

No Balm in Gilead: Lancaster's African-American Population and the Civil War Era

By Leroy T. Hopkins Jr., Ph.D.

As a result of the television mini-series *The Civil War* and especially the feature film *Glory*, public awareness of the role played by African-Americans in the nation's most destructive war has been greatly increased. It is a sad commentary on the state of race relations that the entertainment industry must provide information that is lacking in the school history curriculum. Locally as well as nationally, recognition of service to the Union cause has been largely one-sided and ignores the valor, sacrifice, and altruism of almost 200,000 men of color who fought on land and sea to defend a country and constitution that had denied them the basic right of citizenship just four years before the outbreak of the war. In the following we shall examine the experience of local men of color in the Civil War and attempt to understand that experience in the context of the decades preceding and following the war.

To date about three hundred men of color associated with Lancaster County have been identified as having served sometime between 1862-67 in all eleven of the U.S.C.T. regiments mustered in Pennsylvania as well as the Massachusetts 5th and the famous 54th and 55th Volunteers. In addition, some men served in the Navy and regiments raised by Virginia and Tennessee. Some of these men were not native to Pennsylvania but were part of the huge northward migration caused by the war and were mustered into a regiment from Lancaster. Muster rolls on deposit in the State Archives in Harrisburg indicate men from as far away as Mississippi and England were accepted into Pennsylvania regiments. When one considers the status of African-Americans in Lancaster County and the Commonwealth in general before 1860, it is obvious that this enthusiastic response was rooted in a vision of the war being a final

barrier to full integration into American society. Unfortunately, this hope found no justification in the events preceding, during, and after the war.

The Antebellum Era in Pennsylvania was a period of crisis for persons of color. In his pioneer study of African-American communities in Southeastern Pennsylvania between 1780-1860 Carl Oblinger characterizes economic life in rural Pennsylvania in the following terms:¹

By mid-century, the new, and depressing, structure of racial relations, the pattern of employment in day labor and menial service, and the pattern of endogamous marriages had been set. As industrial capitalism transformed the economy, new employment opportunities hardly touched black labor; nearly all, especially the elite, remained in pre-industrial patterns of work including domestic service. As late as the 1830s blacks in southeastern Pennsylvania were in the mainstream of town life, by 1860 they were on the periphery.

The pre-war period was punctuated by repressive laws such as Lancaster's registration law² and anti-Black mob violence such as the infamous "Columbia race riots" of 1834/35. Although the Underground Railroad and the "Christiana Riot" exemplify local resistance to slavery, it would be mistaken to think that the majority of Lancaster Countians were abolitionists or advocated the cause of the people of color. This is clear from the testimony of one of the principals involved in the operation of the semi-mythical railroad.

William Whipper (1803-1876), intellectual, civil rights and temperance advocate, and successful entrepreneur, resided in Columbia from the 1830s until after the Civil War. A partner of Stephen Smith, Whipper was a leader of the antebellum African-American community as documented by his presence at various "Negro National Conventions" between 1830-60 and his editorship of the first African-American magazine. After the war when William Still, chairman of the Vigilance Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, compiled a history of his involvement in the Underground Railroad. An interesting letter from Whipper was reprinted that recounted the latter's efforts in Columbia between 1847-61. Looking back on the decades preceding the war Whipper summarized:³

[...] it would have been fortunate for us if Columbia, being port of entry for the flying fugitives, had been also the seat of great capitalists and freedom-loving inhabitants; but such was not the case. There was but little Anti-slavery sentiment among whites, yet there were many strong and valiant friends among them who contributed freely.

Whipper's perspective was neither unique nor idiosyncratic. The principal goal of the riots in Columbia in 1834/35 had been to eliminate African-Americans as serious economic competitors. The principal target of the

violence was Stephen Smith (1795-1873) whose meteoric career as a businessman epitomized for some Columbians the dangers of Black competition. Although the riots did not achieve their purpose, life was certainly difficult for Smith and others. A letter written by Smith to State Senator John Strohm just one year after the race riots not only exemplifies the precarious status of local Blacks but also a rare altruism that enabled Smith to place his situation in a broader socio-political context.

Smith requested action from Strohm even though he realized that such action might be denied him because "an overruling policy not founded in justice has assigned me with thousands of others a place without the pale and influence of your political Judicature."⁴ Smith's words were to be prophetic. Although here he was only referring to the common practice of excluding African-Americans, in 1838 Pennsylvania adopted a new state constitution that specifically restricted the right to vote to free white men. Smith could therefore not rely on custom or tradition to obtain help from Strohm but he did hope that their friendship would make the legislator receptive to his request.

Considering the damage done to his office during the riot and public threats made against him should he continue to conduct business in Columbia, one would expect Smith to ask for a law that would protect individuals such as himself from mob violence. Instead, he pleads rather eloquently for protection of the freedom of speech. This rather strange request has a clear motivation:⁵

The many appeals that will doubtless be made by Southern Governors, and Legislatures to the Executive of our State and through him to your honourable body {i.e. the Senate}, praying for the passage of such laws as shall inflict heavy penalties on such of your fellow citizens, as shall dare to think, speak, or write on any subject that conflicts with the interest of slaveholding or the perpetuity of American slavery, will doubtless arouse indignation in the bosom of every freeman in this commonwealth.

Clearly Smith sees his situation in Columbia as part of the general struggle against slavery; by placing his and his race's situation within the context of freedom of speech, a basic constitutional right of all Americans, Smith apparently assumes that the constitutional guarantees automatically applied to the African-American. Denial of that fact verified that the promise of America was flawed by inequality. Above all, this letter documents Smith's, and a large portion of the African-American elite's, belief in the system. This belief was put to the test by the continued violence and oppression of the 1840s and 1850s.

