

Asians and Pacific Islanders and the Civil War



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**Carol A. Shively, Editor
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*Front Cover: Union Cpl. Joseph Pierce
14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, Co. F
COURTESY OF MICHAEL J. MCAFEE*

*Gettysburg National Military Park
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**Other books in this series include:
Hispanics and the Civil War
*American Indians and the Civil War***



*Cpl. Joseph Pierce
14th Connecticut Volunteer
Infantry, Co. F*

COURTESY OF CHARLES T. JOYCE

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SHERRY DODD

As a person of color (South Korean/African American), I have sought opportunities to reach beyond the typical visitor to Civil War sites by exposing those stories that often remain untold. I keenly understand that when we see ourselves reflected in history, it becomes more tangible and relevant. That is why discovering stories of Asian and Pacific Islanders in the Civil War became so important to me.

I began conducting research on these stories and discovered other like-minded people who believed that they should be shared. I enlisted Park Ranger Mike Weinstein to join me on this journey. It has been wonderful to see the project grow into a part of a series of books for the 150th Anniversary of the Civil War.

*Gloria Chang August Lee
Chief of Interpretation
Fort Pulaski National Monument*

When Gloria Lee asked me to work on a project about Asians and Pacific Islanders in the Civil War, I reacted the way most Civil War insiders do. I dismissed it. The numbers were too low—if any existed at all. But what a rewarding path it turned out to be. Gloria had been right—and it was a good day to be working for the National Park Service.

Mike Weinstein, Park Ranger

Forgotten Warriors

by Gloria Lee and Mike Weinstein

In almost every way, these men from Connecticut resemble any other group of veterans from the War Between the States gathered to reminisce about the great conflict of long ago—except for the man at the far left end of the second row. Look closely at his face. He is clearly of Asian ethnicity. For years his identity was lost to us.

But in the last several decades, a small group of historians, researchers, writers, and Civil War enthusiasts have begun to recover the stories of these forgotten warriors. The veteran pictured here has been identified as Antonio Dardelle, from China. While his identity has been revealed, how many others have slipped into obscurity without acknowledgement of their contribution to this nation's history?

Anglicized and ambiguous names and haphazard documentation make it difficult to find these men and confirm their ethnicity, but researchers have identified several hundred soldiers and sailors who served from Asia and the Pacific Islands. Some fought for the Union and some for the Confederacy. There are, perhaps, many more.

A reunion of veterans from the 27th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry

JEFFREY P. MAGUT



These are some of their stories.

Asians and Pacific Islanders in the Americas

by Dr. Gary Y. Okihiro

Finding America was an accident in the course of Europe's search for Asia. In fact, Christopher Columbus, sailing for Spain in 1492 to find a trade route to the East Indies, believed he had found them when he landed in the Caribbean Islands. In another mistake of geography, he then named the peoples he found there "Indians." It was only later that Europeans called the New World, "America," and realized it was an obstacle on their way to Asia.

Asia, 1700

KROLL ANTIQUE MAPS

Asians first came to the Americas on Spanish galleons in the 1500s.

ARIEF BAHARI



The Pacific Ocean, as explorer Ferdinand Magellan named it, became Spain's highway to Asia. After aggressive imperialism and conquest, the Spanish Empire reached westward from the Americas to the Philippines. In 1535, these new lands were named "New Spain." Beginning in 1565, galleons loaded with silver and gold, dug by New Spain's Mexican Indians, sailed from Acapulco, Mexico for the Philippines (named for Spain's Philip II) to procure Asia's spices, tea, ceramics, and other products bound for the lucrative markets in Europe. On board those ships were Filipinos and Chamorros (Guam's Pacific Islanders) who knew the waters around the numerous islands of the Philippines, and Chinese craftsmen who built Spanish galleons from Philippine hardwood.

Later in the 1500s, Spain brought those Filipinos, Chamorros, and Chinese to Latin America. They included sailors, slaves, and female concubines of the Spaniards. Some of these sailors deserted upon landing; masters sold some of the enslaved people; and some of the women produced mestizo (mixed-race) children. These Asians and Pacific Islanders likely settled in Acapulco, merged with Mexico's Indians and mestizos, and made their way inland to Mexico City. Some Filipinos followed the Spaniards to New Orleans, which was then part of New Spain. Here, they established shrimping and fishing villages possibly as early as 1765. Many of those Filipinos were sailors who deserted Spanish vessels together with Mexicans and Spaniards. They hid in the bayous and marshes of the Mississippi River Delta and the Gulf of Mexico, living in homes typically built on stilts above the water. On the west coast, a Filipino or Chinese man, Antonio Rodriguez, was among the Spanish founders of Los Angeles in 1781.

The treasures of Asia were also important to the British colony at Jamestown. The London financial backers of the colony directed the English settlers to search for gold and silver, and map a road to Asia. The road to Asia across the continent, however, was incredibly farther than anyone imagined.

Asia's tea became a cause for rebellion when in 1773, Parliament allowed the British East India Company to bring the highly sought after—but heavily taxed tea—to the American colony, causing outrage over taxation without representation. The resulting “Boston Tea Party” was a founding act of the American Revolution.

Shortly after independence, the *Empress of China*, the first American ship to sail from the newly established United States, departed New York's harbor for the Asian trade in 1784. The ship set off down the East River, past a 13-gun salute, bound for Canton (now Guangzhou) and the first direct contact between America and China.

A year later, the *Pallas* docked in Baltimore with a crew of “Chinese, Malays, Japanese, and Moors.” An eyewitness wrote to George Washington, who had ordered Chinese porcelain delivered by the *Pallas*, that the crew consisted of “all Natives of India” and four Chinese. In 1790, alighting from the deck of the

Taxes on tea from Asia played an important role in the American Revolution. Decrying “taxation without representation,” colonists disguised as Indians threw the tea into the Boston harbor.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Soon after achieving independence in the Revolutionary War, ships from the United States sailed to Asia for trade.

Canton, China (now Guangzhou)

HEINE/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



Columbia onto Boston's streets was a Hawaiian “clad in a feather cloak of golden suns setting in flaming scarlet,” who walked up State Street “like a living flame.” During that decade, South Asian sailors came to Massachusetts and Pennsylvania on English and American trade vessels. Some came by choice, arriving in Boston, Salem, and Philadelphia in the 1790s. A few were enslaved.

Access to the Pacific Ocean and Asian trade was also a motivation for America's expansion across the continent. President Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, in part, for a route to Asia.

When the young nation went to war against the British in 1812, Asians and Pacific Islanders joined the fight. Since 1790, the Naturalization Act had limited citizenship to “free white persons,” rendering Pacific Islanders and Asians as “aliens ineligible to citizenship.” Hawaiians and Filipinos nevertheless served alongside citizens in the War of 1812. Filipinos fought in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 that pitted a motley army led by Andrew Jackson against British regulars. Some Hawaiians enlisted in the US Navy while others fought for the British. The British captured a Hawaiian soldier named Hopu and imprisoned him on the Caribbean island of St. Kitts where he was sickened at the sight of enslaved American Indians and Africans.

By the 1830s, US trade with China totaled nearly \$75 million, a sum greater than the total debt of the American Revolution. This trade made family fortunes and supported the country’s financial and shipping industries. The traffic involved a number of commodities. It also included human trafficking—the nefarious “coolie” trade called “a new system of slavery.” Former African slave ships transported hundreds of thousands of South Asian and Chinese, mainly men but also women, to labor in America.

In the 1800s, the nation’s “manifest destiny” of westward expansion overwhelmed American Indian nations and Mexico’s northern territories. By the late 1800s, it filled the continent from sea to shining sea, continuing into the Pacific to Asia, as well. Pacific islands like Hawaii, Guam, and Samoa supplied military bases for strategic ends and to protect the profitable commerce with Asia. Civil War Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield surveyed Pearl Harbor for these purposes as early as 1873.

Pacific Islanders and Asians labored on board American ships to produce the nation’s wealth. They cultivated sugar on plantations in Hawaii and the Caribbean islands, dug guano (seabird droppings) on Pacific islands, and sweated in sugar and cotton fields in the US South. Hawaiians advanced fur production in the Northwest, and, with the Chinese, worked in California’s gold mines and industries.

Asians served in the War of 1812—some with Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. Others may have served with pirate, Jean Lafitte.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Most of the Asians and Pacific Islanders who served in the Civil War lived and labored along the East Coast and in the South. Generally, they arrived in those regions on board US and European ships involved in the trade with Asia. Hawaiians comprised as much as 20 percent of the sailors on US whaling vessels during the 1850s that sailed from New Bedford and Nantucket, Massachusetts, and Cold Spring Harbor on Long Island, New York. By 1856, there were an estimated 150 Chinese in New York City, and 11 were married to Irish women.



The Seaman's Bethel (House of God) preserved at New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park.

NPS/NEW BEDFORD WHALING NHP

Many of the Asians and Pacific Islanders who served in the Civil War lived on the East Coast in places like New Bedford, Massachusetts.

NEW BEDFORD WHALING MUSEUM

By the mid-1800s, Pacific Islanders and Asians were in many regions of the country. They, like other Americans, enlisted in the Civil War, fighting on both sides of the conflict.

The Pacific Pig Trade

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

By 1836, every country involved in the Atlantic slave trade had agreed to stop. But the demand for laborers from English, French, and Spanish colonists in Latin America and the Caribbean persisted. So the same multinational commercial interests that had operated the trade in Africans turned to Asia for “coolies.”

Since the end of the 1700s, the term “coolie” had been commonly used in Asia to describe those performing the lowest level of labor, and proponents of this “coolie trade” claimed that willing Asian “colonists” were indenturing themselves for a few years after which they’d be free to settle in the New World or return home. Contracts were usually for five years for those from India and between five to eight for Chinese, although in Cuba eight became the base. The traffic in laborers from British-ruled India to British colonies in the New World was state-controlled and included women and children. However, as Hugh Tinker details in *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920*, the ships carrying the indentured laborers were often the very ones used in the Atlantic slave trade. Mortality during the long sea passage was as high and higher, and conditions in the plantations as harsh and unrelenting.

Of the more than 138,000 men decoyed or stolen from southern China for labor in Cuba between 1847-1873, nearly 122,000 landed in Havana, Cuba.

