

THE UNION LEAGUE, BLACK
LEADERS, AND THE RECRUITMENT OF
PHILADELPHIA'S AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL
WAR REGIMENTS

Andrew T. Tremel

In 1848 the slave-turned-abolitionist Frederick Douglass wrote in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* newspaper that Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, “more than any other [city] in our land, holds the destiny of our people.”¹ Yet Douglass was also one of the biggest critics of the city’s treatment of its black citizens. He penned a censure in 1862: “There is not perhaps anywhere to be found a city in which prejudice against color is more rampant than Philadelphia.”² There were a number of other critics. On March 4, 1863, the *Christian Recorder*, the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, commented after race riots in Detroit, “Even here, in the city of Philadelphia, in many places it is almost impossible for a respectable colored person to walk the streets without being assaulted.”³

To be sure, Philadelphia’s early residents showed some moderate sympathy with black citizens, especially through the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, but as the nineteenth century progressed, Philadelphia witnessed increased racial tension and a number of riots. In 1848 Douglass wrote in response to these

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY: A JOURNAL OF MID-ATLANTIC STUDIES, VOL. 80, NO. 1, 2013.
Copyright © 2013 The Pennsylvania Historical Association

attitudes, “The Philadelphians were apathetic and neglectful of their duty to the black community as a whole.” The 1850s became a period of adjustment for the antislavery movement. Julie Winch writes, “In conceding that prejudice, and not their alleged degradation, lay at the root of the restrictions they faced, the elite acknowledged that they could not expect to achieve everything they hoped for through self-improvement.”⁴ A small, cohesive group formed in the 1850s that more actively lobbied the state for civil and political rights, taking a different approach from their predecessors. They were the same black leaders who mobilized the community to support the Union cause. Despite Philadelphia’s history and the unfavorable comments of Douglass, black leaders, and the *Christian Recorder*, the year 1863 appeared to be a significant turning point in the city’s race relations. That year, Philadelphia’s African Americans had the chance to serve in the Union army. This, many believed, would lead to acceptance and equality with the white citizenry.

In 1862, as opposition to the war grew throughout the North, wealthy white Philadelphians established the Union League. Although this organization formed to foster support for preserving the Union, it ultimately became the impetus for the recruitment of African American soldiers, laying the foundation for the city to raise more black regiments than any other northern city. This article will argue, however, that the Union League’s efforts would not have been successful without the cooperation and assistance of local African Americans and national figures like Frederick Douglass. He and other leaders spoke of the opportunities that military service could open. They hoped that this demonstration of patriotism and manhood would ease racial tensions and open the door to equal rights as citizens. This is not to diminish the importance of the Union League, but to contend that the whole recruitment process would have failed if African Americans were not willing to serve. This collaboration between whites and blacks led to the creation of some of the most successful black regiments in the Union army. Moreover, at the local level, the city’s white residents had no violent reactions despite initial opposition to the use of black soldiers. There was relative peace between Philadelphia’s communities at a time of great national crisis.

This article adds to the work of J. Matthew Gallman’s *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia during the Civil War*. Despite the war’s physical, economic, and emotional costs, the city’s residents maintained prewar routines. Gallman wrote that the city had a “complex system of private and public institutions” in the antebellum period that wartime associations built upon. The Union League, for example, can trace its origins to Republican

organizations of the 1850s. Just as the city's Republican Party did not dwell on the issue of slavery, it was not the League's primary focus. Its goal was to save the Union and it raised both white and black regiments to achieve this end.⁵

The Union League's wartime operations suggest that there were some short-term gains for Philadelphia's black community. Melinda Lawson concluded in *Patriot Fires* that "postwar conceptions of American identity and loyalty remained fluid." Though a comprehensive look at Philadelphia after 1865 is beyond the scope of this article, the war did mark a shift in nationalism in the sense that the color line was somewhat blurred during the Civil War. Black leaders cooperated with the Union League, which saw that the color of one's skin did not determine patriotism. Adding to this perception was the fact that Philadelphia's eleven black regiments were very successful from a military standpoint. The city was able to come together and achieve the government's war aims of preserving the Union and ending slavery. The Civil War was only a brief respite to racial tension, however. Discrimination and violence resurfaced after the troops returned home.⁶

With over 500,000 people in 1860, Philadelphia was the second-largest city in the nation. Worldwide, only London, Paris, and New York had a greater population. Most of the city's citizens were native born, and over 22,000 African Americans lived in the county. Politically, the city aligned itself with the Republican Party. In 1858 the People's Party, a coalition of Republicans and Know-Nothings, formed. It set aside the issue of slavery and focused on tariff reform. The People's Party's first mayoral candidate, Alexander Henry, won the 1858 election. During the Civil War, he earned a reputation for stamping out Southern sympathizers. In 1860 the city's ballots showed Abraham Lincoln as the People's Party's presidential candidate. While he attained 57 percent of the commonwealth's vote, only 52 percent of the city's residents cast their ballots for the Illinois Republican. Through the duration of the Civil War, the party focused on patriotism and Union rather than emancipation.⁷

After the start of the secession crisis, the city, like the rest of the country, hoped to avoid war. Early in 1861 "peace rallies" were held throughout Philadelphia. Residents continued their prewar activities as conflict loomed. Throughout the war, Philadelphians celebrated major national holidays, like the annual commemoration of George Washington's birthday, and immersed themselves in activities to help the war effort. For instance, the city hosted the Sanitary Fair in 1864 and raised over \$1 million for the Sanitary Commission. This organization was a predecessor to the modern Red Cross

and provided food, medical services, and other supplies to soldiers, particularly the injured. There was unquestionably a “persistence of localism and volunteerism” throughout the conflict. The founding of the Union League in 1862 fit into this paradigm. This institution combated the rising Copperhead movement. The term “Copperhead” was a derisive reference to the Peace Democrats, whose line of political thought attracted a number of Northerners as the economic and personal cost of the war mounted. Copperheads opposed the destruction of the South and wanted the Union restored *status quo antebellum*. The inactivity of the Union Army of the Potomac in the eastern theater that autumn also influenced antiwar sentiment.⁸