The 1850s created a psychologically oppressive atmosphere which quickened earlier interest shown by African-Americans in leaving America for a supposedly friendlier country such as Canada. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 and its opportunistic exploitation by groups such as the notorious Gap Gang posed daily threats to fugitive and free Black alike. Two

events at the end of the decade underscored the precariousness of everyday life for African-Americans in the North.

On March 6, 1857 the U.S. Supreme Court declared that Blacks were not and had never been intended to be citizens by the framers of the Constitution. The enormity of that decision and the bleak promise it represented to all persons of African descent was lost on local commentators. *The Daily Evening Express* reported the decision without commentary. *The Lancaster Intelligencer*, organ of Lancaster Democrats and supporter of the recently inaugurated James Buchanan exulted:⁶

Thus has the last prop of Black Republicanism been knocked from under it by the highest judicial tribunal of the land. These agitators may make wry faces and say all manner of bad things against the majority of the Court, but it will not avail. There is no appeal from the decision. It stands, and will continue to stand, as the law of the land, decided in accordance with the Constitution, and will, as a matter of course, *settle the whole slavery question for all time to come* (italics mine)

To the editor, the Dred Scott Decision had no human face. It was vindication by the judiciary of a political platform. By declaring the unconstitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, the Supreme Court belatedly approved the Kansas-Nebraska Act. A point of law was settled but what about the human element -- especially in Lancaster?

Just nine months after the Dred Scott Decision an event occurred which exposed the ugly undercurrent of racism and dehumanization that informed race relations in the 19th century. Although triggered by a brutal criminal act, public reaction seems to have been incommensurate with the magnitude of the crime. On December 15, 1857 two itinerant Black chimney-sweeps and occasional thieves, Henry Richards and William Anderson, in the course of the attempted robbery of a farmhouse in Manheim Township, raped and brutally murdered two German women. The outcry created by this "Manheim Tragedy" inflamed racial animosities and shocked local sensibilities. So violent was public reaction to the murders that at one point an attempt was reportedly contemplated to secure permission to burn the murders alive. Anderson appealed to the officers of Lancaster's African Methodist Episcopal Church to accept his body for burial. The request was denied, allegedly on moral grounds; more likely, the deprecations visited on the County's Black community after the Christiana Riot were still fresh in memory.

Public executions had been banned in the Commonwealth since the 1830s but when the convicted were executed inside the walls of the jail, an enterprising individual rented space on a scaffold erected on a neighboring lot for \$1 a piece to the curious on-lookers of this public amusement. The descriptions of the executions published in the local press and in the special edition of Anderson's confession were both graphic and exact in their detail.

Given the indignities and injuries suffered by local Blacks before the Civil War, it is almost incomprehensible that when Ft. Sumter fell and a call was issued for volunteers that a company of Black volunteers was formed.⁷ Their offer was, of course, refused since Blacks were prohibited by state law from joining militias. It was not until 1862 that the arming of the African-American was seriously considered on the state and federal level. Given the comments on the possible unworthiness of the African-American for battle -- all of the achievements in previous American wars were conveniently forgotten --, the call for Black volunteers was answered.

Lancaster County's response compares favorably to that elsewhere in the state and the nation. Nationally, men of color served in 135 infantry regiments, six cavalry regiments, 12 regiments of heavy artillery, and 10 batteries of light artillery.⁸ Pennsylvanians accounted for 5% of all Blacks recruited for the war and thus ranked 6th overall and 1st in the North.⁹ In Pennsylvania 11 regiments were raised between July 1863 and February 1865¹⁰; prior to that time, however, Massachusetts' call for volunteers had attracted 500 Pennsylvanians. The June 13, 1863 edition of the *Columbia Spy* listed 23 men from that area who were leaving to join the Massachusetts 55th:

George Sweeney	James T. Ricks	Isaac Coats
Edward Miller	Isaac Cain	John Price
Jacob Lee	Frank Isar	William J. Stedem
Henry Way	Robert J. Smith	Isaiah Jackson
Charles Righly	Sam'l Wilson	Robert Davis
Jackson Griffin	John H. Diggs	Gabriel Shadd
Nicholas Berry	Edward Parker	Robert Last
Thomas Watson	Charles Brown	

Twenty-six Lancaster Countians served in the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Volunteers and perhaps the most famous of these was Stephen Swails, a native of Columbia who was enrolled in Elmira, New York, and, because of bravery in battle, was recommended for two promotions. Racial prejudice delayed his promotion to 1st Lieutenant almost to the end of the war.

The effects of prejudice are dramatically portrayed in the film *Glory* which underscores the inequity of the pay which Black soldiers were offered. Although the government had reneged on its promise of equal pay, the men of the 54th did not allow their anger to affect their devotion to duty. The regiment entered battle and acquitted itself quite well at the disastrous attack on Ft. Wagner which claimed the life of their commander Col. Shaw. Subsequent engagements turned skeptical observers into reluctant admirers of the colored troops' bravery under fire. The mood on the home front was, however, unchanged.

In June 1863 when the men were departing Lancaster to join their regiment, according to a report in the *Examiner & Herald*:¹¹

As they passed by the different stations, they loudly cheered (themselves) but, with few exceptions, received no response; but instead thereof, insulting and scurrilous remarks respecting "nigger soldiers." Even the remarks of good Union men were, in the highest degree, unfeeling, such as -- 'That's the right way to get rid of the darkies,'- 'I would rather see them sent off to be killed than white men.'

Verbal abuse was the lesser of the abuse heaped on Black recruits. On July 11, 1863 just a short time after the Gettysburg battle a notice appeared in the *Daily Evening Express* which stated:

TO MEN OF COLOR !
 A Mass Meeting
 of the able-bodied men of color will be held on
 Wednesday at 8 o'clock, Fulton Hall,
 Lancaster City,
 to promote recruiting for
 United States Colored Troops
 For the War
 Frederick Douglas
 and other distinguished speakers will address the
 meeting, and a detachment of the Third Regiment
 U. S. Colored Troops will be present.