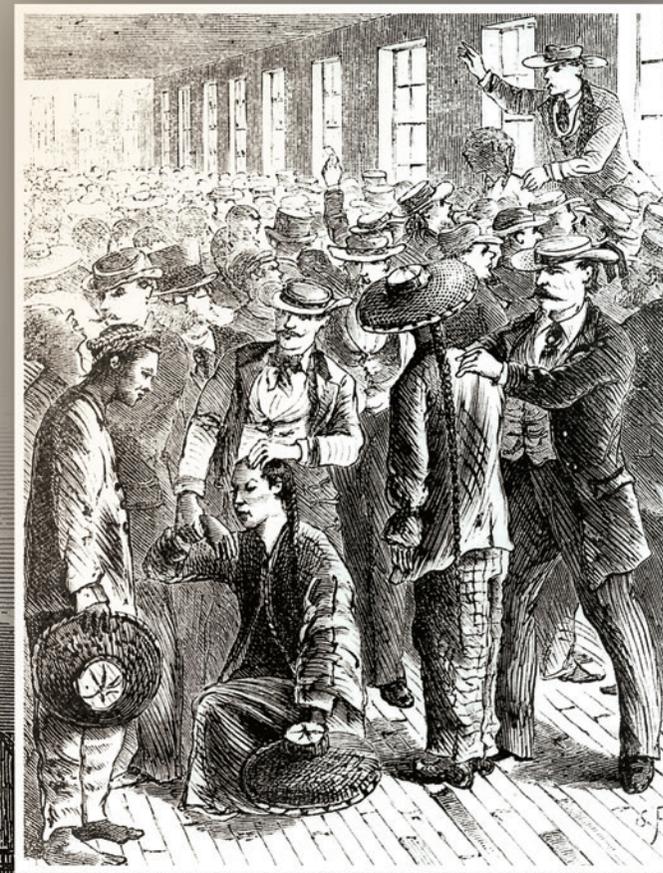
HARPERS MAGAZINE

[It was] a “trade as bad, if not worse, than . . . the African slave trade.

—Cpt. Amos Peck

Speculators bought the weak and sick by the dozen for a pittance and restored them for resale at enormous profit.

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Mutinies were frequent but rarely successful.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MAKING OF AMERICA DIGITAL COLLECTIONS

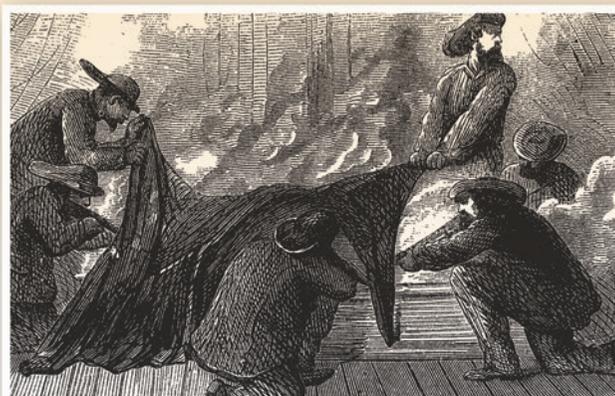
Captured Chinese resisted through mutinies on board ships, uprisings, and escapes on plantations. Indeed, the December 26, 1856 *New York Times* reported “a great many” of the Chinese in the city had escaped “brutal taskmasters” in Peru. Enough endured, however, that the traffic in men from southern China flourished. Since they were caught and stacked below decks the same way pigs were transported to market, Chinese referred to the trade as “mai jui jai,” the sale of piglets.



In her groundbreaking *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba*, Lisa Yun offers compelling evidence of bonded women and girls being offered for sale, although the trade in Chinese was primarily male. She also notes that 20 percent of the males lured or kidnapped and then forced to sign contracts under duress were youths, some very young. Whether taking laborers for Cuba, Peru, or the Caribbean, traffickers were aided by southern China’s turmoil from two wars with Britain, civil war, and multiple smaller rebellions.

Suppression of mutinies included the crew shooting through locked hatches at the men fighting to get out.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MAKING OF AMERICA DIGITAL COLLECTIONS



Since people were caught and stacked below decks the same way pigs were transported to market, Chinese referred to the trade as “mai jui jai,” the sale of piglets.

GETTY IMAGES

The voyage—depending on the specific destination, time of year, calms, storms, and stops en route for replenishing supplies—generally took between three and four months, and mortality rates were high. Even so, traffickers found shipping Chinese yielded higher profits than trading in Africans. According to James O’Kelly, a reporter for the *New York Herald*, the 900 Chinese on board a ship he visited in Havana, Cuba, were worth \$450,000 to their importers and had cost a mere \$50,000 to deliver.

With little monetary incentive to treat their laborers well, few masters did. Over 50 percent died within eight years. Those who survived their contracts often had their period of indenture extended repeatedly against their will. Not until these abuses were documented by commissions sent by the Chinese government to Cuba and Peru in the 1870s, however, did the trade end. By then, an estimated 300,000 Chinese men had been trafficked to Latin America and the Caribbean.

While attempts to introduce contract labor into California in the late 1840s and early 1850s had been quickly thwarted, some plantation owners in America’s southern states observed the use of Chinese laborers in the West Indies with keen interest and discussed their potential as substitutes for enslaved Africans. Abolitionists soundly condemned the “coolie traffic” as a form of slavery. So did American consuls in China. But it was their argument that the traffic’s provision of cheap labor in the Americas threatened US interests which finally led to the submission of a bill in the House of Representatives to stop American vessels from engaging in the trade. By the time this “Act to prohibit the ‘Coolie Trade’ by American Citizens in American Vessels” became law on February 19, 1862, the country was ten months into the Civil War.



*To contain their cargoes of captives,
captains didn't spare the lash.*

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Captain with a Conscience

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

In 1855, the American ship, *Hound*, was owned by four Connecticut men and mastered by a fifth: Capt. Amos Peck.

As instructed by the owners, Peck conveyed cargo from New York to Manila and then sailed to Macao, a Portuguese colony, to pick up “Asiatic colonists” bound for Havana, Cuba. Peck came from an abolitionist family. Dismayed at finding 400 supposedly willing colonists waiting to board, he consulted the Acting US Commissioner to China, Peter Parker, who warned that “vessel and master are both American, sailing under the United States flag, and are amenable to the United States laws.” As such, should Peck overload the *Hound* and then be compelled to put into a US port, “the vessel would be liable to forfeiture” and be “subject to fine and imprisonment.”

To the fury of the Spanish “Colonization Company,” Peck refused to board more than 230 people. Moreover, he treated his passengers so well on the four-month voyage that contrary to the usual high mortality rate, only two died. Nonetheless, Peck told the American consul in Havana that he felt “heartily ashamed” of his involvement in a “trade as bad, if not worse, than anything he has read or heard of the African slave trade.”

Whether Asian soldier Joseph Pierce, raised by the Peck family in Connecticut, was among the 230 boarded in Macao is unknown. But of the four stories about Joseph’s origins, two are from the Peck family, and in both, he had been sold; one specifies “into foreign slavery.”

Reclaiming the Past

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

For the past 20 years, researchers reclaiming the service of Asians and Pacific Islanders (API) in the Civil War have been sharing new findings, thus enriching the combatants’ stories and sometimes affecting the lives of descendants. Nowhere is this more evident than for Joseph Pierce, whose story, having been stitched together in close collaboration with Irving Moy, Mike Marcus, and—more recently—Alex Jay, threads through this book.

Capt. Peck brought home a young boy from China, Joseph Pierce, who was raised by Peck’s parents in this home when the captain was at sea. Joseph would eventually take part in the important fight for the Bliss Farm at Gettysburg.

IRVING MOY

Yung Wing's Mission

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

As early as 1818, missionaries were sponsoring Chinese boys for study in America's northeast for ministry in China. Some boys, either sick or unable to bear separation from family and all that was familiar, went home before they completed their studies. Even after losing monetary support for college by refusing to become a missionary, Yung Wing flourished, and at his graduation from Yale in 1854, he "wanted immensely" to remain near the family with whom he'd lived since he was a boy.

As a naturalized US citizen, he could. But a Bible text "followed him like the voice of God: 'If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.'" So he returned to China.

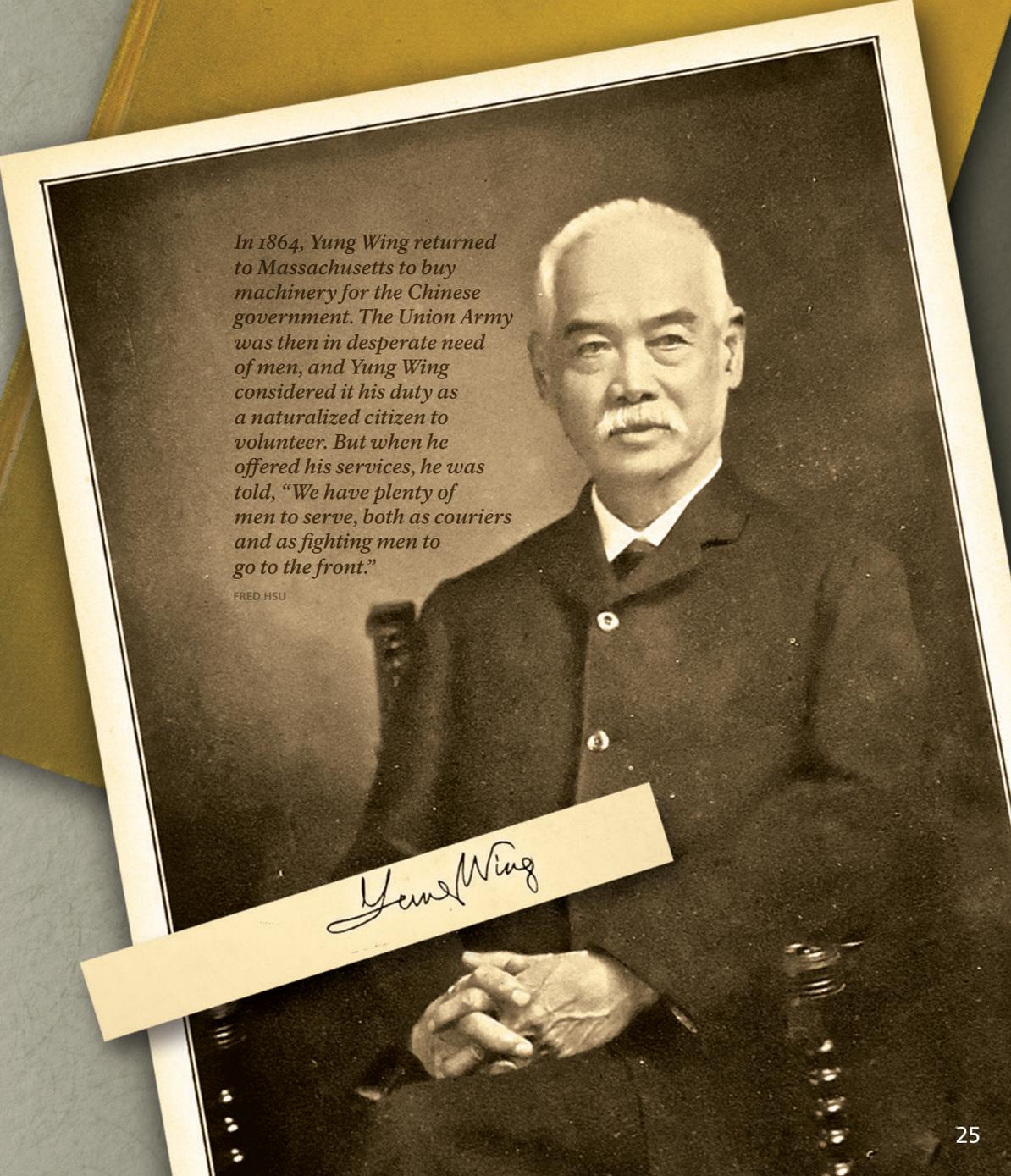
Arriving in Macao, he was appalled by the sight of Chinese men, "tied to each other by their cues" and led "like abject slaves" for the "coolie trade." In Canton, he had several kidnappers arrested and "put into wooden collars weighing forty pounds, which the culprits had to carry night and day for a couple of months as a punishment for their kidnapping." Twenty years later, he led a government commission to investigate the conditions of "coolies" in Peru.