Near the end of 1862, many Philadelphians spoke openly about an end to the war with peace at all costs. The Union League formed in response to this attitude. George H. Boker, the secretary of the League’s Board of Directors, wrote in the first annual report, “The loyal men were everywhere depressed,” and they “proposed . . . to open a home for loyalty, where true men might breathe without having their atmosphere contaminated by treason.”⁹ On December 27, 1862, about 200 men signed the Union League’s charter, forming the organization to promote pro-Union views. Many of them were Republicans; fifty-one had formed the Republican Club in 1856. When the founders drafted the Union League’s charter, it included explicit support of the Republican Party. Two individuals protested and the members voted to remove the language, as the Union Democrats who joined supported Lincoln as far as winning the war and preserving the Union but for nothing more. The founders only extended membership to loyal, upper-class, white men and saw the League’s numbers grow to 536 in 1863. All its early members saw the Union League as a necessity to “maintain their social position.”¹⁰ An official history later acknowledged slavery as a cause for the war, but stated that the primary reason for the Union League was to support the Union war effort. A member reflected, “Patriotism has been under all circumstances the keynote action of the Union League.”¹¹ Even as January 1, 1863, the effective date of the Emancipation Proclamation, approached, the League’s focus was on preserving the Union and not yet on ending slavery. To some extent, attitudes evolved through the course of the war.

The Union League’s most significant task in its early months was the publication of pamphlets on various war-related themes, including a defense of President Lincoln’s suspension of *habeas corpus* and attacks on Copperhead organizations. Later pamphlets advocated the use of black soldiers. These pamphlets largely targeted the lower classes. By the end of 1864 the Union

League had distributed over 2 million leaflets. Furthermore, in the last two years of the war, they raised 10,000 white soldiers to the Union army.¹²

Members ultimately found that “loyalty, not race, defined a patriot.” By the spring of 1863, some members of the League had turned their attention to raising African American soldiers, believing that this would ultimately help accomplish the goal of preserving the Union. One member observed, “There were strong spirits in the Philadelphia Union League who were bent on demonstrating their wisdom and right to form [black] regiments.”¹³ The members were undoubtedly aware of the provision in the Emancipation Proclamation that allowed for the enrollment of freedmen into the army. However, this document was only an indirect influence on the League. The Philadelphians cited the successful recruitment of the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, the first two black units raised in the North, as their inspiration. There was some opposition within the Union League out of fear of “serious mistreatment” if the soldiers were captured. The Union League took two steps toward recruitment in the spring of 1863. First, the Board of Publications issued a pamphlet on the history of Pennsylvania blacks in military service. Second, the League prepared to petition the War Department for permission to raise three regiments.¹⁴

Initially, the Union League delayed its requests to the War Department because of the attitudes of many city residents, but resistance toward the enlistment of African Americans waned. Wealthy businessman and diarist George Fahnestock expressed a sentiment shared throughout the city when he wrote, “I only wish we had two hundred thousand Negroes in our army to save the valuable lives of white men.” Fahnestock observed, “The Negroes here are drilling, organizing into companies, holding meetings and will most probably form into regiments and be accepted as volunteers. Public opinion in this respect is undergoing a radical change, and if they make good soldiers, why not let them fight?” He saw that black soldiers could serve in some capacity, even if it was “digging ditches or laboring on entrenchments.” Others understood that the regiments counted toward state quotas, meaning there would be no state military draft if enough African Americans enrolled. The success of recruiting the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts mobilized white support in the city as well. By the time the Union League began its enrollment in late June 1863, 1,100 blacks had already left the city to join regiments elsewhere, including the Massachusetts regiments.¹⁵

As opposition to the use of black soldiers faded in Philadelphia, the Union League petitioned the War Department for permission to begin recruitment.

Initially, the War Department ignored the requests, but two important developments took place. On May 22, 1863, the War Department created the Bureau of Colored Troops, which facilitated enlistments throughout the country. Dudley Taylor Cornish contends that the bureau's founding meant that recruitment was no longer dependent upon "individual ambition or radicalism," but Philadelphia's operations relied heavily on local white activism and the assistance of the black community. The Bureau of Colored Troops appointed officers and mustered regiments directly into federal service; it was the Union League that carried out the work of raising the regiments. The War Department took little further action to aid or prevent the enlistment of black soldiers.¹⁶

In late May the War Department assigned Major George Stearns to the Philadelphia. One of the "Secret Six" who backed John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia) in 1859, Stearns had also helped to raise the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. With \$5,000 of federal money at his disposal to raise the regiments, Stearns established a headquarters on Chestnut Street and contacted the Union League. With the tacit approval of the War Department, the Union League formed the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Troops under the leadership of Thomas Webster. A number of influential members joined the board over the next few months, including Republican congressman William D. Kelley, Colonel Louis Wagner, later the commandant of Camp William Penn where recruits were trained, and George H. Boker of the Union League.¹⁷ On June 8, Stearns and the Supervisory Committee held a public meeting, which drafted a petition containing 276 names. The document informed the Bureau of Colored Troops that the Supervisory Committee would be the primary recruitment agency in eastern Pennsylvania and requested permission to raise three regiments of African American soldiers. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton approved the proposal three days later, and the Supervisory Committee received formal permission on June 26.¹⁸

The Supervisory Committee had to recruit and seek donors both inside and outside Philadelphia. An appeal on June 27 noted the Union League's realization that it would have to look beyond the Philadelphia area for success. Thomas Webster ultimately established various "recruiting stations" throughout Pennsylvania and neighboring New Jersey and Delaware. The advertisement also said that if there were a large number of African Americans willing to serve, "we can make this the centre of recruitment for the colored population of all the States where such enlistments are not permitted by the State authorities."¹⁹ Not only did Webster need to demonstrate the Union

League's willingness to facilitate recruitment, but he also had to convince white donors that blacks would make good soldiers. When Robert E. Lee's Confederate army entered Pennsylvania that month and the state called for emergency volunteers, Webster cited the willingness of African Americans to volunteer as a sign of their patriotism. Additionally, the Supervisory Committee appealed to patriotism by arguing that all available means should be used to defeat the Confederacy—a sentiment that became very popular throughout the North by the summer of 1863. Webster also penned an appeal for the famed abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, to spread the word of the Union League's efforts. The paper estimated that only 6,000 to 7,000 black Pennsylvanians were of age and physically capable to join the war effort. Though this could fill six to seven regiments, it was unclear how many would be willing to serve. Webster mentioned the black military successes at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, in May and June 1863, hoping to dispel Northern doubts that blacks had the ability to fight. He estimated the cost to recruit each regiment would be around \$10,000.²⁰