Douglass did not, however, have an opportunity to address a Lancaster audience on this occasion for rather interesting reasons.

July marked the beginning of mass conscription for the war effort. The results of the draft were published in area newspapers. In the County 12,948 Whites and 491 Blacks were enrolled in various subdivisions. Only 10,409 were eligible and, of that number, 3,030 were in military service on March 3, 1863. The whole draft process disturbed a segment of the local German population and they displayed their objections quite forcefully on July 16. A crowd of Germans assembled outside the Lancaster courthouse and attempted to storm the draft office housed there. Thwarted in their efforts, the mob lay siege to the building and even the appearance of the marshal and Mayor Sanderson did not restore law and order. According to newspaper accounts the mob was led by a group of German women who shouted curses and brandished clubs.

The *Examiner & Herald*, which was decidedly unsympathetic to the Germans, described the rioters as "German men and women, principally of the lowest class," noted that many had given "leg bail" to avoid arrest, and expressed the hope that "if these would be followed by several score of like chaps the community would be rid of a great nuisance, and the Howard Association during the coming winter have fewer noisy but unworthy claimants upon its relief fund."

To the *Examiner* the incident was a semi-humorous, semi-irksome occurrence involving the German underclass. This view was especially evident in the account of Rev. Anthony Schwartz of the German Catholic Church scolding the rioters from the pulpit on the Sunday following the "riot". The title of the report was "Pouring Hot Shot into the

'Riotous' Dutch Women."

The *Intelligencer*, Mayor Sanderson's paper, did not share the *Examiner's* levity. Instead, sympathy was expressed with the motives of the rioters whom the editorialist described as "a few poor women who could not bear the idea of having their husbands conscripted." Contributing to the excitement of the moment, according to the *Intelligencer*, was:¹²

[...] the unwise and unjustifiable attempt made by certain leading Abolitionists in Philadelphia to have the somewhat notorious and foulmouthed negro orator, Fred Douglass, deliver a lecture on the evening previous in Fulton Hall, and by the marching of a squad of armed negro soldiers from Philadelphia through our streets during the afternoon.

The Democratic *Intelligencer* continues here the anti-abolitionist politics which since the 1830s had pitted the ethnic underclass against Blacks and portrayed the abolition crusade initiated by William L. Garrison as a thinly-veiled attempt to promote amalgamation or interracial mixing.

Douglass did not appear in Lancaster. The reason given in a cancellation notice published on July 15 in the *Daily Evening Express* was that the organizers had been unaware that most of the able-bodied men in the City and County had already been recruited. This motive seems a bit suspect since the bulk of Lancaster Countians who served in an U.S.C.T. regiment were enrolled after July 1863. Whether planned or not, the cancellation was fortuitous since according to the *Express* about 50 or 60 men, "principally Germans from the Northwest and Southeast wards, congregated in front of Fulton Hall, the object apparently being to disturb the meeting which was advertised to be held at that place by Fred Douglass."

Finding the meeting cancelled, the men soon dispersed and were allowed to drift homeward unmolested by the police. The reporter for the *Express* mused: "Perhaps if they had been anywhere interfered with they would have endeavored to get up a miniature New York row [...]" The reference is, of course, to the infamous Draft Riot. Either by happenstance or shrewd speculation, a serious racial incident was narrowly avoided. All was certainly neither quiet nor supportive for Lancaster's Black soldiers on the homefront but the latent and overt hostility did not seem to deter or dissuade them.


Without giving a litany of the engagements, battles, and skirmishes in which local Blacks were involved, suffice it to say that the men served in the 3rd, 6th, 22nd, 24th, 25th, 32nd, 41st, 45th, and 127th U.S.C.T. as well as several regiments not organized in Pennsylvania. The war carried them to South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, and after the war six of the regiments served in Texas

during the excitement over Maximilian. Instead of recounting martial accomplishments let us look at the human side of the war.

The manuscript collection of the Lancaster County Historical Society contains two very rare letters. These letters were most probably sent to a Mr. and Mrs. Martin D. Hess from a soldier of the 45th U.S.C.T. and contain fragmentary glimpses of the war written in a matter-of-fact and sometimes fractured English orthography and syntax. A soldier's simple faith is manifest in the statement "we have been in three or four batels and the Lord has spared me to come out [...]" References are also made to a Samuel Harris who according to Ellis & Evans' History of Lancaster County joined the 3rd U.S.C.T. but may have later joined the 45th. The letters contain the eternal complaint of anyone far from home: no letters received recently. The March 8, 1864 letter summarizes the soldier's war experiences quite succinctly: "[...] wish yaw would pleas tell George Foster & [illegible] to come down hear and take me out of this damd dirty hole [...]"

The end of the war brought the veterans back to an, on the whole, cool reception. At home the high hopes that most certainly inspired the early enthusiasm for the war were cooled in the post-war reality. Very little had changed. Slavery had ended but Black Pennsylvanians did not regain the right to vote until the 15th Amendment was ratified in 1870. Education was still segregated and limited -- the first Black youth to graduate from high school did not do so until the 1880s and as recently as the 1920s Black high school graduates

VOLUNTEER ENLISTMENT.

STATE OF  TOWN OF

Pennsylvania *Lancaster*

I, *Abraham Warner*, born in *Lancaster Pa*
in the State of *Pennsylvania*, aged *Twenty-four* years,
and by occupation a *Laborer*. Do HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE to have
volunteered this *Twenty-fifth* day of *December* 1863,
to serve as a *Soldier* in the Army of the United States of America, for the
period of *THREE YEARS*, unless sooner discharged by proper authority: Do also
agree to accept such bounty, pay, rations, and clothing, as are, or may be, estab-
lished by law for volunteers. And I, *Abraham Warner*, do
solemnly swear, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the *United States
of America*, and that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all
their enemies or opposers whomsoever; and that I will observe and obey the
orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers
appointed over me, according to the Rules and Articles of War.

