visitor. I wanted visitors to get to know Isaac Winters’ story about fighting at the Battle of the Crater, and read Sall’s proof of freedom; to see Solomon Jackson’s discharge papers and to appreciate the meaning of Albert O. Robbins and John Stevenson being photographed with a local Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, the only non-segregated fraternal order of the late nineteenth century.

I selected stories based on three themes: slaves, Civil War soldiers, and citizens. Starting with plantation life, I included both items portraying punishment and confinement, as well as pieces produced by slaves, for slaves. Runaway slave posters, manumission papers, and anti-slavery propaganda helped tell the story of resistance and rebellion. Civil War Era artifacts told the stories of United States Colored Troops’ service, the songs they sang and the obstacles they worked to overcome. Some artifacts also explored the lives of contrabands-of-war, escaped or confiscated slaves who sought refuge in Union-occupied territories. Post-war items speak of citizenship, voting, veterans, and life in the late nineteenth century for African Americans in the United States.

The result of all this pondering and storytelling was Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era.

Scott Hancock
In the spring of 2013, the students in the course ‘Slavery, Rebellion, and Emancipation in the Atlantic World’ toured the exhibit Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era. The exhibit dovetailed with one of the key goals of the course: to not only understand the process of moving from slavery to freedom, but to view, as much as humanly possible, that process from the perspective of black men, women, and children. Accordingly, students chose an artifact, and conducted independent research on that artifact in order to place it—and, most importantly, the people connected to the artifact—in a historical context that would enable them to gain a deeper understanding of how individuals succeeded or failed to achieve some measure of freedom. Ultimately, the story the students sought to tell was how enslaved black people fought for humanity in a dehumanizing institution.

In the spring of 2013, the students in the course ‘Slavery, Rebellion, and Emancipation in the Atlantic World’ toured the exhibit Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era. The exhibit dovetailed with one of the key goals of the course: to not only understand the process of moving from slavery to freedom, but to view, as much as humanly possible, that process from the perspective of black men, women, and children. Accordingly, students chose an artifact, and conducted independent research on that artifact in order to place it—and, most importantly, the people connected to the artifact—in a historical context that would enable them to gain a deeper understanding of how individuals succeeded or failed to achieve some measure of freedom. Ultimately, the story the students sought to tell was how enslaved black people fought for humanity in a dehumanizing institution.

In the spring of 2013, the students in the course ‘Slavery, Rebellion, and Emancipation in the Atlantic World’ toured the exhibit Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era. The exhibit dovetailed with one of the key goals of the course: to not only understand the process of moving from slavery to freedom, but to view, as much as humanly possible, that process from the perspective of black men, women, and children. Accordingly, students chose an artifact, and conducted independent research on that artifact in order to place it—and, most importantly, the people connected to the artifact—in a historical context that would enable them to gain a deeper understanding of how individuals succeeded or failed to achieve some measure of freedom. Ultimately, the story the students sought to tell was how enslaved black people fought for humanity in a dehumanizing institution.
Slave owners have utilized slave collars as far back as ancient Rome as punishment for runaway slaves. The size, shape, and weight of the collars made it much more difficult for slaves to run, especially through wooded areas. Mr. William Armstrong of Louisiana reported seeing a slave wearing an iron collar that, "...while walking the streets, made it necessary for the slave to hold his hand to one of its sides, to steady it." Men were the primary victims of slave collars due to the fact that nearly ninety percent of runaway slaves in the 18th century were men under 39 years of age. In fact, when white men would see women subjected to such a "degraded" form of punishment, they were surprised.

Not only did the collars have an effect on those wearing them, but were also intended to frighten other slaves thinking of running away. Miss Heaps, a former Alabama slave, recalled in 1910, "I saw a boy bro’t back once. Dey put a piece o’ iron in his mouth dat run back o’ his head. He couldn’t eat or speak or spit. Den dey works him in de field till he mos’ dead. No, I didn’t run away, I was too afraid." Slaves were reluctant to flee the plantation knowing the dangers of being caught. To make capture more likely, slave masters started putting their names on slave collars such as the one in this collection marked "J.E. Middleton." Middleton was a wealthy South Carolinian who probably took his slave in this collar to war with him, as this collar was found at a Confederate campsite. The sight of a slave collar was intimidating in itself; wearing one was an excruciating punishment both physically and psychologically.