The Supervisory Committee ultimately received support from both black volunteers and white financiers that made their work a success. Thomas Webster wrote to President Abraham Lincoln on July 30 to inform him that he had received a number of "voluntary and very liberal donations in money" to defray their costs.²¹ The Supervisory Committee's report published early in 1864 showed a total of \$33,388 in donations. Donors included Thomas Webster and other Union League members, numerous insurance companies in Pennsylvania and Delaware, the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, and the Reading Railroad.²²

In 1863 the Union League only had permission to raise three regiments, but the War Department later authorized two more. By early February 1864 five regiments—the Third, Sixth, Eighth, Twenty-second, and Twenty-fifth United States Colored Troops (USCT) were full. The Union League was able to raise these regiments at a lower cost than Webster predicted. Webster and the Supervisory Committee raised five regiments at less than \$7,000 each. In contrast, New England recruiters spent \$60,000 to raise both the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts regiments. The Supervisory Committee was proud of its accomplishment in raising five regiments for roughly the same amount it cost Massachusetts to raise two. An official Union League history noted, "Philadelphia had the distinction of enlisting and equipping nearly 5,000 colored troops in shorter time and more economically than could be claimed elsewhere."²³

Philadelphia's work in mustering more black soldiers than any other city in the North was a significant achievement. James McPherson wrote that the

Union League was responsible for “some of the most intense recruiting.”²⁴ The majority of African American regiments formed in the occupied areas of the South. The free states of Massachusetts, Ohio, New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa contributed a total of twelve regiments, while Philadelphia (the only Pennsylvania city to form USCT regiments) raised eleven. However, this success would not have occurred if Thomas Webster and the Supervisory Committee had not looked outside of Philadelphia. Soldiers who joined from other states counted toward their native state’s quota, but the War Department credited the regiments toward Pennsylvania. Wherever the Union League’s operatives worked, they found African Americans eager to serve.²⁵ Lieutenant Oliver W. Norton of the Eighth USCT traveled to Delaware and wrote, “Our camp was thronged with visitors, and darkies who wanted to enlist. There are hundreds of them, mostly slaves, here anxiously awaiting for the recruiting officer.”²⁶

Recruitment efforts began in the Philadelphia area and spread into other parts of Pennsylvania and other Northern states. Regimental records list the soldiers’ birthplaces, which show that while there were undoubtedly slaves who migrated North before the war, many of the soldiers were born in free states. The first three regiments, the Third, Sixth, and Eighth USCT, show this trend. The number of Pennsylvania recruits decreased as the enlistment campaign continued into late 1863. The Third USCT contained 744 men by August 1863, each of whom mustered in at Philadelphia. The Third boasted the largest number of Pennsylvanians—418. Roughly half of them, 203, hailed from what today is the Philadelphia metropolitan area (Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia counties).²⁷

There were fewer Pennsylvanians in each of the other two regiments. Of the 808 soldiers in the Sixth, 315 were from Pennsylvania. There were 218 from the Keystone State among the 800 soldiers in the Eighth. Fewer soldiers claimed a birthplace in the Philadelphia area—127 and 53, respectively. All three regiments showed that a large number of soldiers joined from the central part of Pennsylvania, particularly the Lancaster area. There were 101 from Lancaster in the Third, twenty-three in the Sixth, and seventeen in the Eighth.²⁸

As word spread of the recruitment (through Union League propaganda and other media, such as the *Christian Recorder*), the Supervisory Committee found volunteers in other locations, primarily in the mid-Atlantic region (see table 1). Soldiers in the Sixth and Eighth also mustered in at cities outside of Philadelphia. For example, most of the Delaware soldiers enlisted in Smyrna, Delaware. There were 37 Delawareans in the Third, 78 in the Sixth, and 142 in the Eighth. New Jersey was another popular recruiting target,

THE UNION LEAGUE, BLACK LEADERS, AND RECRUITMENT

TABLE I. Birthplaces of USCT Soldiers

State	3rd	6th	8th	Total
Alabama	0	1	2	3
Arkansas	0	0	1	1
Canada	3	1	4	8
Connecticut	1	1	4	6
Cuba	0	0	1	1
Delaware	37	78	142	257
Georgia	0	4	1	5
Illinois	2	1	1	4
Indiana	22	2	0	24
Iowa	1	0	0	1
Kentucky	13	2	0	15
Louisiana	2	0	1	3
Maryland	66	56	82	204
Massachusetts	1	2	5	8
Mississippi	2	0	0	2
Missouri	2	0	1	3
New Jersey	38	46	72	156
New York	14	7	119	140
North Carolina	8	5	9	22
Ohio	13	3	4	20
Pennsylvania	418	315	218	951
South Carolina	3	1	1	5
Tennessee	4	3	1	8
Vermont	0	0	1	1
Virginia	37	50	58	145
Washington, DC	6	2	5	13
Totals	693	580	733	

Source: U.S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, "Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations, 3rd USCT Infantry," "Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations, 6th USCT Infantry" and "Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations, 8th USCT Infantry," vol. 1, Regimental Descriptive Book, RG 94, NA.