Given and subscribed to, at *Lancaster Pa*, his
this *25th* day of *December* 1863, *Abraham Warner*
SIGNED: *AW Warner* } *mark*

I CERTIFY, ON HONOR, that I have carefully examined the above named Volunteer, agreeably to the General Regulations of the Army, and that in my opinion he is free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity, which would, in any way, disqualify him from performing the duties of a soldier.

P. Cassidy
EXAMINING SURGEON.
9th Dist Pa

I CERTIFY, ON HONOR, That I have minutely inspected the Volunteer, *Abraham Warner*, previously to his enlistment, and that he was entirely sober when enlisted: that, to the best of my judgment and belief, he is of lawful age; and that, in accepting him as duly qualified to perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier, I have strictly observed the Regulations which govern the recruiting service. This soldier has *Blue* eyes, *Brown* hair, *Florid* complexion, is *5* feet *5 1/2* inches high.

AW Bolinius
Capt & Prov. Mar. 9th Dist Pa
REGIMENTAL QUARTERMASTER

were listed separately in high school yearbooks. Even though school segregation was outlawed in the 1880s, it lived on *de facto* well beyond that date reinforced by the increasing ghettoization of the African-American population. The veterans themselves kept alive the memory of their sacrifice which the nation slowly and reluctantly honored, only to question again in subsequent wars.

The 1890 Census of Soldiers, Sailors, Marines and Widows presents an interesting mosaic of the war's aftermath. Seventy-six individuals living in Lancaster City, twenty-one locations outside of the City, and in the County Jail were identified. Interestingly enough, only ten widows were listed. One, Lucinda Moore, the widow of James Moore, and a resident of 316 Middle Street in Lancaster knew little about her late husband's military career which moved the census taker to note in the margin "This negro wench knows nothing." Abraham Wanner (a.k.a. Warner), my great-grandmother's brother, could not find his discharge papers and therefore there is nothing in the census about his exploits with the 22nd U.S.C.T. which after being assigned to the Army of the James in January 1864 participated in the battle of Petersburg and then after the war was present at Lincoln's funeral, participated in the capture of Booth, and was stationed for five months along the Mexican border in Texas.

Certainly not forgotten by their own community, some veterans formally organized their own G.A.R. chapter on January 28, 1892 and named it Sergeant Benn Post No. 607 in honor of Job Benn who had recruited men from the Christiana area for the 1st Pennsylvania Colored Volunteers. These men were then enrolled in the 3rd U.S.C.T. This G.A.R. Post first appeared in Polk's directory of Lancaster City where we find:¹³

Sergeant Benn Post, 607 (colored)—Meets every Friday evening, third floor in Reynolds Hall, 42½ N. Queen. Edward Wilson, Adjutant.

This Edward Wilson had been among the group of incorporators that included:¹⁴

William Proctor	David Molson
Jonathan Sweeney	John M. Book
Simon Molson	John Johnson
John H.H. Butler	Henry Barber
George Hall	Jacob Moore
Edward B. Harris	Steven Duban
Edward Wilson	David Offord
George Richardson	James Thomas
Anthony Maxwell	Zachariah Snively
Samuel Jackson	John Stotts
Bernard Sweeney	John M. Lebar
George Turner	Charles Green
Levi Anderson	Wesley Green

Although the post was named in honor of an individual associated with the 3rd U.S.C.T.

the incorporators were representative of the entire spectrum of regiments connected to Lancaster County.

Men from the 3rd, 8th, 24th, 25th, 41st, 43rd, and 45th U.S.C.T. were among the incorporators. And John Stotts, who in 1890 resided in Columbia was a veteran of the Massachusetts 54th. Sergeant Benn Post was, therefore, a community institution with close ties to the African-American community. Mrs. Maude Wilson Ball, the oldest living member of Lancaster's Bethel A.M.E. Church recalls in her oral history of Bethel these veterans and the section of Bethel's cemetery which was reserved for their earthly remains.¹⁵ The relationship to Bethel is especially evident from the 1898 entry in the city directory.

The post had moved and no longer met on North Queen Street; instead, it now convened at Bethel's hall located at 525 Chester Street. Bethel had acquired the property just two years before an act of arson destroyed its historic sanctuary and meeting hall on Strawberry Street. Known first as the "Love & Charity Hall" and then later in the vernacular as "Odd Fellows Hall." This building housed many of Black Lancasterians' social organizations. Sergeant Benn Post, Hod Carriers' Union No. 8020, and Mt. Horeb Lodge No. 14 F&AM met here until 1900. In that year the G.A.R. post relocated to 503 North Street and presumably remained there until 1909 when it moved again, this time to Columbia to the Odd Fellows' Hall on Concord near 5th Street. By the end of 1909, however, the post was disbanded. Natural attrition was probably the cause.

Not all of Lancaster County's African-American veterans were obliged to enroll in a segregated post. There is an intriguing photograph of the Lt. D.H. Nissley Post 478 (Mt. Joy) which shows a group scene that includes William Jackson and Thomas Yellets. Jackson (1838-1913) served in Co. F, 127th U.S.C.T. and Yellets, a descendant of a local family which can trace its roots to the Revolutionary War era, served in Co. K. of the 127th. It is not entirely clear whether the appearance of these men in a white G.A.R. post was accidental or typical of other posts throughout the County. More research is needed.