Almost every attribute of slave collars was individualized according to the will of the slave owner using them. The one commonality between most collars was that they were made of heavy iron and often had spikes of some sort that would encompass the wearer’s head. Common additions to a slave collar include gag bars, connecting pieces to other constraints on the slave’s body, and bells to alert the slave master in case of another escape attempt. There are even accounts of slave collars with lock-and-key to prevent the slave from eating for long periods of time while still working in the fields. Some collars were so tight that they were almost constantly choking the wearer; there is one in this collection that is a mere six inches wide for the slave’s neck to fit in. A Virginia merchant, Mr. Robert McDowell, gave a vivid account of a house slave wearing a collar:

I once saw a colored woman, of intelligent and dignified appearance… with an iron collar around her neck, with horns or prongs extending out on either side, and up, until they met at something like a foot above her head, at which point there was a bell attached. This yoke, as they called it, I understood was to prevent her from running away, or to punish her for having done so.

In addition to being chained down at night for months at a time and constantly humiliated, the slave collar was very effective in what it was intended to do. As slave owners refined their techniques, such as adding leather bands on the inside of collars to keep the slaves presentable during auction, slave collars and other 'obedience' devices tell a narrative of oppression and attempts to prevent slaves from finding searching for freedom.
Beginning in the colonial era and continuing into antebellum America, slave auctions epitomize the degradation of blacks in the United States. In general, slaves could be sold at auction in two different forums, one being the highly publicized public auction and the other being the private sale of slaves from one plantation to another. The public slave auction was, by far, one of the most terrifying and humiliating events in a slave’s life. Slave auctions usually included a physical inspection before the slave was forced to stand on the auction block while “planters would shout out their bids and the slave was sold to the highest bidder.” This extraordinarily degrading experience had repercussions for the slaves beyond the auction itself. The possibility of being sold at a moment’s notice disrupted the traditional family structure and further emphasized the belief that black individuals were nothing more than property. Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens exhibit includes advertisements for both a private and a public slave auction.

An auctioneer’s coin from 1846 advertises the business of W.W. Wilbur, a prominent auctioneer from Charleston, South Carolina. Most large auctioneers advertised their businesses for the local community, either by running ads in the local newspaper or distributing token coins like W.W. Wilbur. The coin is unique in that it served a dual purpose. Not only could Wilbur advertise with the small token, but the copper object served a practical purpose as well. The coin was worth the same amount as a penny and could be used as such when buying from other merchants. In this way, Wilbur’s small advertisements could reach a much larger audience. Hundreds of Wilbur’s coins are known to exist in the possession of coin collectors today. For this reason, it is believed that Wilbur likely had thousands of these advertisements made. There are a few small variations that have been found on the many W.W. Wilbur coins, implying that the tokens were minted numerous times.

This exhibit also includes a poster for a “Chancery Sale of Eight Likely Negros.” The poster advertises the sale of “3 likely young girls, from 12 to 14 years of age; 1 likely boy about 16 years old; 1 stout likely man, about 25 years old and 3 likely young boys” from a Tennessee estate, see page 8. This poster advertises the second way in which slaves were auctioned off. Unlike the slaves sold at W.W. Wilbur’s business, these eight people were being sold directly off their owner’s plantation, presumably to settle the estate of their master. Slaves lived in constant fear of being sold, both as a consequence of their own actions and as a consequence of outside forces. This poster suggests that it was outside influences, such as the death of an owner or a dramatic change in financial circumstances, which caused the sale of these “eight likely negroes.”

The wording of this document further enhances the degradation of these people by implying their suitability due to good health and a young age. Unfortunately, little more is known about this specific piece. However, the wording and design are similar to other posters of its time advertising the sale of slaves.

These advertisements open a door to the workings of slave auctions and the interactions between white and black Americans implying their suitability due to good health, pleasing disposition, and a young age. For whites, the auctioneer’s coin and chancery sale poster represented an investment opportunity that would enhance their overall wealth. For blacks, these objects represented the degradation of their race and the breakup of their families.
Runaway Slave Advertisement
Advertisements for missing slaves were common in Southern newspapers when owners were trying to retrieve their escaped property. This advertisement utilizes the iconic image of a runaway slave when Thomas Middleton from Loudoun County, Virginia, was hunting for his slave Sydnor. Middleton offers physical traits to better identify the runaway as well as a reward for his return.

Chancery Sale Poster
Advertising a chancery sale, this poster offers eight slaves; one adult, four teenagers, and three children, for sale as part of the estate’s property. The Tennessee estate may have been liquidated after the owner’s death, leaving the fair distribution of property to the Chancery Court.
When historians look at the Civil War, many believe it was a war to end slavery. At the beginning of the war however, many northerners as well as President Abraham Lincoln would have said it was a war to reunite the country, not abolish slavery. However, as the war progressed and casualties mounted, it became clear that this war was perhaps being fought for more than just states’ rights. When President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in fall of 1862, it freed slaves in the South in areas still controlled by the Confederacy. One real impact of this proclamation was seeing black troops being organized into units and fighting with courage and honor in the face of many skeptical white soldiers. One of these soldiers who proved himself in battle was a man by the name of Isaac J. Winters. Winters would find himself thrust into the carnage of war during Gen. Ulysses S. Grant’s Overland Campaign of 1864 against the Army of Northern Virginia.