An earlier commission, led by Chen Lanbin, had been charged with investigating the abuses of Chinese laborers in Cuba. This team's arduous survey culminated in a damning report that was submitted to Chinese authorities and European powers in 1873.

Yung Wing was horrified by what he saw in Peru. To ensure his report of "cruelty and inhumanity [would be] beyond cavil and dispute," he secretly assembled some of the victims at night and took "photographs of the Chinese coolies, showing how their backs had been lacerated and torn, scarred and disfigured by the lash." He also included "the testimony and statements of many Chinese, together with accounts given by eyewitnesses, all furnishing particulars as to time, place, and individual names."

His 1874 report helped end the trade in Peru. To his distress, though, just as the termination of the Atlantic Slave Trade failed to halt the miseries of enslaved Africans in the United States, hundreds of thousands of Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean continued to toil under "the lash of taskmasters."

容
闳
MY LIFE IN CHINA
AND AMERICA
YUNG WING



In 1864, Yung Wing returned to Massachusetts to buy machinery for the Chinese government. The Union Army was then in desperate need of men, and Yung Wing considered it his duty as a naturalized citizen to volunteer. But when he offered his services, he was told, "We have plenty of men to serve, both as couriers and as fighting men to go to the front."

FRED HSU

Yung Wing

A misty, green-tinted landscape of a river valley with karst mountains. The scene is dominated by a wide, calm river in the foreground, which reflects the surrounding environment. On the left bank, there is a dense line of trees and shrubs. In the background, several prominent, rounded karst mountains rise from the valley floor, their peaks softened by a light mist. The overall atmosphere is serene and somewhat ethereal due to the monochromatic green color palette.

Passage Home

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Of the small percentage of Chinese laborers who survived their contracts, few made it home. Some didn't want to leave families they had formed with local women. Others were either too broken to attempt the long perilous journey or they tried but failed.

In 1862, John Fouenty completed his contract in Cuba and paid for passage on a ship bound for China—only to be cast ashore in America's war-torn South, where he said he was induced to join the Confederate Army. By the time he escaped across Union lines and got transportation to New York, two years had passed. To reach home, he still needed to secure passage to China and land safely. Even then, he could fail to reunite with his family by again falling prey to kidnappers for the pig trade.

The War

Men from Asia and the Pacific Islands fought, and died, in America's Civil War.

For a complete listing of Asian and Pacific Islander servicemen identified in this research, see "Those Who Served," pg 238.

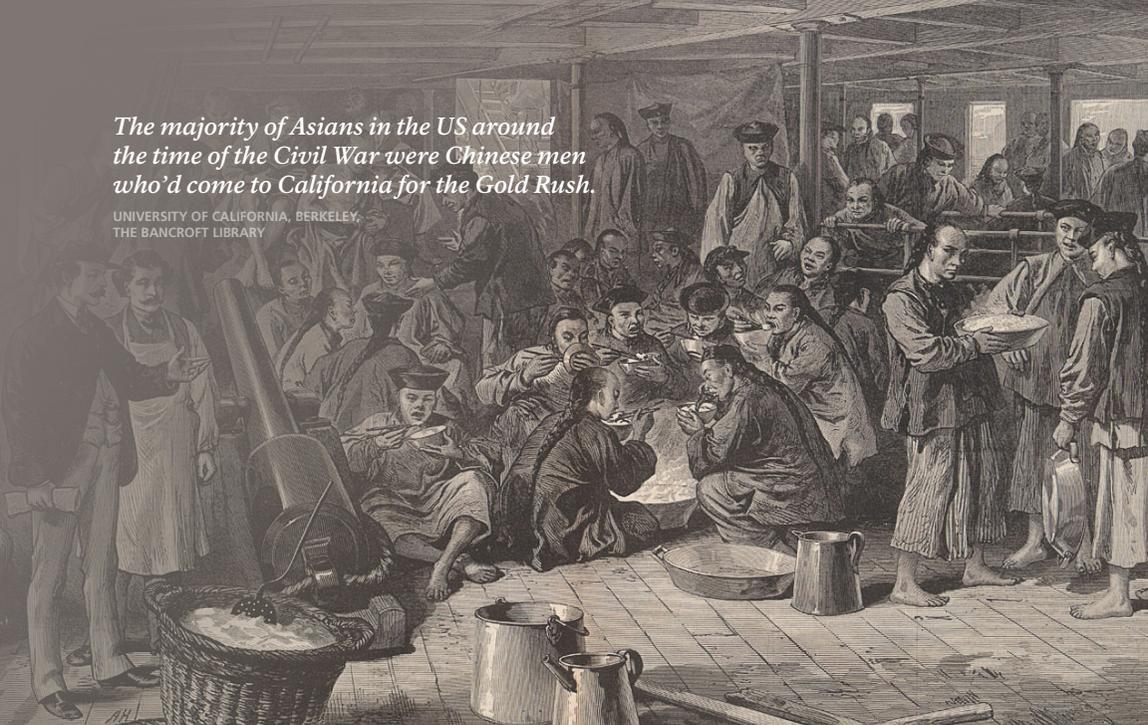
Asians and the Civil War

*by Ruthanne Lum McCunn
by Ted Alexander*

Lijiang River, Guilin, China
SHUTTERSTOCK.COM/LONGDI

The majority of Asians in the US around the time of the Civil War were Chinese men who'd come to California for the Gold Rush.

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THE BANCROFT LIBRARY



The Numbers

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

According to the 1860 census, the population of the United States totaled 31,443,321 men, women, and children. In the West, men outnumbered women almost ten to one. The number of Chinese in California was 34,933 men and 2,006 women. East of the Mississippi, there were fewer than 200 Chinese. The count for people born in Japan, the Philippines, India, Thailand, and Malaysia was slightly over 500 in all, and most seem to be the children of White couples that had been proselytizing Christianity or conducting business in those countries.

The census takers, however, probably failed to include many of the transient multinationals populating America's bustling ports or individuals in hard-to-access locales such as Louisiana's bayous. So these figures, while useful as guides, should not be considered absolute. But even without absolute figures, the number of Asian men who volunteered to serve in the war, proportionately speaking, is remarkably high.

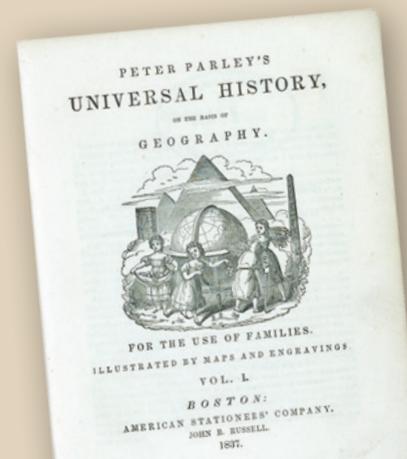
Introduction

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

On the eve of the Civil War, the majority of Asians in the United States were Chinese men who had flocked to California from Southern China in the 1850s for the Gold Rush. Many had found that operating boarding houses, general stores, laundries, or restaurants provided a more reliable income than prospecting and mining gold. Some grew vegetables or fished, as they had back home, laying the foundation for California's agriculture and fishing industries. Regardless of occupation, they were subjected to physical assaults, unjust taxes, restrictive legislation, and attacks in the press. Yet when the US Sanitary Commission, a relief agency to support sick and wounded Union soldiers, solicited donations in San Francisco, Chinese merchants contributed generously.

East of the Mississippi River, where the war was primarily waged, most Asians were sailors in port from cargo vessels that had long signed on men from all over the world. Beginning in the 1830s, some had settled, and of those living in or near the East Coast's port cities, most worked as laborers, coachmen, cooks, and painters. Occupations among the Chinese in New York, which had the largest concentration of Asians, included peddlers, servants, tea salesmen, merchants, and boardinghouse keepers. Further inland was a scattering of Chinese who'd labored on Cuban sugar plantations or migrated east from California or other ports of entry.

Since Asians in the East totaled a mere few hundred, personal encounters with them were rare, and public opinion was largely formed through print. The widely-used school text, *Peter Parley's Universal History*, depicted Asians as "people who are full of superstition," elaborating, "In our country and in Europe, there is a constant improvement. But in Asia it is not so. Education makes no progress, liberty is unknown, truth is little valued, virtue is not prized." Eastern newspapers abounded in negative news accounts of Chinese in the West. Popular magazines were rife with derogatory images, as were missionary reports seeking financial support for "saving heathens." The converts that missionaries brought to America and toured through churches as proof of Christianity's civilizing influence projected more positive yet no less stereotypic images. Despite such commonplace disdain, a strikingly high percentage of Asians enlisted for military service on both sides of the conflict, most in the navies.



Racist stereotypes of Asians were perpetuated in a widely-read school text, Peter Parley's Universal History.

AMERICAN STATIONERS' CO.

Why the navies?

Many Asians were already mariners or had been, and positions open to them on merchant and naval vessels were the same: steward, cabin boy, cook, and ordinary seaman. For them, naval versus civilian service may have seemed little different. Certainly battles at sea could mean maiming and death. But so could being thrown overboard or from a mast in a storm, or being set upon by pirates on merchant ships. Moreover, throughout the Civil War, Confederate and Union merchant vessels and their crews could be—and were—fired on or taken captive by the enemy navy.