1993 is the 130th anniversary of the enlistment of men of color from Lancaster and other communities like it throughout the Commonwealth to defend the constitution and the sanctity of the Union. After the war these men returned to a social status essentially unchanged from the pre-war period. Despite what must have been the bitter disappointment of the Reconstruction Era, local veterans remained patriotic and loyal to a nation that seemed only casually interested in their welfare. The measure of their devotion to their country is that despite their own experiences in the war and the segregation and discrimination they found upon their return to civilian life, many of the men lived to see the younger generation -- brothers, sons, and nephews -- enter the service of the nation to fight in the Spanish-American War and World War I. This remarkable sacrifice and dedication is deserving of our respect.

Endnotes:

1 Carl D. Oblinger, *New Freedoms, Old Miseries: The Emergence and Disruption of Black Communities in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1780-1860*, Lehigh U. Dissertation, 1988, 235.

2 cf. "The Negro Entry Book: A Document of Lancaster City's Antebellum Afro-American Community", in *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, 88 (1984).

- 3 William Still, *The Underground Railroad. A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, etc.*, Philadelphia, 1872, 739.
- 4 Letter of Stephen Smith to the Hon. John Strohm, Harrisburg, dated Columbia, January 15, 1836; on deposit at the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 March 17, 1857.
- 7 cf. reference in the July 11, 1863 edition of the *Daily Evening Express*.
- 8 William A. Gladstone, *United States Colored Troops, 1863-67*, Thomas Publ., Gettysburg, PA, 1990, 11.
- 9 Col. John B. Trussell, *So Loud Yon Bugles Blow*, p. 522 of unpublished manuscript.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 523.
- 11 June 6, 1863.
- 12 *Lancaster Intelligencer*, July 1863.
- 13 *Polk's Lancaster City Directory*, 1897.
- 14 Charter of the Sergeant Benn Post No. 607 of Lancaster on file at the State Archives of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg), organized on January 28, 1892 in Philadelphia and disbanded on December 31, 1909.
- 15 for some of the names of those buried at Bethel cf. "Bethel African Methodist Church (Lancaster): Prolegomenon to a Social History" in *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, 90, Nr. 4, 205-36; also my article "Freedom's Second Generation" in the *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*.

Leroy T. Hopkins Jr. is a native of Lancaster County, graduating from J. P. McCaskey High School and receiving a B.A. in German and Russian from Millersville State College in 1966. He received a Ph.D. in Germanic Languages and Literature from Harvard University in 1974. Now a professor of German at Millersville University he was previously Executive Director of the Urban League of Lancaster County. He is a member of the Pennsylvania Humanities Council and is president of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

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Appendix I

This appendix represents information garnered from many sources including regimental histories of the Massachusetts 54th and 55th Voluntary Troops, Col. John Trussell's soon to be published manuscript, and most notably, the payment records of Lancaster County for indigent veterans and the WPA survey of veterans' graves. The compilation is not complete and needs augmentation.. This represents a necessary first step.

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
Aaron, Levi D.		22nd USCol. Inf.	Co. C	Hilltown, Colerain	Jun. 30, 1902
Anderson, John		54th USCT	Co. D		
Anderson, Levi		3rd USCT	Co. H	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Archer, Franklin		3rd USCT	Co. A	Stevens Greenland	1934
Armstrong, Wesley		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. F	Marietta Borough	Jan. 1892
Atley, George		3rd USCT			
Barber, Henry C.	Private	45th USCI	Co. F	Stevens Greenland	1916
Ben, Jerome		3rd USCT			
Benson, John		3rd USCT			
Berry, Elijah		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		des. 5/20/6?
Berry, Nicholas		55th Mass. Vol.			
Bingle, William		3rd USCT			
Body, Charles W.		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. G		missing Ft. Wa
Bond, Joshua		3rd USCT			
Book, George	Private	6th Reg. Col. Tps	Co. E	St Peters Salisbury	
Boots, Arthur	Corporal	22nd USCol. Inf.	Co. K	St Peters, Springvl.	Mar. 28, 1899
Boyer, Abraham		6th Col. Pa. Reg.	Co. B	St Peters, Springvl.	
Brown, Franklin		32nd USCI	Co. B	Potters Field (PF)	1876
Brown, George		US NAVY		AME Church, Lanc.	
Brown, Joseph H.		41st Penna Col.	Co. E	Hilltown E.Drumore	1894
Bucks, William		3rd USCT			
Burrell, Sylvester		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Butler, J. H. H.	Corporal	24th USCol. Inf.	Co. I	AME, Lancaster	Sept 28, 1899
Cain, Isaac		55th Mass. Vol.			
Carter, Lewis	Private	127th Col. Inf.	Co. A	Bird-In-Hand ME	

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
Chew, Samuel M.		3rd			
Clark, Daniel	1st. Sgt.	8th USCol. Reg.	Co. E	AME, Lancaster	
Clark, James	Corporal	41st Col. Inf.	Co. D	Stevens Greenland	
Coats, Isaac		55th Mass. Vol.			
Collins, James A.	Private	10th US Cavalry	Trp M	Stevens Greenland	1917
Cook, George	Private	3rd USCT	Co. C	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Cook, Reuben		3rd USCT			
Cooper, John W.	1st Sgt	3rd Reg. USCT	Co. D	Columbia	Mar. 21, 1886
Cowell, George	Private	127th Penn. Vol.	Co. B	Lincoln AME MtJoy	
Craig, Alexander		3rd USCT			
Craig, David	Private	25th USCol Inf.	Co. A	Stevens Greenland	1921
Craig, William		3rd USCT			
Davis, James		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Davis, Robert	Sergeant	55th Mass. Vol.			
Dellam, Michael	Private	22nd USCol. Tr.	Co. K	Mt. Bethel (PF)	Feb. 9, 1897
Diggs, Henry	Private	25th USCol Vol.	Co. F	Mt. Bethel (PF)	May 11, 1898
Drummore, George	Private	3rd USCT	Co. H	Mt. Bethel (PF)	1870
Eadens, Joseph		3rd USCT			
Edgerly, William		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		KIA Ft Wayne
Edmond, John		32nd USCI	Co. I	Marietta, (PF)	Oct 6, 1889
Erving, Joshua		55th Mass. Vol.			
Evillers, Fisher		3rd USCT			
Fairfax, Richard	Private	3rd Penna. Col.	Co. G	Zion Meth.Marietta	
Ferguson, George W.	Private	3rd Col. Reg.	Co. F	Union Presb.	
Fields, Isaac	Private	?	?	Penn Hill FultonTw	1888
Ford, Samuel		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. G		KIA Ft Wayne
Frey, David		3rd USCT			
Gails, Benjamin	Sergeant	3rd USCT			
Gibson, Madison		41st USC Troop	Co. B	Colored Cemetery	Jul 27, 1887