Isaac J. Winters was born a freeman around the year of 1829 in Pennsylvania. Eventually, Winters made his home in the town of Westtown, Chester County, PA in 1860. When the war broke out in April 1861, he wasn’t immediately involved as a soldier as blacks were not initially permitted to serve in the Union Army. However, Winters was eventually drafted as a private into Company F of the 43rd U.S. Colored Troops. The recruits of this regiment were almost exclusively from Pennsylvania, and were organized and equipped at Camp William Penn. A few days after Winters’ company was assigned to the Ninth Corps in Maryland, his unit moved to the front. While marching through Washington DC, they attracted special attention as some of the first USCT soldiers in the Army of the Potomac. Through May and early June, the 43rd USCT found themselves in the very thick of the Wilderness Campaign and present for the carnage at Cold Harbor, proving their bravery in the face of the enemy.

Immediately upon arriving at Petersburg, Winters’ regiment was employed in fatigue duty, erecting fortifications and covered pathways, under almost constant enemy fire. For Winters and his fellow soldiers, the real trial by fire would come on July 30th, 1864. A tunnel was dug under the Confederate lines, filled with a huge amount of dynamite, and detonated that morning to create a huge crater. The Colored Division, including the 43rd USCT, was ordered to advance when the Confederates had regained their lines and readied for a vicious defense. The division moved gallantly forward in the face of decimating fire and charged toward the crest beyond. These brave black soldiers were met with fierce fire from the surviving Confederates. Even in falling back, the colored troops were raked with concentrated enemy fire and destruction of the black units seemed imminent without the Union line distracting the enemy away from the crater. Isaac J. Winters survived the Battle of the Crater with a shoulder wound after being struck by a shell fragment. He would return to the 43rd USCT on September 23, 1864 and survive the rest of the war.

After the war, Winters returned to Westtown to work on the Truman Forsythe Farm. More notably, he became a member of the George F. Smith Grand Army of the Republic Post #130, and also a Sextant for the Shiloh Church in Westtown. Winters would live out the rest of his life in peace in Westtown, and only made the papers when a local newspaper noted in 1867 when Winters won first at the Chester County Fair as the most rapid corn husker. Isaac J. Winters passed away years later in 1911 at the age of 82. Among his personal effects was an 1863 Springfield musket with his initials carved in the wood, its bayonet with scabbard, and a gold U.S. belt buckle. Isaac J. Winters’ heroic story serves as an example of the bravery of many black soldiers in the face of battle during the Civil War, demonstrating their success as soldiers and as freedmen.