Some mariners with limited English might have enlisted unwittingly because they were unable to distinguish between documents for merchant and naval vessels. But of those who enlisted, few deserted, even though naval discipline was less flexible than aboard civilian vessels. Hong Neok Woo, who served as a table boy for the ship's surgeon aboard the *Susquehanna* during its voyage from Shanghai to Philadelphia in late 1854 and early 1855, recalled being forbidden from leaving the ship for the nine months he was aboard, and he didn't dare disobey—not after witnessing enough naval discipline to impress upon him the seriousness of shipboard justice, from the relatively mild

During the Civil War, the navies accepted men of all races, though the armies initially did not. Asian sailors fought with Admiral Farragut in the battle of Mobile Bay.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES



stoppage of pay, restriction to bread and water, and short term confinement to the most extreme penalty, death, which was reserved for the severest of crimes: mutiny and murder.

Many a man in the navies reenlisted nonetheless, some more than once. Manila-born Felix Baker first enlisted as a landsman in Boston on August 9, 1862. Then a short, dark-eyed, dark-skinned, 17-year-old, Felix had previous experience as a waiter and was assigned a steward's duties. By his second enlistment a year later, he had a crucifix tattooed on one forearm and Liberty, stars, and a ship on his other. When he signed on yet again, this time in New York, there could be no doubt that it was a deliberate choice.



Many Asians and Pacific Islanders served in the USCT either by choice or because they were unable to enlist in White regiments.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The motivations that are on record for Asian combatants reflect those of other native and foreign-born men: defense of homeland or adopted country, desire for the naturalized citizenship promised to foreigners that served, opposition to slavery, and adventuring with boyhood friends.

From the outset of the war, some men also served in the Union and Confederate armies, which initially were not open to all races like the navies, but were exclusively White.

How was that possible?

The 1860 census had three categories for race: White, Black, or Mulatto. The census taker was responsible for assigning race and their perceptions varied. In Louisiana, for example, everyone born in China was categorized White. In Massachusetts, Mulatto. Some census takers were so flummoxed that they could not decide. When recording race for Thomas Sylvanus, a young Chinese living in Baltimore, Maryland, the census taker made something akin to an exclamation mark.

A similarly stumped Confederate general asked captured Chinese Union soldier, John Tomney, whether he was “a mulatto, Indian, or what?”

This confusion over racial categorization may account for why armies on both sides accepted Asians and mixed-race men to fight alongside Whites. It may also be why, after the Union Army formed segregated units for African Americans officered by Whites, some enlisted in the US Colored Troops (USCT). How many did so from personal preference or as a result of a recruiter's designation cannot be determined. But at least one draftee categorized as East Indian, Joseph Pasco, was assigned to a Colored regiment (the 31st USCT). And, of the Asian combatants identified to date, Chinese have been found in both White and Black regiments, whereas all soldiers designated East Indian by enrollment officers served in Colored regiments.

Rather than happenstance, this reflects the attitudes that US government officials revealed in documents from the 1850s. In these, they discussed whether the 1818 Act of Congress forbidding the importation of slaves, although aimed at African slavery, could also be applied to the “coolie trade” of Asians, since Malays and South Asian Indians were “persons of color” and Chinese “to some sense” the same. The California Supreme Court was more clear-cut about how Chinese should be categorized. In the 1854 case *People v. Hall*, it ruled that the ban on Blacks and American Indians testifying against Whites in courts of law also applied to Chinese.

The number of Asian men who volunteered to serve in the war, proportionate to their total population, is remarkably high.

Clearly, people saw color differently. The same man could pass as White at one time and be considered a person of color at another. Moreover, with the passage of time in the field, the skin of all combatants darkened, which could change the assessment of a man's racial designation. Hence, any Asian enrolled in a White regiment faced the threat of dismissal should an officer later determine him disqualified by race.

That so many Asian combatants, each almost always serving as the lone Asian in a White or Colored regiment, won the acceptance, even admiration and respect, of his fellows can be attributed to individual character as well as the nature of a soldier's small tight-knit community. Here men depended on each other for survival not just on battlefields, but on long, hard marches, when felled by sickness, or as prisoners of war. Such was the power of these attachments that some endured long after the war ended.

Many Asian and Pacific Islanders, often the lone members of their ethnic group, won respect from their comrades—both on land and sea. Pictured here is Pvt. Felix Balderry, Company A, 11th Michigan Infantry, born in the Philippines.



ARCHIVES OF MICHIGAN

Unspoken Threat

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

At the start of the Civil War, the Union Army only accepted Whites. Later, men of color were permitted to fight in segregated units.

On May 17, 1861, Jose Duarte was enrolled by a captain into Company I, 39th Regiment, New York Infantry. In the Regimental Descriptive Book, "Description," including "Where born," is blank. For the next 19 months, his records show he served without incident. He became the company cook in January of 1863. Then, in the company muster roll for March and April, 1863, the muster officer Eugene Wells wrote, "This man is a negro. Illegally enlisted in 1861." "Colored man" is tersely noted in the company muster roll for July 1863. By August, Jose Duarte was "on det[ached] service Hd. Qrs. 3d Brig." And on September 18, 1863, he was dismissed with the notation: "Colored man discharged by order of the Secretary of War."

How Jose Duarte identified himself is unknown. What is certain is that the threat of dismissal dogged every Asian and Pacific Islander fighting alongside Whites.



A month after the first shots of the war were fired upon Fort Sumter, John Tomney enlisted in the Excelsior Brigade.

NPS/FT. SUMTER

John Tomney

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Soon after the first shots of the war were fired on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter, President Abraham Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to quell the rebellion of the seceding Southern states. A mere month later, on May 15, 1861, John Tomney enlisted in Company D, 1st Regiment, Excelsior Brigade (later designated the 70th New York Infantry). At the time, he was “entirely ignorant” of English. How John came to be in New York or the origin of his name is not known any more than whether he had, in fact, reached the legal age of 18 for enlistment, had a reason for enlisting, or understood what he was doing. Regardless, John served bravely and loyally.

“John” was then a popular Anglo-American name and a frequently used reference for a Chinese male. Jokes about “John” or “John Chinaman” abounded and John’s comrades later recalled that he was “the butt” of

the regiment at Camp Scott on Staten Island. “[B]right, smart, and honest,” however, he was also its wit and soon became “a favorite.”

Housed in an enormous circus tent rented from P.T. Barnum, the recruits—more boys than men—were still in training when the Confederates routed Union forces at Bull Run on July 21 and the 1st Excelsior was rushed to duty in Washington. The Confederates, trying to prevent Union shipping from reaching the capital, had constructed batteries downstream from the capital on the Virginia side of the Potomac River. When a large shell that they were firing at a passing vessel landed on Maryland soil without exploding, some Union soldiers picked it up. Extracting both cap and powder, they used it “as a plaything.” Then one boy “put a live coal in the opening and pushed it in with his foot” and the shell exploded, killing two, injuring ten.

John likewise risked unnecessary danger. The regiment was on an expedition from Dumfries to Fredericksburg, squelching through deep mud in torrential March rains when he and his comrades, pleading fatigue, fell out of ranks to embark on “an adventure.” They foraged a meal from a Confederate doctor in the upper part of Stafford, overtaking and seizing a cartload of bacon the doctor had sent off.

All winter, small Union detachments had crossed the river from their camp in hopes of catching Confederate pickets. None had succeeded. John, now fluent in English, returned to the doctor’s house alone, aimed his musket at the man, and declared, “You are my prisoner.”

The doctor sprang at John, wrested the gun from his hand, and countered coolly, “No, sir, you are my prisoner.”

Scouting parties from the Texas Brigade were prowling the area in hopes of “capturing or killing Yankees,” and the doctor, intending to deliver his prisoner to them, started down the road with John in front. Before they had gone far, John halted, refused to take another step.

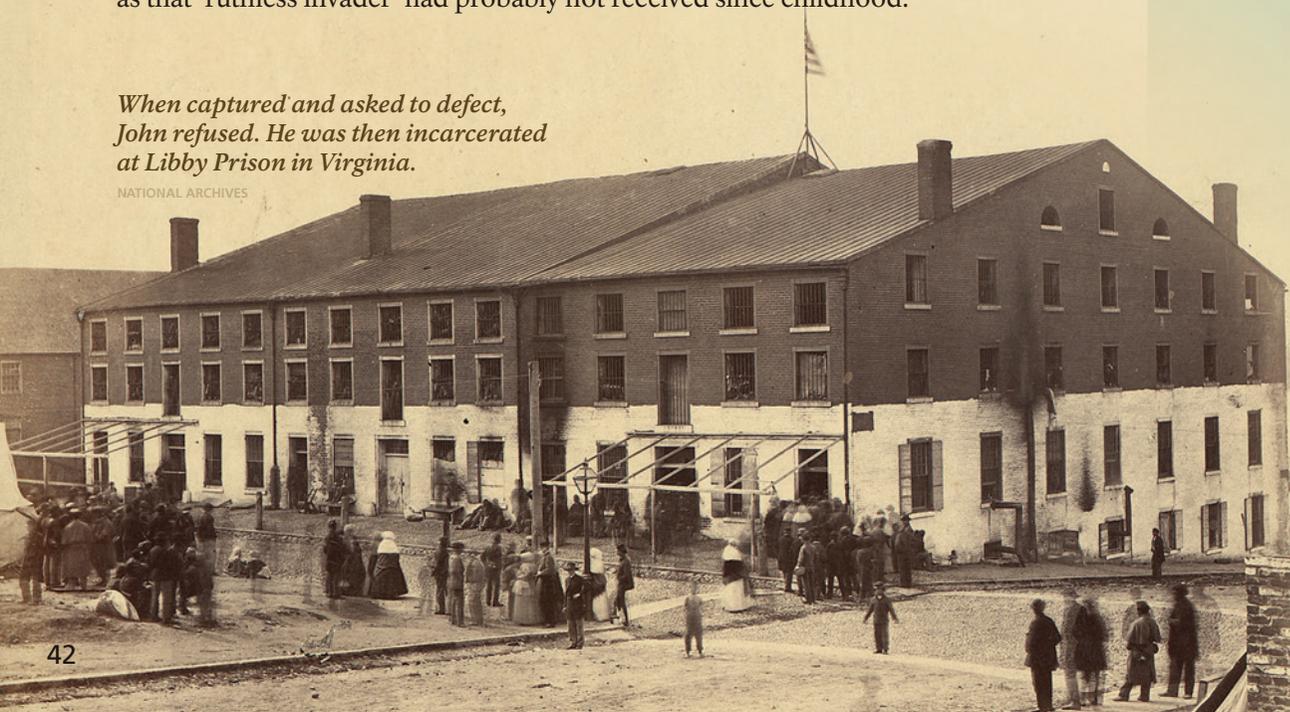
“Move or I’ll shoot you,” the doctor threatened.