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
Green, Abe	Corporal	127th Col. Vols.	Co. K	Walton Farm Martic	
Green, Benjamin	Private	25th USCol Inf	Co. F	African HoltwoodRd	
Green, John	Private	22nd USCI	Co. K	Asbury, Gap	May 29, 1887
Gregg, Wm. Andrew		8th USCT	Co. D	Mt ZionAME Sadsb	May 15, 1896
Griffin, Jackson		55th Mass. Vol.	Co. I	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Hailstock, Charles A.	1st Sgt.	22nd USCol. Inf.	Co. H	Lancaster	Mar. 14, 1897
Hall, George	Sergeant	3rd US Col. Inf.	Co. G	Lanc. Cemetery	Oct. 1, 1894
Hallagher, David	Private	127th Penn. Col.	Co. C	Mennonite River	1916
Harris, Abraham	Private	8th USCInf	Co. D	Old Asbury, Gap	1904
Harris, Edward B.	Corporal	43rd USVol Inf.	Co. A	AME, Lancaster	1904
Harris, George J.	1st Lt.	12th Penna. Col.	Co. E?		
Harris, Moses		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. G		
Harris, Samuel		3rd USCT			
Harris, Thomas	Private	32nd USCI	Co. F	Mt. Bethel (PF)	1906
Henry, Andrew	Private	127th Col. Inf.	Co. C	Mt. Bethel (PF)	1909
Henry, Benjamin	Corporal	41st USCI	Co. B	AME, Lancaster	1900
Henry, George	Private	127th Col. Inf.	Co. B	Mt. Bethel	1913
Henry, Thaddeus S.	Private	12th Penna. Col.	Co. M	Stevens Greenland	1929
Henson, John		127th Col. Vols.	CoA&I	Watsons, Salisbury	Apr 19, 1896
Hill, John	Private	25th USCol Inf.	Co. G	AME, Lancaster	1900
Hill, John	Private	25th USCol Inf.	Co. D	AME ConestogaTw	Oct 10, 1900
Hillery, William E.		127th Col. Vols.	Co. E	Zion AMESadsbury	Feb 14, 1893
Hilton, William		3rd USCT			
Hoffmann, C. B.		? USCI		Lanc., Lancaster	1893
Holsinger, Uriah	Corporal	3rd USCo. Inf.	Co. A	Mt. Bethel(PF)	Dec. 27, 1894
Jackson, Abraham	Private	127th USCol. Inf	Co. K	Lincoln AME MtJoy	1898
Jackson, Edward	Private	41st USCI	Co. D	AME, Lancaster	1906
Jackson, Isaac	Private	3rd USCol Inf.	Co. E	Penn Hill (Fulton)	7/8/63 absent
Jackson, William	Private	127th USCI	Co. F	Lincoln AME MtJoy	1913

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
James, Henry	Sgt Maj	3rd USCT	Co. B	Mt. Zion AME	
Janes, James		3rd USCT			
Johnson, Charles	Private	3rd USCol. Inf.	Co. B	Old Asbury (Gap)	
Johnson, David	Private	25th USCI	Co. B	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Johnson, John	Private	3rd USCol. Inf.	Co. F	AME, Lancaster	
Johnson, Lewis		3rd USCT			
Johnson, Samuel	Private	3rd USCol. Inf.	Co A	AME, Lancaster	
Johnson, Thomas W.	Trooper	6th US Col. Tps	Co. B	Mt. Hope ME, E.D.	Mar. 5, 1900
Jones, Robert	Musician	54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		5/10/1865
Jones, William	Private	22nd USCol. Inf.	Co. K	Lancaster Cemm.	May 11, 1887
Kane, Robert	Corporal	54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Kennard, William H.		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Kennedy, R.	Cook	US NAVY(1yr.)		Hilltown, Colerain	1892
King, Hiram	Sergeant	127th Col. Inf.	Co. E	Asbury	1908
Landon, John		3rd USCT			
Laurrel, George		25th USCT	Co. K	Columbia Cemetery	Oct 23, 1887
Loney, James A.	Private	127th Col. Inf.	Co. B	Mt. Bethel (PF)	April 1891
Looney, R.	Private	32nd USCI	Co. E	Columbia (PF)	1869
Lust, Robert		55th Mass. Vol.			
Magee, Daniel	Private	127th Col. Inf.	Co. I	Greenwood, Lanc.	1912
Martin, Jacob		3rd USCT			
Martin, Jessie	Private	23rd Pa. Col. Tr.	Co. F	Mt Bethel (PF)	1916
Martin, Theodore	Private	24th USCol. Inf.	Co. E	St Mary's, Lanc	1891
Martin, W.		22nd US Col. Tr.			1926
Maxwell, Abraham	Sergeant	25th USCI	Co. F	Stevens Greenland	1912
Maxwell, Anthony	Private	24th USCol. Inf.	Co. A	AME, Lancaster	
Mayhew, Henry	Private	32nd USCI	Co. B	Mt. Hope ME (PF)	Jan 6, 1887
McClintock, Lorenzo	Private	127th US Col. Inf	Co. K	Eastland Friends	1928
McGill, Bruster		3rd USCT			