Winters’ Rifle
Born in 1863, Private Isaac J. Winters of Company F, 43rd USCT, was a free farmer in Pennsylvania when he was conscripted into the Union Army on August 8, 1863. He was wounded by a shell fragment in a mine explosion at the Battle of the Crater in Petersburg, Virginia, but he later returned to duty. After the war, Winters was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic Post in Westtown, Pennsylvania. He died in 1911 at the age of 82. As a soldier, he carved his initials “I.J.W. CO. F 43” into the stock of his 1863 Springfield rifle musket.
Remembered in his obituary as one of Gettysburg’s prominent African Americans, Basil Biggs moved to Adams County a few years before the Civil War seeking an education for his children. He grew up in Maryland and learned to farm after his mother died when he was a young boy. In Gettysburg, he was known locally as a veterinarian and lived as a tenant farmer on the McPherson Farm west of Gettysburg where he reportedly aided fugitive slaves as part of the Underground Railroad. On a borrowed horse, Biggs fled town as the Confederate cavalry approached from the west. Upon his return after the battle, Biggs found his land inundated with dead and wounded soldiers—some eighty were initially buried on his farm—and his home being used as a field hospital. Starting in October of 1863, Biggs was hired by Samuel Weaver to “raise the [Union] dead and put them in coffins,” in and around Gettysburg for interment at the new Soldiers’ National Cemetery on the battlefield. His compensation was less than a dollar to exhume the decomposing remains of each soldier. In February, he and several other African American men removed at least eleven soldiers from their shallow resting place in a church cemetery in Hanover. Remains were loaded on wagons and returned to Gettysburg for proper burial. Some 3,500 Union soldiers were buried in the new cemetery, many of which were moved there by African American laborers like Basil Biggs. After the war ended, Biggs purchased the Frey Farm for his family, located at the center of the former battlefield. When cutting trees for new split rail fences to line his property, a white man approached him to delay his chopping. Biggs explained his fence quandary and showed the man the ‘bad,’ lead-filled parts he was cutting out of the sections of wood. The visitor, John Bachelder, the first official historian of the Gettysburg battle and a local man, tried to persuade Biggs to leave the clump of trees on the property. It was the infamous Copse of Trees, or High Water Mark of the Confederacy, that twelve thousand of Pickett’s Confederate men charged toward on July 3, 1863. Veterans would be visiting this site for the rest of their lives, according to Bachelder, and Biggs could make a great deal of money leaving the historic trees for postently rather than using them for fences and firewood. Biggs left many of the remaining trees, for he had likely only cut out two ‘bad’ sections of wood. Today, the Copse of Trees, as well as the Frey Farm, still stand where Basil Biggs and his family lived for years before selling the land to the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association and moving into town. Later in life, Biggs and his wife moved to a home on Washington Avenue, across the street from Pennsylvania College’s first academy building. It was at this home that Biggs died in 1906 as a leader in Gettysburg’s black community, a landowner, and a church elder of the A.M.E. Church.
In January, 1876, when Linton Ingram wrote his former master, freedmen in Georgia were waging a losing battle to ensure emancipation yielded real political, social, and economic opportunity. Congress seemed to promise hope when, in 1867, it asserted control over Reconstruction, paving the way for a new state constitution that guaranteed black men the right to vote, provided for free public education for all children, and in 1868 produced the most democratic state legislature in Georgia history. Federal assistance through the Freedmen’s Bureau offered freedmen basic necessities, built and organized black schools, and helped negotiate labor contracts with former masters. But white conservative Democrats perpetrated a campaign of anti-black, anti-Republican violence to regain control of state politics in 1870. By 1876, the Freedmen’s Bureau no longer existed, and continued intimidation, coercion, and fraud had allowed the Democrats to rewrite the state constitution, further curb black political power, and encourage unfair labor arrangements for blacks.

Linton’s letter reveals his continued resolve to forge a better life and the obstacles that forced dependence on his former master, Alexander Stephens. Linton was attending the Augusta Baptist Institute, a black college founded in 1867 amidst a campaign to found black schools across the state. Most schools shared the challenges of limited Northern aid, white repression, and poverty among their student bodies, but Ingram embodies the particular financial challenges posed by tuition to black higher education students. He clearly relied on the support of Stephens, who was willing to educate one of the few slaves that left his home, Liberty Hall, after the Civil War because he believed that providing for black education would help perpetuate a relationship of black dependence upon and subordination to whites – paternalism in a new form. The cost of tuition might also explain why Stephens could dictate whether or not Ingram could stay in school even when Dr. Roberts, the Institute’s president, offered to furnish provisions. But despite his lack of control over the situation, Ingram displayed a sense of optimism about his academic progress that placed within reach a teaching career at one of the many emerging black schools in the state. Unlike his former master, Ingram clearly saw education as a path to greater independence.
The theatre poster advertising a production of the play “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” adapted from the novel of the same name that was published by Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852. The novel expresses fiercely anti-slavery sentiments, and upon meeting Stowe, Abraham Lincoln remarked, “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war.” Although this is obvious hyperbole, it is true that Stowe’s work was widely read and provoked a variety of strong reactions. Advocates of slavery argued that it was inaccurate and one-sided, while abolitionists argued that its indictment of slavery, although a positive step, was not harsh enough. Non-radical anti-slavery advocates praised the book for its portrayal of the devastating realities of slavery and for putting a human face on the issue for readers in the North and those otherwise not intimate with the realities of the institution. The novel was first staged as a play in 1852 at Purdy’s National Theatre in New York City, and continued to run for many decades. This poster is from a production circa 1882-85. It is ironic that a play with an anti-slavery message humanizing blacks and recognizing the trials of slavery was advertised with a rather demeaning painting of two slave girls with exaggerated features. The 1880s was a period of intense racism, often portraying stereotypically exaggerated physical features such as nappy hair, big noses and lips, and clumsy limbs in popular minstrel shows. This poster is a prime example of the glaring unresolved issues blacks faced in the aftermath of emancipation.