“I’d as soon be killed as be taken a prisoner,” John retorted.

Even after 15 men and a lieutenant from the 4th Texas showed up, John held his ground. Pvt. J.C. Barker, furious a “Celestial servant [was] giving lip, [threw John] across his lap and with his belt administered such a chastisement as that ‘ruthless invader’ had probably not received since childhood.”

When captured and asked to defect, John refused. He was then incarcerated at Libby Prison in Virginia.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES



After his release from Libby Prison, John returned to active duty and fought at the second battle of Bull Run (Manassas) and here at Fredericksburg, Virginia.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Barker’s prejudices are evident. The stereotyping of Union soldiers in the South was as prevalent as that towards Chinese in both the Union and the Confederacy. Yet the language in the reports of John’s capture—as quoted above from personal and newspaper accounts—is mild. Moreover, the writers rendered John’s speech without any derogatory distortions. Perhaps John’s wit and spunk had earned the writers’ respect. Certainly those characteristics made him “a lion in the rebel camp,” and the Texans, while taking their captive to imprisonment in Richmond, presented him to Gen. John Magruder.

Most privates would have been intimidated in the presence of a general. Asked by Magruder, “What would it take for you to join the Confederate army?” John quipped, “You’d have to make me a brigadier general.”

There were prisoners North and South who did switch sides, and the General, “very much amused” by John, would likely have welcomed him had he been willing. John was not, so was subjected to the harsh conditions of Richmond’s Libby Prison.

By May, so many Union soldiers had been captured that to ease the overcrowding, over 800 were exchanged for Confederate soldiers held captive in the North. In this capacity, John and his fellow soldiers were sent back to the Union. John took furlough and devoted this period of time to nursing sick and wounded comrades. He also bought them small comforts and delicacies for which he paid out of his own pocket.

Returned to active duty in August, John fought at the second Battle of Bull Run and at Fredericksburg in December 1862, both Union defeats. He then went on the infamous Mud March in January 1863 in which men, soaked to the skin from icy rain, plodded in howling winds, their feet, mired in mud, growing heavier with every step.

He must have acquitted himself well. On February 8, he was promoted to corporal. And at Chancellorsville in May, another Union debacle, he

held steady in the face of fleeing troops, bullets thick as hail, shrieking shells, and clouds of choking smoke. According to his comrades, he “seemed not to know what fear was.”

John participated in the Army of the Potomac's infamous “Mud March” in which troops struggled through the driving rain with teams of horses fighting to pull cannon, artillery caissons, and other equipment through the mud and mire.

THE MUD MARCH, BY MORT KUNSTLER COPYRIGHT © 2005 MORT KUNSTLER, INC.



At Gettysburg, the Excelsior Brigade marched under fire to the fields northeast of the Peach Orchard along the Emmitsburg Road. No sooner were they in position when “an earsplitting crash of artillery” from 46 Confederate guns bore down on them. Union artillery returned fire, but the unprotected infantrymen could do nothing except hug the ground as tons of screaming metal hurtled overhead or, worse, found a mark—splintering trees, rocks, and bodies.

During this murderous bombardment, a shell nearly tore off John’s legs at the thighs, and he bled to death among his comrades.

Note: Quotes in the above essay are taken from: Richmond Dispatch, March 24, 1862; Richmond Enquirer, March 27, 1862; “Campaign from Texas to Maryland” by Reverend Nicholas Davis, Chaplain 4th Texas, published 1863, pages 20-27. Given author by Mary L. White.

This monument honors the men from the Excelsior Brigade who died on this field at Gettysburg, including John Tomney.

NPS/HFCCAC



CORY HARTMAN/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

Dzau Tsz-Zeh

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Orphaned at ten years-old, Dzau Tsz-zeh seized the opportunity for study offered by the Rev. James William Lambuth, a missionary in Shanghai who was looking for Chinese boys willing to be educated in America. After two years of lessons in English as well as Chinese, he accompanied Mrs. Lambuth to Mississippi in 1859. At his baptism the following year, he took the name of a Vicksburg planter and Methodist lay preacher, Charles K. Marshall.

When Mrs. Lambuth returned to China, David C. Kelley, a former missionary who had a school in Lebanon, Tennessee, assumed responsibility for the boy's education and care. Shortly thereafter, war erupted. Kelley formed a cavalry company that joined the fight as part of the 3rd Regiment, Tennessee Cavalry. Charlie, as he was called then, went as his personal attendant.

Many officers in the Union and Confederate armies had personal attendants. These manservants, almost always African American, were quartered together, and fighting wasn't among their duties. Nonetheless, they were exposed to danger, and Charlie was only 14. Telling the Lambuths about the 1862 Confederate defense of Fort Donelson, he admitted his fear under the constant thunder of heavy guns, whizz of cannon balls, and shells that ripped off the limbs of trees overhead, exploded terrifyingly close. With surrender imminent, the 3rd Regiment made a daring night escape so as to stay in the fight. Fiercely whipped by cold wind, drenched by heavy rain, and riding through swollen streams, Charlie felt as if he were in a bad dream—from which he awakened even more committed to study and return to China.

At 14 years-old, Dzau was a servant for an officer in Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's 3rd Tennessee Cavalry. Later in life, Dzau often recalled the harrowing battle and night time escape from the Battle of Fort Donelson.

JOHN PAUL STRAIN



It is possible there were times when Charlie, like other personal attendants, had to fight. His son later said that his father was never shot, but one of his hands was partly crushed by a caisson wheel, and he spoke often and fondly of his mount—a fine black horse with a single white spot. Back in China, Charlie reverted back to his Chinese name. Along with his vivid memories, Dzau Tsz-zeh also retained the distinctive accent, speech patterns, and colorful vocabulary he'd acquired from the African Americans with whom he served.



AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN PRESS

Dzau Tsz-zeh fulfilled his commitment to study and return to China. As a missionary for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he started a school for boys in Soochow, which evolved into Tong Wu University. Ordained as a minister in 1876, he undertook medical training while engaged in mission work and in 1887, he helped establish Soochow Women's Hospital. In 1890, he returned to America as a delegate to the General Conference of the Southern Methodist Church in St. Louis, Missouri, as well as for further medical training. All six of his children studied in the United States and his youngest daughter became a medical doctor.

Pioneers of Research In Honoring Those Who Served

by Gordon Kwok

As a member of the Olde Colony Civil War Round Table in Dedham, Massachusetts, I began to wonder whether there were people of my heritage, Chinese, who fought in this war. Despite reading many Civil War books and journals, I'd hardly come across this subject. By 1997, my curiosity motivated me to search for an answer. To my surprise, I found out that several other people were doing the same thing.

Around 1993, Australian researcher Terry Foenander started to collect information on Asians and Pacific Islanders serving in the Civil War which he posted on a website. Meanwhile, writer Ruthanne Lum McCunn researched and published an article about Chinese combatants in 1996. At the same time, Edward Milligan and Dr. Thomas Lowry met at the National Archives, both researching the same topic. They published their findings in 1999. There were other researchers, as well, many of them verifying family stories of ancestors who'd served in the war.

In 2000, I launched a website to combine all the known research in one place. Many people have contributed to this effort. Although the website is no longer active, it remains an electronic monument built to honor the Chinese people who fought for their host country, the United States of America. We call it the Association to Commemorate the Chinese Serving in the American Civil War. Through it, we pay respect to their contributions and spread the message across the continents.

<https://sites.google.com/site/accsacw/>

Thomas Sylvanus

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

As the first Union regiments raced to the defense of Washington through Baltimore, mob violence exploded. Ah Yee Way or Thomas Sylvanus, then a 15-year-old servant out on a household errand, witnessed this April 19, 1861 riot and was spurred to run north to Philadelphia, beginning what would be a lifelong fight for freedom.

In an affidavit, Thomas recalled a Mrs. McClintock taking him as a boy of eight or nine from Hong Kong to Philadelphia for schooling. He remembers then “falling into the hand” of a Dr. Sylvanus Mills, who turned him over to the doctor’s married sister, Mary Duvall, in Baltimore. He replaced his Chinese name, Ah Yee Way, with Thomas to honor “a kindly sailor” on the ship that had brought him to America. He was baptized as Thomas Sylvanus Duvall. At his enlistment in Company D, 81st Pennsylvania Voluntary Infantry on August 31, 1861, he declared Independence Day, July 4, his birthday and shed the name, “Duvall.”

Initially, Thomas seemed unscathed in the fierce fighting of the 1862 Peninsula Campaign’s battles: Fair Oaks, Allen’s Farm, Savage’s Station, Charles City Crossroads (Glendale), and Malvern Hill. But nine days after the Army of the Potomac’s withdrawal to Harrison’s Landing, his eyes started to dim, and he became completely blind. Medical officers determined he’d been attacked by a disease of the eyes that was variously attributed to fumes from an exploding artillery shell, excessive heat, hard marching, and gunsmoke. Although weeks in the hospital and months in a convalescent camp did restore his sight, surgeons deemed Thomas “incapable of performing the duties of a soldier [due to] partial blindness from cataract of both eyes.” He was given a disability discharge December 10, 1862.

Returning to Philadelphia, Thomas was in the city when it was threatened by a possible Confederate victory at Gettysburg, and on July 3, 1863, the third day of the battle, he enlisted in the 51st Regiment Infantry, Company B, Pennsylvania Emergency Ninety-Day Militia. That same day, the battle ended in a victory for the Union. So devastating was the carnage that his regiment, sent to Gettysburg for provost duty six weeks later, was struck by a sickening stench from dead horses—swollen to almost twice their natural size and rotting—still waiting to be burned, and thousands of human corpses decaying in shallow graves.

Without sufficient recruits to replace the tens of thousands fallen, Congress had enacted compulsory service for males between the ages of 20 and 45. Names were drawn by lottery. Anyone paying a commutation



Left partially blind after the Peninsula Campaign, Thomas was given a disability discharge. He nonetheless reenlisted twice: in the Pennsylvania Emergency Militia during the Battle of Gettysburg, and then, upon discharge, as a substitute.

NPS/GIL COHEN

fee of \$300 or hiring a substitute could be exempted, however, and Thomas, mustering out of the militia on September 3, enlisted as a substitute for George H. Dearborn, an umbrella merchant in New York City, on September 11.

Veterans typically despised replacements, especially substitutes. Yet Thomas, sent to Company D, 42nd New York Voluntary Infantry, was promoted to corporal after four months. So he must have performed well despite his poor vision during November’s Mine Run Campaign. Here, the regiment fought the enemy at Robertson’s Tavern, slogged through mud in drenching rain, and shivered without fires, tents, or shelters of any kind.