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
McGill, William	Private	3rd USInf.	Co C	Mt. Bethel (PF)	1872
McKinney, Allen	Corporal	127th Reg. USCI	Co. H	Strasburg Preby.	Nov 16, 1908
Meade, Andrew		54th Mass. Vol.		Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Middleton, Samuel		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. C		
Milford, Elias R.		3rd USCT			
Milford, Emory		3rd USCT			
Miller, Edward	Corporal	55th Mass. Vol.			
Miller, Stephen	Private	25th USCT	Co. H	Zion(col)Columbia	1869
Molson, David	Private	41st USCI	Co. B	Mt. Bethel (PF)	Nov 27, 1898
Molson, James	Sergeant	41st USCI	Co. B	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Molson, Simon	Corporal	25th USCI	Co. I	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Molton, Charles	Private	24th USCol. Inf.	Co. A	Stevens Greenland	1925
Moore, Jacob J.	Private	32nd USCI	Co. H	Stevens Greenland	1936
Moore, James		2nd US Col. Cav	Co. L.	Columbia Cemetery	May 12, 1889
Morris, Moses	Corporal	54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Mouten, W.	Private	15th US Col. Vol.	Co. H	Columbia (PF)	
Nelson, George		32nd USCT	Co. K	Mt Zion AME	Jul 7, 1895
O'Neal, John	Private	22nd USCol. Inf.	Co. K	Lancaster	Aug. 25, 1892
Oaky, John		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. G		
Parker, Henry		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		Oct 5, 1863
Parker, Isaac		3rd USCT			
Pierce, George	Private	32nd Penna Inf.	Co. C	AME Marietta	1902
Pierce, Henry	Private	32nd Penna Inf.	Co. C	AME Marietta	
Pinn, Walter Samuel		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Plesant, S	Private	23rd USInf	Co. I	Columbia (PF)	
Presberry, William	Private	25th USCI	Co. A	Drumore Friends	
Proctor, William	Private	8th USCol. Inf.	Co. H	Greenwood, Lanc.	1906
Prosser, George T.		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Quomany, Abraham J.	Corporal	24th US Col. Inf.	Co. E	Stevens Greenland	1912

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
Randolph, John	Private	32nd Penna Inf.	Co. I	Mt. Bethel (PF)	1890
Reynolds, James	Private	24th USCol Inf	Co. E	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Rice, Daniel A.	Private	32nd Col. Vols.	Co. C	Mt. Bethel (PF)	1910
Richards, John		32nd	Co. C		
Richardson, G.W.	Private	24th USCol Inf	Co. D	Greenwood MifflinG	1905
Richardson, Sanderson	Private	45th USCI	Co. K	Stevens Greenland	1911
Richardson, William	Private	3rd USCol. Inf.	Co. I	Lincoln AME MtJoy	
Richfield, Melchia	Private	127th Penna. Co	Co. G	Mt.Zion AME	1918
Ridgley, Charles		55th Mass. Vol.			
Ring, Thomas C.		3rd USCT			
Roberts, John		3rd USCT			
Roberts, William G.		3rd USCT			
Robinson, Lewis		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. A		
Sebastian, P. G.		5th Mass. Cav.	Co. H	Beth. AME Marietta	
Shadd, C. J.		55th Mass. Vol.	Co. I	Mt. Bethel (PF)	
Shadd, Charles		55th Mass. Vol.			
Shively, Zacharias	Private	3rd USCol. Inf.	Co. H	Mt. Bethel	
Singleton, C. H.	Sergeant	24th USCol Inf	Co. C	Lancaster Cem.	Oct. 28, 1893
Smith, James	Private	32nd USCI	Co. K	St Johns UB	1907
Smith, Levi		3rd USCT			
Smith, Robert J.		55th Mass. Vol.			
Smith, Samuel	Private	25th USCI	Co. F	Mt. Bethel	Mar 4, 1894
Stedman, William J.	Sergeant	55th Mass. Vol.			
Stotts, John H.		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D	Mt. Bethel	Jun 22, 1893
Swalles, Stephen Atkins	1st. Lt.	54th Mass. Vol.			
Swayne, Stephen		3rd USCT			
Sweeney, George W.		55th Mass. Vol.			
Sweeny, Samuel	Fifer	3rd USCT	Co. H	Lancaster County	Mar. 10, 1901
Sweeny, Stephen		3rd USCT	Co. J		

NAME	RANK	REGIMENT	UNIT	INTERRED	DEATH
Taylor, Joseph		6th Regiment			
Thomas, William		32nd USCT	Co. I		
Thompson, Miller		3rd USCT			
Thompson, Nathan		3rd USCT			
Thomson, Abram		3rd USCT			
Thomson, John		3rd USCT			
Tillison, Isaac		41st USCT	Co. B		
Turner, George		24th USCT	Co. G	Harford Co, MD	Sep. 28, 1893
Turner, John J.		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Turner, Jonh		3rd USCT			
Turner, Solomon		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Turner, William		3rd USCT	Co. H	Family Graveyard	May 6, 1900
Warner, Abraham		22nd USCT	Co. E	AME Conestoga	1896 in Hbg.
Waters, John	1st. Sgt.	22nd USCT	Co. K	AME, Lancaster	Nov. 23, 1897
Webster, Alfred	Sergeant	6th USCol. Inf.	Co. F		
Webster, Jeremiah	Sergeant	25th USCT	Co. A		
Wesley, John		25th USCT	Co. A	Columbia Colored	Mar 27, 1888
Wesley, John H.		25th USCT	Co. A		
West, Lewis		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
White, Jonathan		3rd USCT			
Williams, Dorsey		127th Col. Inf.	Co. I		
Williams, Lewis				Strasburg Presby.	Aug. 1913
Wilson, Isaac		3rd USCT			
Wilson, Stephen		? USCI	Co. H		
Wilson, Thomas		3rd USCT			
Woodborn, George/John		24th USCT	Co. G	Compass, Ches Co	Apr. 21, 1899
Wright, Lorenzo		3rd USCT			
Young, John W.		54th Mass. Vol.	Co. D		
Young, Robert		3rd USCT			

Appendix II

This table is drawn from the 1890 census of widows and veterans.