Note: The numbers do not add up to the full total of those who left Philadelphia, as the mustering officers did not always compile complete data on the enlistees.

providing 156 volunteers among the three units. The Union League, in its wide recruitment efforts, seemed to face little competition from other cities that may have had an interest in raising black troops. For example, the

Twentieth, Twenty-sixth, and Thirty-first USCT all formed in New York City. The Philadelphia Supervisory Committee was still able to recruit in areas of central and western New York and New Jersey. The publicity of the Union League's efforts, the willingness of white leaders to reach beyond Philadelphia, the rhetoric of black leaders, and the enthusiasm of soldiers to fight all aided in this broad effort. As Webster hoped, the city became a recruitment center for black soldiers.²⁹

To reach out to the African American community, the Supervisory Committee used a number of methods including public meetings, posters, and newspapers. A call to arms appeared on June 27, aimed strictly at African Americans. The document stated that even though the pay for an African American soldier was lower than that of a white soldier (\$10 a month for a black man instead of \$13) and the War Department prohibited bounties, winning freedom was an incentive to enlist. The Union League also published a small booklet with three articles: "Washington and Jackson on Negro Soldiers," "General Banks and the Bravery of Negro Troops," and "Poem to the Second Louisiana." The latter two pieces looked at the military success of African Americans at Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson. The authors remarked that it was a mistake to wait until so late in the war to appeal to blacks throughout the country. Whites and blacks hoped that the use of African Americans could turn the tide of the war in favor of Union. Frederick Douglass and other black leaders believed this and also thought that the use of black troops would guarantee the end slavery once and for all.³⁰

Early in 1863, African Americans throughout the North enthusiastically responded to the rhetoric of black leaders. The Supervisory Committee anticipated a similar reaction in Philadelphia. There was a large, well-publicized meeting held on July 6, 1863, at National Hall. Members of the Union League and local blacks, such as Octavius V. Catto and Jacob C. White, both graduates of the city's Institute for Colored Youth (a Quaker school for free blacks), coordinated the event. The speakers included Congressman William D. Kelley, suffragist Anna E. Dickinson, Professor Ebenezer Bassett of the Institute for Colored Youth, and Frederick Douglass. The audience consisted of blacks and whites, men, and women. The evening began with an address from Representative Kelley. Born in Philadelphia in 1814, Kelley served as the city's deputy prosecutor and a judge for the Court of Common Pleas. He ran unsuccessfully as a Republican for a city congressional seat in 1858, but won the seat two years later. At the July 6 meeting, Kelley became the first

white elected official to address a predominantly black assembly. He had two goals with his address, each echoing the Union League's main concerns: to encourage African Americans to enlist and to foster white support for recruitment. The congressman appealed to the masculinity of local blacks. He argued that African Americans had more opportunities than their "servile and menial" work as barbers, waiters, or tradesmen provided. He asked how they could be content with such work "when the profession of arms—the terrible but glorious work of war—invites you to acknowledged manhood, freedom, and honor?" Kelley commented that the soldier now had a chance to "prove his manhood to the world, and command the respect and gratitude of those of his fellow-citizens." He also noted that white activism led to Pennsylvania's 1780 gradual emancipation law. Not only did Kelley explain the need for white financial support, but he also called for their moral support. Realizing that black soldiers would be killed and maimed, he told whites to support black war widows and orphans in any way they could.³¹

Professor Ebenezer D. Bassett, a prominent black citizen, followed later in the evening and continued on similar themes. He said, "For generations, we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out." He continued, "cannot we leave [our homes], and swell the hosts of the Union, to save our liberties, vindicate our manhood, and deserve well of our countries?"³² Bassett indicated that the only way to assure the future recognition of African American equality was through military service.

Kelley and Bassett both understood that examining perceptions of manliness was important in encouraging enlistment. Traditionally, masculinity was associated with soldiering.³³ Military service was symbolic of white males entering adulthood. Slaveholders defended the peculiar institution through language that emasculated slaves, referring to them as "animals" or "children." One soldier recognized that serving in the military broke his race away from bondage: "Put on a United States uniform on his back," he said, "and the *chattel* is a *man*."³⁴ As Kelley said, war proves manhood. The traits of manhood in the nineteenth century included "independence, courage, the right to bear arms, moral agency, liberty of conscience, and the ability to protect and care for one's family." Slaveholders consequently denied blacks all of the characteristics defining their humanity, especially the qualities listed here. By enlisting in the Philadelphia units, African American men would carry arms and demonstrate courage. In an era when only white males were citizens, asserting manhood became fundamental in the hopes for postwar equality.³⁵

Such equality was lacking in the terms of service offered black soldiers. Inferior military pay for blacks suggested they were second-class citizens. Only months into his service, a soldier in the Sixth USCT commented on the pay issue, "When I was at home, I could make a living for [his wife] and my two little ones; but now that I am a soldier they must do the best they can or starve. It almost tempts me to desert and run a chance of getting shot, when I read her letters, hoping that I would come to her relief." He added, "It's a shame the way they treat us; our officers tell me now that we are not soldiers; that if we were we would get the same pay as white men. . . . Really I thought I was a soldier, and it made me feel somewhat proud to think that I had a right to fight for Uncle Sam."³⁶

Some white officers questioned the military capabilities of African Americans and whether they merited equal pay; nonetheless, most black men served competently under fire and were able to win supporters among army officers.³⁷ The soldiers understood contemporary perceptions of manhood—they needed to provide for their families, and many Northern freedmen were accustomed to doing so. Patriotism among the soldiers waned in the early months of their service because they realized the government was not recognizing their equality in pay. Feminist Anna E. Dickinson assured in her July 6 speech, "Ten dollars a month and no bounty are bad; slavery is worse." She declared that once Congress witnessed the bravery of African Americans, they would receive equal pay to white soldiers. By performing work equal to that of white men, black soldiers would prove their ability and, therefore, their manhood. Citizenship would then presumably follow, for Pennsylvania had taken away the right of blacks to vote in its Constitution of 1838. Congress took a step toward recognizing the wartime achievements of African Americans in 1864 when they authorized equal pay for black soldiers.³⁸

Frederick Douglass, the distinguished abolitionist and the keynote speaker at the July 6 meeting, also examined the link between soldiering and citizenship. He said of the black man, "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 which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."³⁹ Douglass was aware of black success on the battlefield. He had faith that similar success would come in the future as more African Americans donned the Union blue uniform.

Douglass noted that Pennsylvania had turned away black volunteers during the Gettysburg campaign. The state had called for volunteers, and

Philadelphia mayor Alexander Henry permitted the arming of local African Americans. However, the state's commander, Major General Darius Couch, refused to accept their service, and Governor Andrew Curtin would not overturn Couch's decision. Douglass argued that in spite of the state turning them down, they should try to fight instead for the Union. He said that the nation was greater than the state, and that if soldiers earned their citizenship by fighting for the Union, they would ultimately "secure . . . citizenship in the State."⁴⁰ This statement foreshadowed the Fourteenth Amendment (ratified in 1868), which extended national and state citizenship to freedmen.