In the Overland Campaign that began May 4, 1864, the regiment's history lists these battles: Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, Totopotomoy, and Cold Harbor. Thomas's cataracts would not have disadvantaged him in the gloomy haze of powder smoke in the Wilderness or in the night march as the 2nd Corps moved into position for a dawn attack on the salient—a horseshoe shaped bulge encompassing high ground known as "the Apex"—that the Confederates occupied near the Spotsylvania Court House. Shielded by fog, Union troops overran the Confederates' picket line and then smashed into the heavily defended Confederate earthworks under a relentless hail of lead.

In the heat of battle, soldiers relied on Colors—regimental and national flags—for guidance. Colors also served to rally troops. To be a member of a regiment's Color Guard was considered an honor—and it also made the soldier more of an enemy target. At Spotsylvania's grisly breastworks,

the 42nd New York's Color Guard fell one by one. Somehow, Thomas seized the regiment's flag and kept it flying until the Confederates withdrew and the 20 hours of relentless slaughter were over.

During the Union's disastrous charge at Cold Harbor, Thomas struck his knee on a snag of a broken tree or limb and cut the skin at the head of the tibia, but stayed in the fight. And when the regiment's capture seemed certain on June 22 at the Weldon Railroad, he and his comrades tore up the Colors so the enemy got nothing but the naked staff.

As one of 1,700 captives, Thomas was paraded through Petersburg to Richmond, Virginia. Briefly interned on Belle Isle, he was then among 700 packed like cattle into freight cars with minimal rations to Camp Sumter military prison, commonly called Andersonville, in southwest Georgia. Without treatment, Thomas's leg wound became infected, and he limped painfully.



At Spotsylvania's grisly breastworks known as "the Apex," the 42nd New York's Color Guard fell one by one. Thomas seized the regiment's flag and kept it flying until the Confederates withdrew and the 20 hours of relentless slaughter were over.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Andersonville was an open stockade surrounded by guards. The only shelter from frequent downpours, chill night dews, searing sun in summer and icy rain in winter was under tent flies, blankets, overcoats, and shirts that prisoners stretched above sticks. A slow-moving stream flowing through the prison served as the sole source for drinking, washing, and use as a latrine. But prisoners—weakened by bad water and meager rations of weevil-riddled cornmeal, wormy beans, and smelly condemned meat—often never reached it.

On November 11, Thomas was transferred to Camp Lawton military prison, near Millen, Georgia. When Camp Lawton was evacuated due to Sherman's March to the Sea, prisoners were moved to temporary prison camps in south Georgia at Blackshear and Thomasville. Travel between these temporary camps was over rickety rails in open flatbeds or cattle cars or on foot through miles of scrub pine, wading chest deep in swamps. Following Sherman's arrival in Savannah these prisoners were moved a final time—their second walk through the gates of Andersonville.

An unusually cold winter, temperatures dropped as low as 18 degrees. Icy rain deluged the open stockade daily, and on January 24, 1865, Thomas was admitted to the hospital sheds outside the stockade for "debilitas," general feebleness. Given little or no medicine and a diet that was only marginally better than the prison ration, fully one third of the hospital's patients died that month. Thomas was returned to the stockade January 30.

In mid-March, prisoners began heading for exchange. Thomas's turn, coming in April, coincided with the Confederacy's collapse and the final days of the war. Instead of speeding up his group's return to the Union, the confusion of that period caused a protracted journey that included a two-day barefoot march between Albany and Thomasville in the spring rain, a brief but bitter third return to Andersonville, a final exodus, and another painful trek before reaching freedom on April 28, 1865, in Jacksonville, Florida.

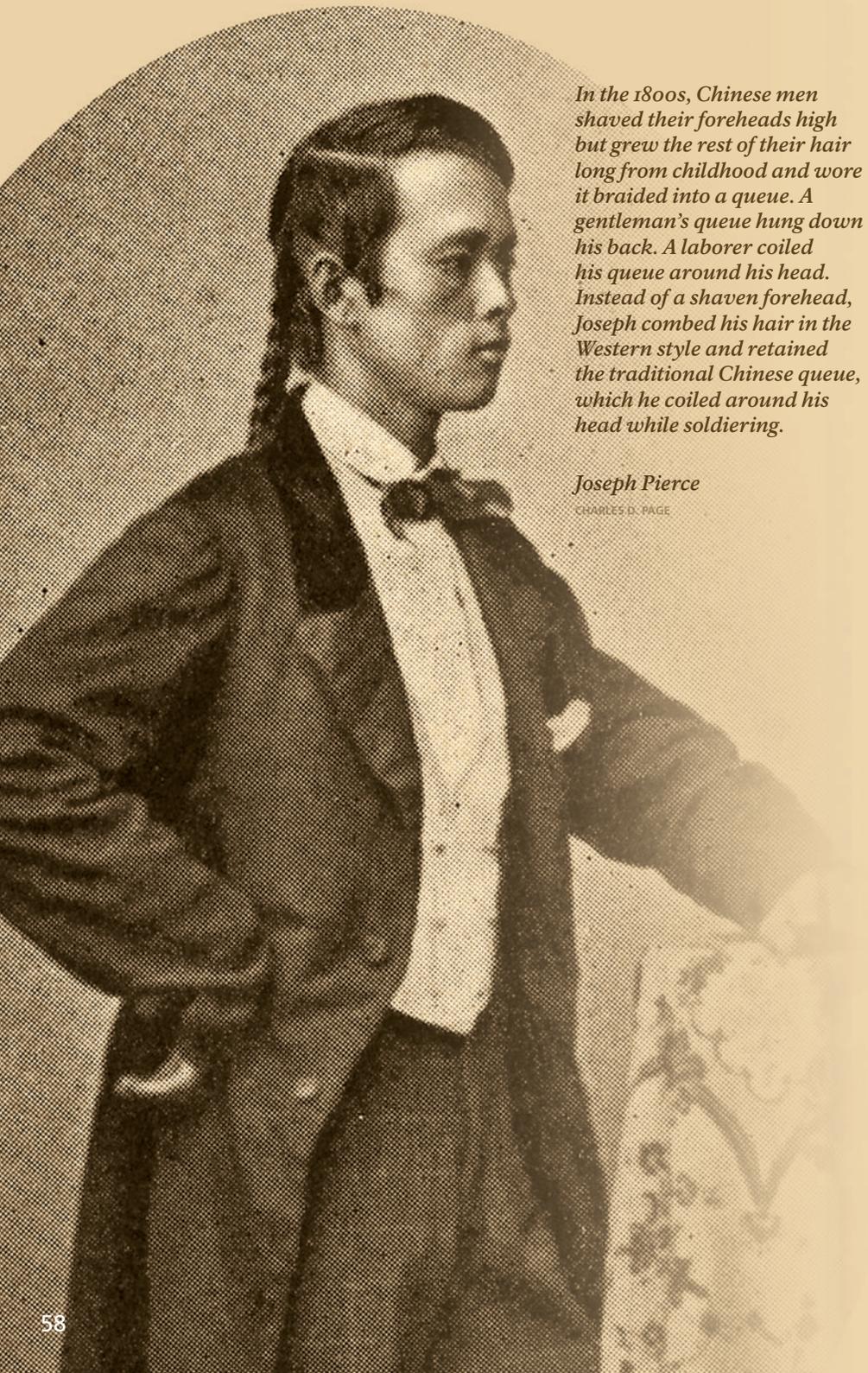
Mustered out on May 22, 1865 in New York City, 20-year-old Thomas attempted to resume his broken education at a school in New Jersey, but was soon dismissed for poor sight. Condemned by lack of schooling and ruined eyes to manual labor, he settled in Western Pennsylvania's Indiana County. Problems from his leg injury and his deteriorating sight meant he could rarely keep a job long, however. Two forays into the laundry business ended in failure.

But his efforts to provide for his wife and three children never flagged. And on those occasions when he was cheated out of wages, falsely accused, or his children threatened, he sought recourse in the courts. Even pinned to bed, wracked by coughs, and spitting blood, his insistence on his rights did not waver, and his final breaths were a desperate bid to meet his family's needs.



Living historians reenact the horrific conditions that 45,000 soldiers, including Thomas, suffered at Andersonville Prison. Nearly 13,000 died in the 14 months the prison was in operation.

NPS/ANDERSONVILLE



In the 1800s, Chinese men shaved their foreheads high but grew the rest of their hair long from childhood and wore it braided into a queue. A gentleman's queue hung down his back. A laborer coiled his queue around his head. Instead of a shaven forehead, Joseph combed his hair in the Western style and retained the traditional Chinese queue, which he coiled around his head while soldiering.

Joseph Pierce

CHARLES D. PAGE

Joseph Pierce

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Joseph Pierce, born in China, was brought to Berlin, Connecticut, by ship with Capt. Amos Peck, who left the boy in the care of his parents. The Peck family seems to have been unusually accepting. Joseph was permitted to continue combing his hair in a traditional queue. When found cooking rice in their farm's barn, he was not forbidden to make rice for himself but told to do it in the house's open fireplace lest he ignite the hay.

Taught how to read and write by the captain's mother, Joseph then attended school with the two youngest Pecks, who were—like him—in their teen years. He would have been privy to family tales, which included a forebear's great suffering as a fifer in the Revolutionary War and the bloody footprints soldiers made in the snow. These tales did not discourage a Peck son, Matthew, from rushing to enlist in the cavalry the first year of the Civil War. The next year, Joseph enlisted, too. Signing papers for Company F, of the 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry on July 26, 1862, he gave his age as 22.

After a mere month in training camp, the regiment marched—bands playing and flags flying—to the Hartford-New York Steamboat Wharf where they boarded steamers. Spectators, many laden with baskets of fruit and food for the soldiers, lined the streets and banks of the Connecticut River to wave farewell and offer hearty cheers under the August sun. Once in New York, the regiment boarded trains for Washington. Within weeks, they were fighting for their lives at Antietam.



Joseph Pierce enlisted in the 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, Company F.

IRVING MOY

Decades later, the chaplain told a reporter, “Our Joe,’ as we called him, was rarely off duty—a brave, capable, and faithful soldier.” In particular, Joseph distinguished himself in Gettysburg, where he was among the first to go out on the skirmish line on July 2 and volunteered for the critical attack against the Bliss farm on July 3.

As described by Charles B. Hamblen in *Connecticut Yankees at Gettysburg*, “The Bliss barn and farmhouse, bordered by a 10-acre orchard and a field of wheat,” lay roughly halfway between the Confederate and Union lines. “Because of its sound masonry construction, the barn became a miniature fortress,” and the two armies “struggled for its possession.”