Although the short period of Radical Reconstruction did bring possibilities for a more democratic and equitable Southern society to light, Redemption nearly succeeded in eradicating all of the progress that blacks had made both as individuals and as a community. Whites very narrowly defined freedom as nothing more than not being owned as slaves. Ex-Confederates wanted to create a dependent class of wage laborers to cultivate their plantations, and made every effort to force blacks into this role with taxes and a vicious cycle of credit and debt that most blacks could not break, illustrating the sometimes “hollow victory” of land ownership. Although black land ownership was significant in creating black autonomy, even those who owned land had difficulty rising out of poverty because they lacked the capital necessary to support themselves and to cultivate their land into profitable crops, and also had severely limited access to markets. Most freedpeople wanted to cultivate crops they could sell and live off of rather than work cotton fields, strongly resisting “growing the slave crop.” Working cotton fields gave blacks little opportunity to strive for economic independence while giving them no distance from the trauma and frustration of their slave days. All of these factors made the 1880s a difficult time for blacks, not slaves but yet not viewed as the “men” who were supposedly created equal, according to the U.S. Constitution. This theatre poster is a pertinent example of how blacks were viewed in the 1880s.
Essay Bibliographies

Slave Collars and Runaways

Chancery Sale Poster and Auctioneer’s Coin

Uncle Tom’s Cabin Theatre Poster

Isaac J. Winters

Basil Biggs

Linton Ingram’s Letter to Alexander Stephens

Veteran Medals
Medals were given to all veterans at the 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1938. These medals are for Civil War veteran Larkin Woodruff, (left) 50th USCT, and his “attendant” son, Clarence Woodruff. Unfortunately, Larkin died on June 10, 1938, only a few weeks before the 75th anniversary gathering at Gettysburg. Only about 1,870 Civil War veterans attended the last reunion.

This photograph is of the Cazenovia, New York Post of the Grand Army of the Republic. As a veteran’s fraternal organization, Civil War veterans continued meeting long after the war. Two African American men appear in this photo as members of the Cazenovia G.A.R. Post. The color bearer is Albert D. Robbins who served in the 55th Massachusetts. John Stevenson (third man from right in middle row) served in the 29th USCT.

Grand Army of the Republic
Exhibit Inventory

Case One
1. Wooden Ladle
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Additional Exhibit Pieces Not Shown
1. Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Slave Bill of Sale for Alfred, age 19, New Orleans, LA, 1858
3. Slave Bills of Sale for Joseph and Abram, South Carolina, 1855
4. Chancery Sale Poster
6. Muster Roll, Co. C, 30th USCT, June 1864
7. Reunion of National Association of Civil War Musicians
8. Muster Roll, 28th USCT, 1864

Ford’s Theatre Playbill (left)
Advertising Our American Cousin’s last performance at Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865. President Abraham Lincoln was in attendance in the presidential box when he sustained a mortal shot to the head by his assassin, John Wilkes Booth. This playbill was part of the second printing of advertisements for the event. It was saved by a fellow theatre-goer and witness to the assassination, Captain Elbert Hegeman, 13th NY Cavalry.

Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Case One
1. Wooden Ladle
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Additional Exhibit Pieces Not Shown
1. Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Slave Bill of Sale for Alfred, age 19, New Orleans, LA, 1858
3. Slave Bills of Sale for Joseph and Abram, South Carolina, 1855
4. Chancery Sale Poster
6. Muster Roll, Co. C, 30th USCT, June 1864
7. Reunion of National Association of Civil War Musicians
8. Muster Roll, 28th USCT, 1864

Ford’s Theatre Playbill (left)
Advertising Our American Cousin’s last performance at Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865. President Abraham Lincoln was in attendance in the presidential box when he sustained a mortal shot to the head by his assassin, John Wilkes Booth. This playbill was part of the second printing of advertisements for the event. It was saved by a fellow theatre-goer and witness to the assassination, Captain Elbert Hegeman, 13th NY Cavalry.

Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Case One
1. Wooden Ladle
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Additional Exhibit Pieces Not Shown
1. Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Slave Bill of Sale for Alfred, age 19, New Orleans, LA, 1858
3. Slave Bills of Sale for Joseph and Abram, South Carolina, 1855
4. Chancery Sale Poster
6. Muster Roll, Co. C, 30th USCT, June 1864
7. Reunion of National Association of Civil War Musicians
8. Muster Roll, 28th USCT, 1864

Ford’s Theatre Playbill (left)
Advertising Our American Cousin’s last performance at Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865. President Abraham Lincoln was in attendance in the presidential box when he sustained a mortal shot to the head by his assassin, John Wilkes Booth. This playbill was part of the second printing of advertisements for the event. It was saved by a fellow theatre-goer and witness to the assassination, Captain Elbert Hegeman, 13th NY Cavalry.

Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Case One
1. Wooden Ladle
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Additional Exhibit Pieces Not Shown
1. Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Slave Bill of Sale for Alfred, age 19, New Orleans, LA, 1858
3. Slave Bills of Sale for Joseph and Abram, South Carolina, 1855
4. Chancery Sale Poster
6. Muster Roll, Co. C, 30th USCT, June 1864
7. Reunion of National Association of Civil War Musicians
8. Muster Roll, 28th USCT, 1864

Ford’s Theatre Playbill (left)
Advertising Our American Cousin’s last performance at Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865. President Abraham Lincoln was in attendance in the presidential box when he sustained a mortal shot to the head by his assassin, John Wilkes Booth. This playbill was part of the second printing of advertisements for the event. It was saved by a fellow theatre-goer and witness to the assassination, Captain Elbert Hegeman, 13th NY Cavalry.

Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Case One
1. Wooden Ladle
2. Handmade Basket
3. Georgia Clay Ink Well

Additional Exhibit Pieces Not Shown
1. Diagram of a Slave Ship, c. 1800
2. Slave Bill of Sale for Alfred, age 19, New Orleans, LA, 1858
3. Slave Bills of Sale for Joseph and Abram, South Carolina, 1855
4. Chancery Sale Poster
6. Muster Roll, Co. C, 30th USCT, June 1864
7. Reunion of National Association of Civil War Musicians
8. Muster Roll, 28th USCT, 1864
Case Two: Plantation Life
1. Slave Bowl, Baton Rouge, LA
2. Pass for a Traveling Slave, Atlanta, 1864
3. Spiked Slave Shackles
4. Antebellum Sickle from a Georgia Plantation
5. The Daily True Delta, New Orleans, Louisiana
6. Auctioneer’s Coin, Charleston, SC
7. Receipt of Slave Purchase by W.J. Dickinson
8. Palmatario
9. Cat-O-Nine-Tails
10. Slave Shackles

Case Three: Rebellion
1. The Anti-Slavery Record
2. Runaway Slave Printing Block
3. Whipping Rope, c. 1700s
4. Advertisement for Runaway Slave Sydnor
5. “Any Holder But A Slave Holder” Potholder
6. Broken Slave Shackles
7. Proof of Freedom for Sall, 1803

Case Four
1. Copper Slave Collar
2. Iron Slave Collar with Three Sharp Spikes
Case Five: United States Colored Troops
1. 16th US Artillery Stereoview
2. USCT Cap Pouch, Raleigh, NC, 1865
3. Military Circular for Servants and Contrabands
4. U.S. Model 1841 Naval Cutlass, Fort Wagner, July 1863
5. "Gordon in his Uniform as a U.S. Soldier" Harpers Weekly, July 4, 1863
6. "The Battle of Milliken’s Bend" Harpers Weekly, July 4, 1863
7. "The Escaped Slave in the Union Army" Harpers Weekly, July 2, 1864
8. Solomon Jackson’s Discharge & Travel Expenses
9. U.S. Tactics for Colored Troops

Case Six: Post-Civil War
1. Charles Shott’s Discharge Papers, 1865
2. James Spence’s Enlistment Certificate at Camp William Penn
3. Receipt for Bounty Paid for James Spence’s USCT Service
4. Grand Army of the Republic, Cazenovia, NY
5. Surgeon’s Certificate for Veteran Pension
6. USCT Parade Photograph, Easton, PA, c. late 1800s
Slavery existed for centuries in America prior to the Civil War. Staple crops such as cotton and tobacco fueled the growing economic demand for more slaves through the Atlantic Slave Trade, which imported 600,000 slaves to America from Africa. By 1860, four million slaves lived in the United States, mostly in southern states. Treatment of slaves varied by owner, but it often included brutal, degrading punishments and an inhumane lifestyle. Chains, collars, shackles, and badges branded and bound slaves to their masters. They were bought and sold as commodities rather than treated as people. Few slaves were specifically skilled for a trade or were allowed to earn wages off the plantation, but many found agency in their oral traditions, religious beliefs and practices, and their few handmade possessions.

19th Century American Slavery

Slavery existed for centuries in America prior to the Civil War. Staple crops such as cotton and tobacco fueled the growing economic demand for more slaves through the Atlantic Slave Trade, which imported 600,000 slaves to America from Africa. By 1860, four million slaves lived in the United States, mostly in southern states. Treatment of slaves varied by owner, but it often included brutal, degrading punishments and an inhumane lifestyle. Chains, collars, shackles, and badges branded and bound slaves to their masters. They were bought and sold as commodities rather than treated as people. Few slaves were specifically skilled for a trade or were allowed to earn wages off the plantation, but many found agency in their oral traditions, religious beliefs and practices, and their few handmade possessions.