Douglass concluded that military service was the only way to assure both freedom and citizenship. He had asserted since the beginning of the war that blacks needed to fight to prove their equality as men. He saw no other option in overcoming discrimination. The *Douglass Monthly* stated that "the black soldier secures manhood and freedom via civilized warfare," the same way white men obtained their adulthood.⁴¹ Carrying a musket was better than "mere parchment guarantees of liberty." He remarked in his July 6 address, "Should your constitutional right at the close of this war be denied, which, in the nature of things, it cannot be, your brethren are safe while you have a Constitution which proclaims your right to keep and bear arms." Douglass knew that by serving in the military African Americans had done their duty as citizens. In a city that saw fierce ante bellum race riots, the hint at protecting black rights with arms after the war resonated.⁴² Though black Philadelphians found themselves confined to their own community, Douglass, Bassett, and others saw military service as an effective way to earn equality and citizenship.

Black leaders, particularly Frederick Douglass, continued their activism in Philadelphia throughout the war. At Major Stearns's request, Douglass went to Washington to promote Philadelphia's work. He had meetings with Secretary of War Stanton and President Lincoln. In both encounters Douglass raised the issue of equal pay, but also noted that African Americans had a "cause quite independent of pay or place." The abolitionist understood that the institution of slavery and the future of his race were at stake in the war. He left his meeting later that day with Lincoln with confidence: "My whole interview with the President was gratifying and did much to assure me that slavery would not survive the War and that the Country would survive both slavery and the War." He saw the likelihood that the war would open new opportunities for African Americans.⁴³

National newspapers such as the *Christian Recorder* assisted Douglass, Stearns, and the Union League. On July 11 the *Christian Recorder* published a piece to encourage blacks, especially locals, to enlist at Major Stearns's Chestnut Street headquarters. The paper claimed that "blacks have been denounced as cowards" and called upon "all that can shoulder a musket" to disprove this notion. The accusation of cowardice opposed the masculine virtue of courage. The *Christian Recorder*, like Congressman Kelley and Frederick Douglass had done days earlier, called on men to defend their identity. The *Recorder* believed that 1,000 locals could contribute to the three Union League regiments, but it also called for men from its national circulation, fitting with the Supervisory Committee's plans to recruit both inside and outside of Pennsylvania. Another article in the *Recorder* declared, "It is the duty of the entire colored people of the North to support the war with arms." They understood, in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation, that the war was about redefining and not just saving the Union. Recruiters also used the *Anglo-African*, another black journal, to call for 5,000 volunteers. The paper noted that their stipend would be \$10 a month, but that they expected Congress to raise the payment to equal a white soldier's earnings. The editors hoped that the pending pay increase would serve as an incentive. Many had other motives to enlist.⁴⁴

African Americans had plenty of reasons to join the new regiments. Some soldiers wrote of their reasons in Northern newspapers, though most blacks were illiterate. Black soldiers fought for the preservation of the Union, some hoping that it would lead toward political and civil rights and for the liberation of their enslaved brethren. James McPherson writes that "free and slave alike, they fought to prove their manhood in a society that prized courage as the hallmark of manhood."⁴⁵ The writings of some of the soldiers once they left for the front show some continuity with the July 6 speeches of Kelley, Dickinson, and Douglass. Corporal Henry S. Harmon of the Third USCT wrote of the courage of the soldiers, stating, "If our friends of the city of Philadelphia could but look into our hospital and see the wasted frame of those who were but yesterday noble specimens of manhood, the fear that we were forgotten would never again enter our mind." Soldiers continued to hope that once the nation's white population recognized the manhood African Americans demonstrated on the battlefield, blacks would earn citizenship. Another soldier in the Third wrote in July 1865 while on duty in Florida, "By good behavior, we will show that we are men, and able to fill any position in life that we are placed in. There is only one thing I want, that is my vote; let us see what time will do."⁴⁶

The Union League's recruits reported to Camp William Penn, established on June 26, 1863, and under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Louis Wagner. Located eight miles from Philadelphia, near the home of Quaker abolitionist Lucretia Mott, this garrison saw more black soldiers (and white commanders) than any other training camp through the war. Over 11,300 soldiers and officers trained there. The fort's "very existence represented a victory over prejudice by a number of dedicated individuals."⁴⁷ It became a visible sign of local acceptance of African American soldiers. An officer remembered, "The stay at Camp William Penn was a very bright spot in my army experience. We were just in the suburbs of Philadelphia and went into the city often. Situated among the thoroughly enthusiastic Union people, our service with the colored men made us heroes to our good Quaker friends."⁴⁸

The presence of the camp brought regular visitors to see the soldiers drill. Reviews and flag presentations were very popular. Wealthy donors presented several of the Camp William Penn units with banners. Designed by black Philadelphia artist David Bustill Bowser, the regimental flags depicted such scenes as a black soldier holding a captured Confederate at his mercy and a black soldier protecting a Union signified by a white woman.⁴⁹ Both the *Christian Recorder* and *The Liberator* thoroughly covered a flag presentation for the Sixth USCT on September 4. "Friends of the troops," likely members of the Union League and the black Philadelphians who furnished the colors, delivered the flag to Colonel Wagner. The day's events also included a parade by the Sixth. Both newspapers discussed a speech by Robert Purvis, a local black leader and an aide to Major Stearns. The *Christian Recorder* noted Purvis's remarks on their future mission, which perhaps were a forecast of the Sixth's wartime experience: "Soldiers, under this flag, let your rallying cry be for God, for freedom, and our country. If for this you fall, you fall the country's patriots, heroes, and martyrs."⁵⁰ The publicity of such events and the white population's attendance at them show that there was a widespread acceptance of using black troops.

Not all coverage was positive. Like any army outpost during the Civil War, Camp William Penn experienced large number of desertions. This led Colonel Wagner to post sentries at the gates of the camp—an order that also sparked tragedy. On August 13 the *Christian Recorder* reported on the death of a white man named William Fox. He and a group of friends appeared at the camp one evening and began harassing Private Charles Ridley, a sentry from the Sixth USCT. Ridley, who was on his first night of guard duty, asked them to move along. All of the men except Fox obeyed the order.