On the morning of July 3, Confederate sharpshooters, once again in control, were firing at Union positions on Cemetery Ridge, and General Alexander Hays ordered Col. Thomas A. Smyth “to rid his troops permanently of this vexation.” Smyth called upon the 14th Connecticut to carry out the order, which they did under “savage fire, [thus] contributing to the great Union victory later in the afternoon.”

Joseph volunteered for the critical attack on the Bliss Farm at the Battle of Gettysburg.

GETT. FOUNDATION



Cpl. Joseph Pierce
MICHAEL J. MCAFEE

Going into Gettysburg, only 160 of the 1,015-strong regiment that had marched out of training camp were fit for duty. During the fight, 13 were killed or mortally wounded, 49 wounded, and four captured. Reinforced with 480 recruits, the 14th fought at Falling Waters, Bristoe Station, Blackburn's Ford, and Mine Run, losing 96 more. Joseph, promoted to corporal on November 1, was assigned in February to recruiting duty back in New Haven. With the regiment losing even more men through battle, illness, and desertion, the need for replacements was unending and he remained on recruiting duty until orders came to rejoin the regiment for siege operations at Petersburg in October.

For the next few months, Joseph and his comrades marched, skirmished, formed lines of battle, and charged earthworks. As their chaplain put it, "The regiment had an exceptional experience as to the number and severity of battles engaged in, hardships of campaigns, and casualties." Indeed, they were actively engaged at High Bridge and Farmville on April 7, just two days before Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

The regiment was given the honor of leading the 2nd Corps on its homeward march. It also participated in the Grand Review of the Armies in Washington on May 23, 1865 before mustering out.

Back in Connecticut, Joseph did not return to farming. Boarding with members of the Peck family in Meriden, famous for its silverware industry, he became an engraver. Together with photographs, the story of his arrival in Connecticut and service in the Civil War was passed down through generations of the Peck family and Edwin Stroud, a comrade in the 14th Connecticut.



Joseph Pierce's home in Meriden, Connecticut.

IRVING MOY

This image, believed to be Joseph Pierce, depicts the period after the war when he returned to Meriden, Connecticut—famous for its silver industry—and worked as an engraver.

IRVING MOY

Joseph marched with the 14th Connecticut in the Grand Review of the Armies in Washington, D.C.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

An American Journey

by Irving Moy, author, *An American Journey: My Father, Abraham Lincoln, Joseph Pierce, and Me*

My American journey began when my father emigrated from China to San Francisco in 1928. He found a job in a laundry and, despite persistent discrimination, later owned his own business. When the US entered World War II, my father enlisted, willing to fight and die in defense of his adopted country. My sister and I were born after the war. We lived in a loft above the laundry with no bathroom. We still felt the sting of racism, being called “no good” and being refused service in some restaurants. Nevertheless, our parents’ hard work allowed my sister and I to live the American Dream.

My 6th grade teacher, Mary Callery, fostered my love of American history and particularly of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was raised in humble circumstances, but sought to make a contribution to his country. He was called “ugly as a baboon” and was ridiculed for his Kentucky accent and ill-fitting clothes. He possessed qualities I admire, especially the ability to listen and learn, and to use humor in the face of adversity, which I have tried to apply in my own life.

In 1994, the Civil War Times ran an article on Joseph Pierce entitled, “An Oriental Yankee Soldier.” I wondered what motivated this man—who was sold into servitude and taken thousands of miles from his homeland to a country whose language, customs, and history he knew nothing about—to enlist in a volunteer infantry and fight to preserve a country that considered Chinese “coolies” no different than enslaved African Americans. My quest for an answer, as well as the ethnic pride I felt in his participation, motivated me to find out more about Joseph Pierce’s life. I hope his story will inspire those who hear it. I also hope that readers will come to realize that the history of this nation is made up of countless stories of known and unknown immigrants who have come to this country and contributed to our national fabric.

Portraying Cpl. Joseph Pierce, Irving Moy honors the flag of Company F, 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry.

CLOE POISSON/HARTFORD COURANT

Pride Restored

by Carol Shively

Joseph Pierce's great grandchildren were never told of their Chinese ancestry. That is, until Irving Moy traced Pierce's genealogy, found his five great granddaughters, and shared his research about their courageous ancestor. Through this, they gained a deep pride in their new-found Chinese heritage.



Joseph Pierce's great granddaughters (from left to right) Patricia Haight, Jean Cuzzi, Mary Vargas-Mastroni, Dolores Bernard, and Joyce O'Neil

LISA HERNANDEZ VARGAS-PORTELA

Christopher Wren Bunker and Stephen Decatur Bunker

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

The Bunker cousins, Christopher and Stephen, were born in Mount Airy, North Carolina. Their mothers, Sarah and Adelaide Yates, were local women, married to the famous conjoined twins, Chang and Eng, who toured the US on exhibit. Born in Siam to a Chinese fisherman and a half-Malay, half-Chinese mother, the twins adopted the name Bunker when they became naturalized citizens on October 12, 1839. Successful entrepreneurs in their native land, they read widely in agriculture and became skilled farmers using modern methods and enslaved labor. Though conjoined, they were maintaining two separate households and operating two separate farms by the late 1850s, with the twins switching from one to the other every three days. The added expenses meant a return to touring in 1860 to bring in cash, but with war threatening, they terminated their appearances in gold-rich California and hurried home.

Staunch Confederates, the two families provided food and clothing to the troops and nursed the wounded. Their sons, Christopher and Stephen, each joined the cavalry at age 18.

As conjoined twins, the Bunkers were an oddity to people of the 1800s. In 1829, British merchant Robert Hunter convinced the twins to tour the US on exhibit. Later, the twins toured on their own. In 1839, they retired from touring to farm in North Carolina.



Pictured are Chang and Eng Bunker with two of their sons, Patrick Henry and Albert.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION, WILSON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL



CHRISTAN MOY

Christopher, the elder by a year, enlisted on April 1, 1863 in the 37th Battalion, Virginia Cavalry. Called up on September 14, 1863, he was among the 2,800 cavalry under Gen. John McCausland who raided Pennsylvania in retribution for Union depredations in the Shenandoah Valley. Sweeping aside Union cavalry, the Confederates entered Chambersburg the morning of July 30, 1864 and demanded either \$100,000 in gold coin or \$500,000 in US currency within three hours or the city would be put to the torch. When its inhabitants failed to raise the money, McCausland destroyed it, and while the city burned, drunken soldiers plundered freely, even tearing brooches, rings, and earrings off women in the streets.

Moving on, the Confederates skirmished with pursuing Union soldiers. Then, certain he'd left Union troops far behind, McCausland ordered his men to set up camp three miles outside Moorefield, West Virginia, in an area that was flat and militarily indefensible. On August 7, the Union cavalry caught up with McCausland's force. Union troops included a special unit known as the "Jessie Scouts" who wore Confederate uniforms in order to infiltrate enemy lines. In a surprise pre-dawn attack, they overran the Confederates in their camp, inflicting a serious defeat. In the mayhem that followed, Christopher was wounded—one of the more than 400 Confederate casualties in the battle.

Intials on rifle, "CWB"

Christopher received his father's gun as a gift. He and his brother Stephen participated in local shooting matches and were excellent marksmen.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION, WILSON LIBRARY,
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL



Christopher participated in the burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania under the command of Gen. John McCausland. Chambersburg was the only town in the North destroyed by Confederate forces.

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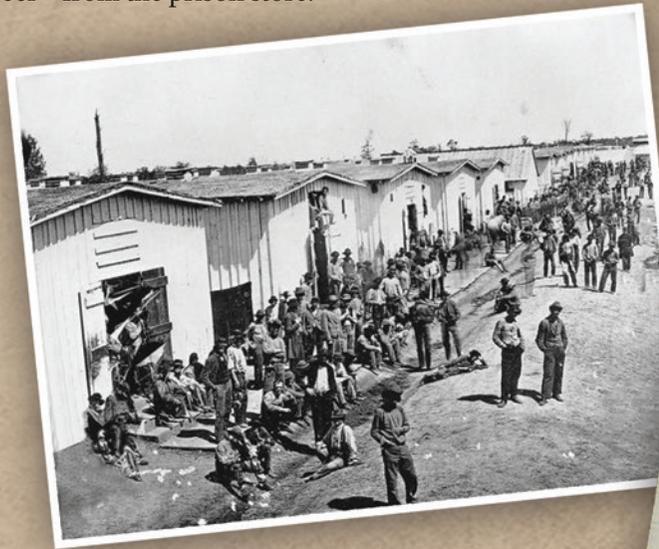
MARC TOLBERT

When a friend brought Christopher's bloodstained riderless horse back to Mount Airy, his family thought he had been killed. In fact, along with other cavalrymen in his battalion captured at Moorefield, he was sent to one of the largest military prisons at the time: Camp Chase, four miles west of Columbus, Ohio.

The prison was surrounded by a 12-foot-high wooden wall. Christopher, housed in a small wooden barrack with 197 other prisoners, slept on a straw-covered bunk and passed his waking hours reading the Bible and carving boats and musical instruments out of wood. Packages from home supplemented his meager rations. His father, Chang, also sent him money with which he could buy items—such as cigars, underclothes, pocketknives, and smoked beef—from the prison store.

"I hope it will not be very long when I will hear from you and see you too although I see no chance for an exchange. We are drawing very light rations here, just enough to keep breath and body together."

When his riderless horse was brought home, Christopher's family thought he had been killed. But he later wrote to them from prison at Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Nevertheless, Christopher was reduced at least once to eating a cooked rat, and on September 9, 1864, he was hospitalized with "variola," a virus that could have been either smallpox, which was then raging through the camp, or the less serious chicken pox. Finally, in early 1865, the Union and the Confederacy agreed to a parole exchange of prisoners. On March 4, Christopher took the required oath of allegiance to the United States and was exchanged for a Union prisoner of war. His family welcomed him home on April 17, 1865.

His cousin Stephen, enlisting in the same cavalry battalion on July 2, 1864, escaped the debacle at Moorefield. Though wounded in fighting near Winchester, Virginia, on September 3, 1864, he went back into action, and according to his two sons, was wounded a second time near the end of the war and then captured by the Union Army.

Camp Chase, O., Oct the 12th 1864

Dear Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters

It is with pleasure I take the present opportunity to drop you a few lines to let you know how I am getting along. I was captured the 17th of last August and brought to this place. I have no news of interest to write to you as there are none allowed to come in prison. You must write to me, as soon as you get this and let me know how you are getting along I would like to hear from you all as it has been a long time since I heard from you. I hope it will not be very long before I hear from you and see you too all though I see no chance for an exchange.