Case Seven: 19th Century American Slavery

1. Runaway Slave Advertisement, The Adams Sentinel, December 2, 1829
2. U.S. Naval Laws on the Slave Trade, 1826
3. Iron Pins
4. Price, Birch & Co, Dealers in Slaves
5. Handmade Woven Basket
6. Hand-carved Knife
7. Slave Identification Button with owner initials, “T.P.”
8. Slave Badge, Charleston, 1832
9. Queen Manilla from West Africa
10. Rattle-Shackle
11. Iron Wedge, Natchez, MS
12. Branding Iron
13. Inscribed Shackle, owner J.M. Middleton
14. Slave Collar
15. Slave Bill of Sale for Tecumseh, age 15, New Orleans, LA, March 5, 1859

Enlarged Slave Badge, Charleston, 1832
Resistance to slavery and the desire to abolish the peculiar institution spread during the 19th century. Public figures such as Frederick Douglass, a former slave, and John Brown, a staunch abolitionist, fueled the anti-slavery struggle. Slaves resisted their master’s control by breaking tools or taking longer to finish a task. Some rebelled by running away through the Underground Railroad to northern states, or even to Canada.

Attempts at gradual emancipation failed when the economic necessity of cheap labor insisted on the continuation of slavery. Instead, the abolitionist movement demanded immediate emancipation. Many argue this was a main cause of the Civil War. When President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation took effect on January 1, 1863 during the war, millions of slaves in Confederate states legally gained their freedom, and the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution freed all American slaves in 1865.
When the Civil War broke out, slaves fled their bondage and sought refuge behind Union lines. They were protected from the Confederate army and their former masters but were often subjected to life in government-run “contraband camps.” As confiscated or escaped property, these “contrabands” were from southern plantations and not legally emancipated yet. They fled or were taken to camps in Union-occupied towns. Many camps in Virginia and the District of Columbia were crude tenements or abandoned buildings. In addition to eating army rations and wearing confiscated clothing, contrabands earned wages working government farms or were placed in low-skilled jobs in the northern or western states. The Union Army worked in conjunction with volunteers to provide basic necessities, education, and advocacy for employment.

Case Nine
2. Receipt for Slave Labor in Richmond
3. Note Imprisoning a Slave for “Safe Keeping”
4. “Headquarters of Vincent Collyer, Superintendent of the Poor at New Berne, N.C.- Distribution of Captured Confederate Clothing to the Contrabands” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated
5. CDV of “Mammy” with Children, 1864
6. Tintype of “Invisible” Slave with White Child
7. Tintype of an African American Man
8. CDV of Howard with his Slave Guardian Emma Smith
9. Daguerreotype of “Mammy” Holding Master’s Child
10. CDV Older Woman after Emancipation
11. Daguerreotype of a Young Slave Child with Master’s Child
12. CDV of a Young Porter
15. “Morning Muster of the “Contrabands” at Fortress Monroe, On Their Way to Their Day’s Work” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated
United States Colored Troops

Freed slaves and free black men enlisted in the Union Army by the thousands after President Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation in the fall of 1862. Many people doubted the ability and bravery of African Americans in combat, but with each engagement African Americans proved themselves to be as courageous and honorable as white soldiers. General Order #143 confirmed the creation of the United States Colored Troops and their integration into the Union Army. After its formation, 85% of eligible African American men volunteered for duty, some 180,000 men, comprising approximately ten percent of the whole army. As Frederick Douglass said, “Once [you] let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States.”

Case Ten: United States Colored Troops

1. “The Colored Volunteers”, Song Written by a Private in 55th Massachusetts
2. Rifle, Bayonet & Belt Plate belonging to Isaac J. Winters, Co. F, 43rd USCT
3. Thomas Farr Enlistment Papers
4. Soldier Life and Every-day Battles on the Conduct of a Soldier
5. Endorsement of USCT Supplies, 3rd US Colored Cavalry, Vicksburg, MS, July 1864
6. Hospital for Colored Troops Listing Patients from the 30th USCT, City Point, VA
7. 5th MA Cavalry Watercolor by Stanton P. Allen
8. Discharge of Levi Richardson, 127th USCT, December 5, 1865
Gettysburg in the Civil War

For Gettysburg’s African American population, war brought change. Some, like Basil Biggs, found opportunity out of tragedy, contracting with the Federal Government to dig graves and haul bodies to the new Soldiers’ National cemetery. Others, like Margaret Palm, found security in their freedom thanks to the death of slavery at the war’s end, never to be molested again by slave catchers prowling the city on the Pennsylvania-Maryland border. Still others, like Edward Hopkins, son of Pennsylvania College’s janitor, fought for what Lincoln called, “a new birth of freedom,” ultimately winning that forward step on the road toward equality with the death of the Confederacy and slavery, buried in a common grave.