Despite the urgings of his companions, Fox continued to harass Ridley. The sentinel called into the fort for the corporal to assist him, but someone yelled to “shoot them.” Believing this to be an order, Ridley gave Fox at least two more verbal warnings before firing, severely wounding him. The guard also thought that Fox was armed, though investigators did not find a gun. Before any inquiry took place, angry local authorities demanded that Wagner hand over Ridley. The colonel refused, believing that Ridley had done his job as a soldier. The incident resulted in some negative publicity, with most papers in the Philadelphia area agreeing that the shooting was unjustified. It briefly cast a cloud over the camp’s reputation and also showed that while most of the city had come to support the Union League’s work, there was still some opposition.⁵¹

Overall, the Union League’s recruitment and activism appeared to turn the tide of racism in Philadelphia until the postwar period. One sign of the League’s success was a parade held in October 1863 before the Sixth USCT departed for the Yorktown Peninsula in Virginia. A parade of this magnitude would have been unheard of before 1863. Prior to the war, if there were any black celebrations or political movements, whites would riot. As Susan G. Davis wrote, “Whites found blacks barely acceptable when they stayed inside the circle of their own private, domestic activities. . . . But when the image of a unified black community with moral and political claims on the rest of society was projected into the streets, whites felt their prerogatives threatened.”⁵² Initially, the Union League hoped to have a parade in the summer featuring both the Third and the Sixth. However, Mayor Alexander Henry, fearing a race-based reprisal against the soldiers, convinced the War Department to block the parade, and Secretary Stanton issued orders according to Henry’s wishes. The Union League planned another parade for early October, this time with no interference from Mayor Henry or the War Department. On October 3 the Sixth regiment, along with several companies of the Eighth, paraded through the streets of Philadelphia. There is no record of Mayor Henry attending, and his earlier fears were unfounded, apart from one minor incident: A local white man tried to steal the regimental colors, but the color guard knocked him to the ground and reclaimed the flag to the delight of the crowd.⁵³

A reporter for the *Christian Recorder* remarked, “Now, we say, that no troops ever passed through the streets of Philadelphia that made a better appearance.” These glowing remarks were standard of *Christian Recorder* articles on the Union League regiments, which the paper continued to monitor

throughout the remainder of the war.⁵⁴ The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, a white newspaper, made similar remarks: “The men, who are all sturdy, able-bodied fellows, were neatly uniformed, and they marched with a steadiness and precision that would have done credit to veterans.” A Philadelphia Quaker responded to the parade thusly: “I have been an abolitionist all my life, but you gentlemen of the Supervisory Committee, in bringing about this parade, have gone further than I ever would’ve done.” The Union League’s official history said of the parade, “The march was a triumphant demonstration of confidence in the loyal instinct of the vast majority.”⁵⁵ Within a year of the Union League’s creation, Copperhead sentiment in the city had waned and Philadelphians at least quietly accepted that the use of black soldiers would help win the war for the Union.

Furthering racial peace in the city was the fact that the 1863 Union League regiments were very successful from a military standpoint. The Third, Sixth, and Eight USCT left Camp William Penn with basic military skills and other tools necessary for battlefield success. Ideological bonds that went beyond group cohesion could have played a role in these regiments’ successes. These ties were, in short, the goals of ending slavery and discrimination.⁵⁶ Late nineteenth-century historian George Washington Williams commented on the camp’s success: “The regiments that went from this camp were among the best in the army. Their officers had been carefully selected and specially trained in a military school under competent teachers, and the troops themselves were noted for intelligence, proficiency, and pluck.”⁵⁷ The Third saw fighting at Charleston, South Carolina, and near Jacksonville, Florida. When Confederates evacuated their defenses at Battery Wagner in Charleston, the Third was among the first to enter. The Sixth was arguably the most distinguished of the Union League regiments with two soldiers and an officer earning the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism at New Market Heights, Virginia, in 1864. Soldiers in the regiment also received medals struck by General Benjamin F. Butler. They would go on to serve in the Fort Fisher Campaign in Wilmington, North Carolina. The Eighth fought in Florida, sharing a campaign in Jacksonville with the Third.⁵⁸ These soldiers returned to Philadelphia after their successes with the expectation of equality and citizenship.

Nevertheless, in Philadelphia, there would be only limited improvement in race relations. The Union League’s 1865 annual report applauded “that peace was secured by no terms or compromises with the traitors; by no yielding of a single principle of policy or of conscience involved in the contest, by no injudicious permission to the conquered to revive the old abuses of their

social system.”⁵⁹ Despite rejoicing in the demise of the slavery, the Union League membership was not ready to extend full equality to those it fervently supported during wartime. The Union League and other organizations refused to admit black members.

The African American leaders who emerged during and after the Civil War, such as Octavius Catto, who aided the Union League’s recruitment efforts, took a more active, public approach than earlier leaders like James Forten. One of their most prominent battles was over discrimination on Philadelphia’s streetcars. The first streetcar company began operations in 1858, and by the time of the war nineteen lines existed. Black troops had no access to the streetcars, nor did wives and children who were visiting wounded soldiers. The key reason for this segregation, remarked the *Philadelphia Age*, was that the behavior of black men was offensive to white women. Allowing black men on streetcars would only lead to rape.⁶⁰ In July 1864 Reverend William J. Aston, an associate of Catto’s, wrote a letter to the *Philadelphia Press* that challenged the existing rules. African Americans fought in the Civil War and they paid taxes. Were they “deemed citizen enough to fight for the nation but not to sit inside its streetcars?”⁶¹

On January 13, 1865, Catto led a meeting at Concert Hall to gather support for changing the streetcar laws. At the event, he cited numerous examples of discrimination, including one involving future U.S. congressman Robert Smalls. Smalls, a South Carolina native and ex-slave, was a hero known to Philadelphia for steering the CSS *Planter*, on which he served as a slave, to the Union blockade as the ship’s crew spent the night ashore. Yet the car’s conductor denied him a seat. Though African Americans did not have the vote, they appealed to the legislature. They found support from state senator Morrow B. Lowry of Erie, who was able to successfully steer antidiscrimination laws through the state house in 1867.⁶²