NAME	RANK	UNIT	SERVICE	LOCATION
Alford, Daniel	Private	E, 21st Cav.	3/13/65-2/15/66	Columbia
Anderson, Levi	Private	H, 3rd		Columbia
Archer, Jacob	Private	K, 45th		Drumore
Benson/Green, Chas.	Private	A, 25th	6/4/64-12/6/65	Lancaster
Boddy, Harriet	Private	G, 54th Mass		528 Middle St.
Boyer, Theodore	Private	E, 25th		Wakefield
Brown, Frances	Private	B, 32nd		Marietta
Brown, Stephen	Private	K, 24th	11/3/65-1/10/65	210 Middle St.
Butcher, Julia	Private	K, 127th		McSparran
Butler, John H.	Private	I, 24th		Lancaster
Cook, Reuben A.	Private	K, 3rd		Furnis
Cook, Robert	Private	E, 33rd		Lititz
Craig, David	Private	A, 25th		Edwin
Craig, Irwin	Private	I, 3rd		Nine Points
Devals, Solomon	Private	F, 22nd		Columbia
Diggs, Henry	Private	F, 25th		Prison
Dorsey, Philip	Private	I, 127th		Columbia
Elder, Lydia	Private	K, 22nd		Columbia
Fells, Isaac	Private	I, 25th	2/9/64-10/6/65	Lancaster
Forward, Filena	Private			McSparran
Green, Henry	Private	41st		Green Bank
Harris, Christian	Private	B, 43rd		Lancaster
Harris, Edward	Corporal	A, 43rd	3/4/64-10/20/65	Lancaster
Harris, George	Private	6th		Ephrata
Harris, Thomas	Private	F, 32nd	2/26/64-8/22/66	Columbia
Henry, Andrew	Private	G, 127th		Prison
Henry, Benjamin	Corporal	B, 41st		Lancaster

NAME	RANK	UNIT	SERVICE	LOCATION
Henry, George	Private	D, 127th		Columbia
Henry, Thaddeus S.	Private	M, 2nd US Cav.	2/18/64-2/12/66	Lancaster
Hopkins, Samuel	Private	E, 32nd	2/24/64-3/14/65	Quarryville
Johnson, John	Private	F, 3rd		Lancaster
Johnson, Thomas	Private	B, 6th		Quarryville
Johnston, Samuel	Private	A, 3rd		346 N. Christian
Jones, Albert	Private	C, 25th		Prison
Lake, Charles W.	Private	D, 4th	8/26/63-5/4/66	Lancaster
Landsdale, Richard	Private	A, 127th	8/22/64-10/20/65	Christiana
Lebar, John M.	Corporal	I, 24th	3/17/65-10/1/65	Lancaster
Lefever, George	Private	G, 122nd		Quarryville
Lewis, James H.	Private	K, 127th		Colerain
Loney, Benjamin	Private	C/E, 25th		Columbia
Loney, James	Private	E, 127th		Columbia
Lyons, John	Private	C, 45th		Collins
Magee, Daniel	Private	I, 47th	9/6/64-9/8/65	Lancaster
Malson, David	Private	B, 41st		
Malson, James	Private	B, 41st		Columbia
Malson, Simon	Private			Columbia
Martin, Theodore	Private	E, 24th	2/18/65-10/10/65	Lancaster
Maxwell, Anthony	Private	A, 24th	1/18/65-10/1/65	Lancaster
Mayhew, William	Private	I, 8th		Bartville
McKinney, Allen	Private	H, 127th		Strasburg
Moore, Lucinda	Private			316 Middle St.
Nelson, George	Private	K, 32nd		Christiana
Pierce, George W.	Private	C, 32nd		Marietta
Proctor, William	Private	H, 3rd		Lancaster
Rice, Daniel	Private	C, 32nd		Columbia
Richfield, Malach	Private	G, 127th		Wakefield

NAME	RANK	UNIT	SERVICE	LOCATION
Robinson, Amelia	Private	K, 22nd		Columbia
Smith, John	Private	H, 40th	1/17/67-8/26/68	Columbia
Smith, Samuel	Private	K, 22nd		Columbia
Snively, Zachary	Private	H, 3rd		
Steele, James A.	Private	C, 25th		Gap
Stotts, John	Private	D, 54th Mass		Columbia
Stout, Jonathan	Private	G, 32nd		Peters Creek
Sweeney, Barnard	Private	F, 21st		Columbia
Sweeney, Cather	Private	I, 55th Mass		Columbia
Sweeney, Steven	Private	3rd USCT	7/21/63-10/31/65	416 N. Market
Swift, Edward E.	Private	A, 4th	3 yrs	Fulton House
Turner, George	Private	G, 24th		Columbia
Walker, Glenn	Musician	B, 32nd		Marietta
Wanner, Abraham	Private	E, 22nd	12/25/63-(3 yrs)	Lancaster
Wilson, Sarah J.	Private	I, 3rd		Lancaster
Wilson, Susanna	Private	B, 32nd	2/7/62?-7/24/62	Lancaster
Woods, Jacob	Private	E, 22nd		316 Middle St.
Woods, Peter	Sergeant	K, 32nd		Prison
Yellets, Thomas	Private	K, 127th		Florin