Citizenship

A series of Civil War amendments brought legal emancipation, citizenship and suffrage to all African Americans after the war’s bloody end in 1865. For the first time, former slaves could seek their own employment, own land, and register to vote as legal citizens. During the Reconstruction period after the war, many African Americans were educated, became entrepreneurs, or even sought elected office, giving them significant progress toward individual prosperity and equality.

Case Eleven: Citizenship & Gettysburg in the Civil War
1. “The First Vote” for African American Men
2. Basil Biggs at his Farm along Emmitsburg Road
3. Daguerreotype of a Young Woman
4. Northern Slave Daguerreotype
5. Modern Sculpture of Freed Arms with Broken Chains
6. “President Lincoln Riding Through Richmond, VA, Amid the Enthusiastic Cheers of the Inhabitants, April 4, 1865” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated, April 4, 1865
7. Ford’s Theatre Playbill, April 14, 1865
Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era

African American Legacy

By the late 19th century, many African Americans moved to northern cities or western prairies. Although hostile and unwelcome, the south was home for many individuals. African American freedom did not mean racial equality. According to a freedman, Houston Hartsfield Holloway, many “colored people did not know how to be free and white people did not know how to have a free colored person about them.” Reconstruction also brought hostility from discontented whites, a deluge of labor to the northern markets, and a severe lack of workers in agriculture in the South. Discrimination born in the first years after emancipation and the Confederates’ surrender only grew in the decades to follow. The infamous Ku Klux Klan was established in 1866 by Confederate veterans, which fostered white supremacy and racial segregation.

From the founding of the United States, individual African Americans have seen freedom, success, status, and heroism as the “first African American to __,” but the majority experienced life as slaves or second-class citizens. Violence, bigotry, and racism continues to followed African Americans on their journey for equality as free, educated citizens for more than a century.

Case Twelve: African American Legacy
1. Jefferson Shields, Cook and Servant for Confederate Army
2. “Uncle Mark” Thrash, “Uncle Sam’s Oldest Pensioner”
3. Linton Ingram, Letter to his Former Master
4. Post-Civil War Sharecropping Stereoviews
5. Receipt of Payment for Jack Little, African American Revolutionary War Soldier, 1782
6. Grand Army of the Republic Veteran Medals from the 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg
7. Wentworth Cheswell, First African American Elected Official
8. Henry Flipper, First African American West Point Graduate, 1877
9. Buffalo Soldier Knife
10. Theatre Poster for Uncle Tom’s Cabin, c. 1882
The full exhibit of Slaves, Soldiers, Citizens: African American Artifacts of the Civil War Era was made possible by the generous loan of Angelo Scarlato. His remarkable collection of primary source material on the 19th century African American experience, the Battle of Gettysburg, and Adams County Civil War history has been an invaluable teaching resource for Special Collections throughout the Sesquicentennial of the Battle of Gettysburg. But, more importantly, we are indebted to Angelo for sharing his vast knowledge on the artifacts, photographs, and documents that were selected for the exhibit with our student curator, Lauren Roedner, Class of 2013.

Lauren Roedner was an Africana Studies and History double major with a minor in Civil War Era Studies at the time this exhibit was created. Lauren has been tireless in her commitment to weaving these historical objects into a narrative honoring the journey made by slaves and USCT soldiers to become citizens in 19th century America.

Lauren’s vision for the exhibit would not have been possible without the generous support of Africana Studies. Jennifer Bloomquist not only recommended Lauren as the student curator, she arranged for her work hours on the exhibit to be funded by Africana Studies. We also are so grateful to Suzanne Gockowski for her enthusiastic promotion of the exhibit.

Many thanks to Scott Hancock and his students of HIST 346 Slavery, Rebellion and Emancipation in the Atlantic World for the essay content, Eric Lee ’15 for photography of the exhibit, Lauren Roedner for editing the catalog and Emily Wass for the design.

Special Collections is sincerely appreciative to the Sesquicentennial Committee and its co-chairs Jane North, Michael Birkner, and Peter Carmichael for introducing Angelo to Special Collections and for including the exhibit as one of the College’s Sesquicentennial events.

The Sesquicentennial Committee also graciously funded the printing of this exhibit catalog as a lasting remembrance of the exhibit.

Carolyn Huber Sautter
Director of Special Collections and College Archives
Musselman Library
Gettysburg College

May 2014