Catto and other Philadelphians continued the fight for equality. The black community drafted numerous suffrage petitions through the late 1860s. Pennsylvania reluctantly ratified the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, which prohibited states from preventing individuals from voting on the ground of race or color. Abolitionist groups dissolved, believing they had accomplished their goals, and black Americans were left to fight for themselves. On October 10, 1871, the day of state and local elections, riots erupted on Sixth and Lombard streets, where black men attempted to vote. The day began with numerous cases of police brutality against African Americans. Whites in the area filed many of the complaints of

police violence. As judges issued arrest warrants for officers, rioting started. Octavius Catto was teaching that day and tried to stay away from the riots, but he faced harassment on his way home. At Ninth and South streets, a protester shot Catto. He died on the streetcar tracks, where a desegregated car was about to pass. W.E.B. Dubois wrote, "The murder of Catto came at a critical moment: to the Negroes, it seemed to be a revival of the old slavery-time riots on the day when they were first tasting freedom."⁶³ The postwar era marked a return to the discrimination African Americans faced in the antebellum period. In 1848 Frederick Douglass had written of the city's suspicious future for African Americans. While the Union League and black leaders briefly attained some level of respect during the Civil War, the city and the nation did not continue to recognize manhood and citizenship for African Americans in the postwar era.

In the face of a loss of civil rights at the state and national level in the late nineteenth century, there was one organization in which black veterans could find support: the Grand Army of the Republic. Formed in 1866, the GAR was a veterans' network that openly recognized the contributions of African American soldiers. Pennsylvania's state commander, Howard Reeder, said that "we care nothing for a man's nationality, race, politics, or religion. The fact that a man was ready at the call of his country in her hour of danger . . . is all the Grand Army of the Republic seeks to know."⁶⁴ Other Pennsylvania commanders in the postwar era included Robert Beath, an officer in the Sixth USCT, and Louis Wagner, commandant of Camp William Penn, who both expressed an appreciation of black military contributions.

Though there was a nationwide openness to African Americans, some Pennsylvania posts, notably in Harrisburg, refused admission to black veterans. As a result, African Americans established their own posts. Not all of the reasons for the creation of these separate posts are known, though Barbara Gannon suggests that they could have formed because of a desire for autonomy, an idea seen in Philadelphia's antebellum black community. There were at least twenty-one African American posts throughout the state, seven of which formed in the Philadelphia area. The John W. Jackson Post was one of the first formed in the state and remained until the 1920s. While most of the state's African Americans joined these separate councils, there were exceptions. Philadelphians in the Charles Sumner Post participated with their white GAR comrades in an 1892 parade on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC. The march was a recreation of the 1865 Grand Review with one significant difference—the inclusion of black soldiers. In the GAR

African Americans found recognition for their gallantry, though the GAR would not pass these sentiments on to its heir, the Sons of Union Veterans.⁶⁵

The Civil War marked only a brief letup in racial tension in Philadelphia. Although any sign of African American organization or celebration in the antebellum era sparked white-led civil disturbances, the movement toward raising black regiments in Philadelphia met no violence during the war. By 1863 the city's white residents hesitated to use African American soldiers, but ultimately accepted them, at least tacitly, in the hopes that it would end the war and save the Union. There were multiple factors that made recruitment a success in Philadelphia. The first was the War Department for cooperating with Philadelphia's white elites, authorizing their efforts, and assigning men like George Stearns and Louis Wagner, the commandant of Camp William Penn, to the city. The second factor, and a key contributor, was the Union League. Had it not been for the League's activism, recruitment would not have begun during the summer of 1863, nor would it have continued throughout the remainder of the war. Its insistence on looking beyond the city into western Pennsylvania and the neighboring Mid-Atlantic states yielded a total of eleven regiments by 1865. The Supervisory Committee received important publicity from local newspapers and national publications like the *Liberator* and the *Christian Recorder*. The latter paper circulated among African Americans around the country and likely encouraged many to bear arms for the Union.

The recruitment effort would not been so great an achievement were it not for the work of the African American community, the third factor. Frederick Douglass, Octavius Catto, and local blacks all encouraged men to serve in the hopes that it would lead to citizenship. Last, one cannot forget those who answered the call to arms to fight for freedom and manhood. The combined work of the Union League and African Americans was successful not only from a military standpoint, but also in briefly ameliorating racial tensions in the city. The cohesiveness of Philadelphia's black community and its work with the Union League effectively made significant contributions that helped the Union and the city survive its greatest challenge.

NOTES

The author would like to thank Dr. Leone M. Hudson, Adam R. Hodge, Gregory R. Jones, Molly Reynolds, Anna Maurer, the commentators on his PHA Conference panel in October 2010, and the staffs at the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for assistance.

THE UNION LEAGUE, BLACK LEADERS, AND RECRUITMENT

1. Frederick Douglass, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 19, 1848, quoted in Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 6.
2. Frederick M. Binder, "Pennsylvania Negro Regiments in the Civil War," *Journal of Negro History* 374 (1952): 266.
3. J. Matthew Gallman, *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia during the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 184-85.
4. Julie Winch, *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787-1848* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 82-90, 152, 166.
5. *Ibid.*, 9-10.
6. Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002), 183. The Union League appears in numerous secondary sources, including several published by the organization, but it often gets little more than a passing mention. Lawson provides an excellent discussion of Union Leagues throughout the North in her book. Several sources also mention the Union League's recruitment in passing.
7. The Act of Consolidation in 1854 combined the governments of the city and Philadelphia County. Thus, population figures after this time reflect the entire county. Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Philadelphia: Published by the city, 1913), 9-15; Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, 2.
8. Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, 6, 9-10. This is the premise of Gallman's work on wartime Philadelphia. For more on the Sanitary Fair and the raising of funds for the Sanitary Commission, see 118-69. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 494. For more on the Copperheads, see also Frank L. Klement, *Lincoln's Critics: The Copperheads of the North* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1999), and Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
9. *125th Anniversary, 1862-1987: Annual Reports of 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866*, Published by Direction of the Library Committee (Philadelphia: The Winchell Company, 1987), iii.
10. Maxwell Whiteman, *Gentlemen in Crisis: The First Century of the Union League of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: The Union League of Philadelphia, 1975), 1-2, 22-26; Lawson, *Patriot Fires*, 103.
11. *Chronicle of the Union League in Philadelphia, 1862-1902* (Philadelphia: William F. Fell, 1902), vii.
12. Lawson, *Patriot Fires*, 114-17; *Chronicle of the Union League*, 6; Whiteman, *Gentlemen in Crisis*, 32-34.
13. *Chronicle of the Union League*, vii, 93; Lawson, *Patriot Fires*, 112.
14. Robert J. Mendte, *The Union League of Philadelphia Celebrates 125 Years, 1862-1987* (Philadelphia: The Union League of Philadelphia, 1987), 53; Whiteman, *Gentlemen in Crisis*, 46.
15. Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, 48; George W. Fahnestock diary, March 26 and June 6, 1863, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as HSP); Mendte, *The Union League of Philadelphia*, 54.
16. Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1956; reprint, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987), 130-31.
17. U.S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886," file M858, RG94, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter

- cited as NA); Jeffrey D. Wert, "Camp William Penn and the Black Soldier," *Pennsylvania History* 74 (October 1979): 339; *Chronicle of the Union League*, 93–94, 521; *Report of the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Troops* (Philadelphia: King and Baird Printers, 1864), back cover.
18. "The Negro in the Military Service"; Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, 48; *Chronicle of the Union League*, 93–94; Whiteman, *Gentlemen in Crisis*, 47; U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter cited as *OR*) (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), ser. 3, 3:404–5.
 19. Appeal dated June 27, 1863, Abraham Barker Collection, HSP.
 20. *Ibid.*; *Addresses of the Hon. W. D. Kelley, Miss Anna E. Dickinson, and Mr. Frederick Douglass, at a mass meeting, held at National Hall, Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, for the Promotion of Colored Enlistments* (hereafter cited as *Addresses*) (Philadelphia, 1863), 1; "Enlistment of Colored Regiments," *The Liberator*, July 17, 1863.
 21. "The Negro in Military Service."
 22. *Report of the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Troops*, 3–7.
 23. *Ibid.*; *Chronicle of the Union League of Philadelphia*, 100.
 24. James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted during the War for the Union* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 181.
 25. Thomas Webster, letter to the Supervisory Committee, April 25, 1864, Barker Collection.
 26. Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862–1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 125–26.
 27. U.S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, "Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations, 3rd USCT Infantry," vol. 1, Regimental Descriptive Book, RG 94, NA.
 28. U.S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, "Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations, 6th USCT Infantry" and "Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations, 8th USCT Infantry," vol. 1, Regimental Descriptive Book, RG 94, NA.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. "Men of Color," July 27, 1863, Barker Collection; George Boker, "Washington and Jackson on Negro Soldiers/General Banks on the Bravery of Negro Troops/Poem—the Second Louisiana," published by the Union League, 1863, Barker Collection.
 31. Whiteman, *Gentlemen in Crisis*, 47; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1789–1989* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1989), 1294; *Addresses*, 2.
 32. *Addresses*, 4–5.
 33. For more on perceptions of masculinity, see, for example, E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), and Stephen Berry, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
 34. Jim Cullen, "'It's a Man Now': Gender and African American Men," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, ed. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 85–86.
 35. Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 11–12, 129, 193.
 36. Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 237. It is interesting

THE UNION LEAGUE, BLACK LEADERS, AND RECRUITMENT

- that Lieutenant Robert Newlin Verplanck noted that, at least initially, soldiers in the Sixth USCT refused their pay because recruiters promised them equal pay to whites. Robert Newlin Verplanck to Mother, November 16, 1863, Civil War Correspondence of Robert Newlin Verplanck, Adriaance Memorial Library, Poughkeepsie, NY.
37. For general studies on African American military service in the Civil War, see Cornish, *The Sable Arm*, and Trudeau, *Like Men of War*.
 38. *Addresses*, 4. For more on the pay issue, see Cornish, *The Sable Arm*, 190–92; McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War*, 193–203; and Trudeau, *Like Men of War*, 91–93, 155, 252–55.
 39. Frederick Douglass, *Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 3:596.
 40. *Ibid.*, 3:597.
 41. Cullen, "Ts a Man Now," 81.
 42. Douglass, *Papers*, 3:597–98.
 43. Frederick Douglass, letter to Maj. Geo. L. Stearns, August 12, 1863, Barker Collection.
 44. *Christian Recorder* (Philadelphia), July 11, 1863; Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, 48. *Anglo-African* (New York), August 15, 1863.
 45. James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 128.
 46. Redkey, ed., *Grand Army of Black Men*, 34, 181.
 47. Trudeau, *Like Men of War*, 125.
 48. Wert, "Camp William Penn," 344.
 49. Eric Ledell Smith, "Painted with Pride in the U.S.A.," *Pennsylvania Heritage* 27 (2001): 24–31.
 50. "Flag Presentation at Camp William Penn," *The Liberator*, September 11, 1863; *Christian Recorder*, September 5, 1863.
 51. *Christian Recorder*, August 13, 1863; Wert, "Camp William Penn," 343–44.
 52. Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 46–47.
 53. Richard A. Sauer, *Advance the Colors!: Pennsylvania Civil War Battle Flags* (Lebanon, PA: Sowers Printing, 1987), 1:46.
 54. *Christian Recorder*, October 10, 1863.
 55. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 5, 1863; *Chronicle of the Union League*, 98–99.
 56. See McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 89, 131. Here, McPherson states that though loyalty was first to comrades, there was a clear ideological motivation that helped to maintain armies.
 57. Wert, "Camp William Penn," 346.
 58. Frederick H. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Dayton, OH: Morningside Books, 1979), 2:1723–25.
 59. "Annual Report of 1865," *Annual Reports of 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866*, 2.
 60. Daniel R. Biddle and Murray Dubin, *Tasting Freedom: Octavius Catto and the Battle for Equality in Civil War America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 324–26; Philip S. Foner, "The Battle to End Discrimination against Negroes on Philadelphia Streetcars (Part I): Background and the Beginning of the Battle" *Pennsylvania History* 40 (1973): 270–71.
 61. Biddle and Dubin, *Tasting Freedom*, 326.
 62. *Ibid.*, 330–51.

63. Ibid., 398–411, 423–30, 474.
64. Barbara A. Gannon, “Sites of Memory, Sites of Glory: African American Grand Army of the Republic Posts in Pennsylvania,” in *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania’s Civil War*, ed. William Blair and William Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 170.
65. Ibid., 171–73; Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2011), 92.