I have not seen many well days since I came to this place. I have had the Small pox and have now got the diarria but I hope that I will be well in the course of a week. The Small pox did not go very hard with me it did not confine me to my bed but about three weeks. I would like to have some clothes as I have not got but one suit and ~~and~~ it is very thin summer goods but it is impossible for you to send me any from home. We are drawing very light rations here just enough to keep breath and body together. I must bring this to a close and I hope it will find you well and doing well. Direct to Camp Chase Columbus Ohio and put it ~~in~~ in another envelop and direct to Judge Child Officer of exchange Richmond Va

I remain Your son as ever C. W. Decker

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION, WILSON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL



An enslaved woman on the Bunker farm.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION, WILSON LIBRARY,
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

Since the conjoined twins were well known in the North, their farms were spared by Union forces sweeping through North Carolina in the final weeks of the war. But one of their major sources of income had been interest from loans that they'd made to friends and neighbors—and with defeat came the collapse of Confederate currency. Moreover, their enslaved laborers—Chang's 12 worth \$9,500 and Eng's 21, worth \$17,050 in 1864—were now lost to them as assets. Indeed, as paid laborers, the formerly enslaved men and women became expenses.

To restore their families to financial security, the twins left their sons Christopher and Stephen in charge of their farms to tour again as public exhibits. And, by 1870, Chang's holdings were considerable, \$23,000. Eng's assets, although far less at \$7,000, supported his family comfortably. But the extensive touring severely taxed the aging twins' health. Returning from a grand tour to Europe and Russia, Chang suffered a stroke from which he never fully recovered, and on January 17, 1874, the two died within hours of each other.

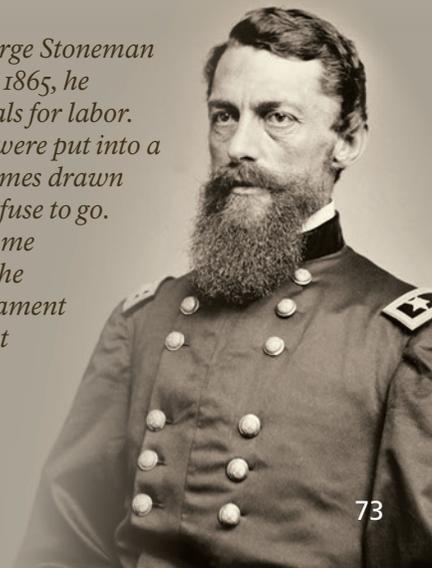
After their fathers' deaths, Stephen and Christopher chose to continue farming in Mount Airy.

Outwitting a General

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

When the Union Maj. Gen. George Stoneman reached Mount Airy on April 2, 1865, he decided to draft some of the locals for labor. The names of all males over 18 were put into a lottery wheel, and one of the names drawn was Eng Bunker. Eng did not refuse to go. But Chang did, and since his name had not been drawn and since the men were bound by a 5-inch ligament at the chest, Stoneman could not take him, and was forced to resign his claim to Eng.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Family Pride

by Jessica Garcia

In order to make the Bunker story come alive across these pages, I was asked to locate pictures of the Bunker cousins. At first a daunting task, I was lucky enough to find an old article featuring Linda A. Jacobson, Curator at the UNC-Chapel Hill's Wilson Library, who had worked with the family. On a whim, I sent her an email and she responded a week later, generously passing along information on several Bunker descendants. I contacted both sides of the family and several offered their support in securing family photographs.

For me, these email exchanges breathed life into the Bunker family story. Christopher Wren and Stephen Decatur were more than soldiers and Civil War veterans, they were family men. And you could feel their descendants' pride radiate from this simple fact. All too often, we tend not to distinguish between the two. Having the opportunity to learn about the Civil War not only from an Asian American perspective, but through the eyes of their descendants is both fascinating and exciting. The Bunkers' family history did not end in 1865, but has been kept alive through family reunions and with the aid of modern technology, Facebook.

Thanks to their support, the National Park Service was able to obtain permission to use family pictures for this book. The Bunkers' story confirms the importance of telling an inclusive account of the Civil War that not only honors this family for their personal family legacy, but pays tribute to our collective history as a diverse nation as well.



Descendants of the Bunker and Yates families gather at the annual Bunker Reunion in 2011 at the First Baptist Church in Mount Airy, North Carolina.

Edward Day Cohota

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Multiple stories exist for how Edward Day Cohota came to America. At the heart of each is that his life began in China and he was brought as a small boy to Gloucester, Massachusetts by Captain Sargent S. Day, whose family embraced him with a genuine and abiding affection.

Contradictions abound, too, regarding the specifics of Edward's enlistment in Company I, 23rd Massachusetts Voluntary Infantry on February 12, 1864. In his personal copy of the regimental history, his daughter Lucy wrote "15" in green ink next to the age "18."

Edward Cohota was brought from China to America as a boy by a ship captain whose family received him warmly.

M. COOPER

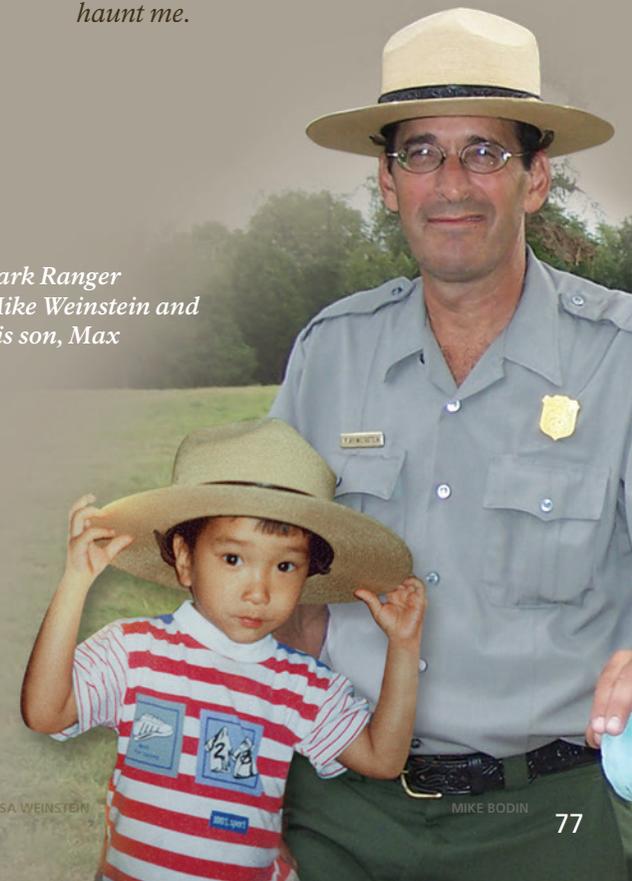


Reflections

by Mike Weinstein

Some of the Asian soldiers were brought to the United States as boys. As I worked on this project, I was continually thinking about the American ship captains bringing home young boys from the docks of China. Having adopted a baby boy from Vietnam, the mental image of the little boys on the docks will always haunt me.

Park Ranger Mike Weinstein and his son, Max



LISA WEINSTEIN

MIKE BODIN

In Cohota's copy of the regimental history, she also noted, "Dad was here" for the Battle of Drewry's Bluff on May 16, 1864. He was, indeed. As part of the Army of the James, the 23rd Massachusetts menaced Richmond from the south in mid-May 1864. On the 16th, a surprise Confederate attack in the misty dawn struck the Union Army's flank. The 23rd Massachusetts had the misfortune to be there and suffered extensively before order could be restored. Out of the regiment's 220 in the fight, 10 were killed, 27 wounded, and 51 taken prisoner. Edward made a narrow escape, about which Lucy recorded, "Dad came out of battle 7 bullet holes in his clothes. None touched his flesh."

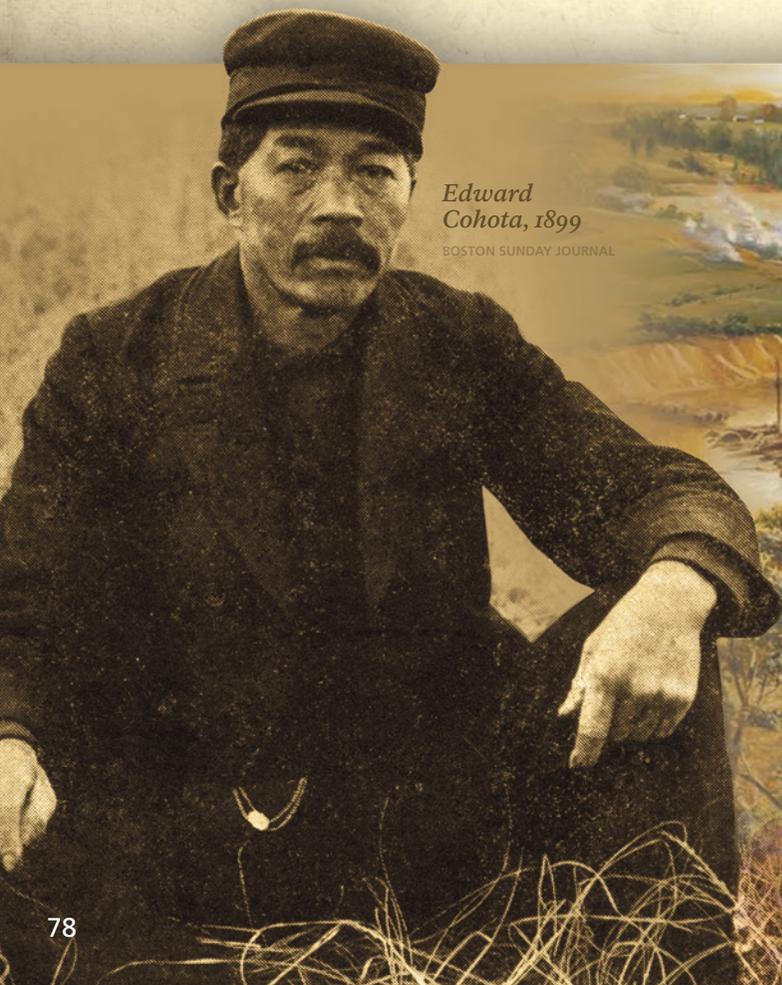
The Second Battle of Drewry's Bluff ended the Union offensive below Richmond. Next, Gen. Ulysses Grant summoned some of the Army of the James to reinforce his own command as he approached an important road junction called Cold Harbor at the end of May 1864. On June 3, in one of the most infamous attacks of the war, a large portion of the army attempted an assault across a seven-mile front. The greatest slaughter—in

a battle renowned for that—occurred where Edward fought with the 23rd Massachusetts. The regiments in John H. Martindale's division made an ill-conceived frontal assault into the teeth of the strongest Confederate position. They lost nearly 800 men in just a few minutes. It may have been then that Edward had yet another close call, or perhaps it was later in the day during the prolonged skirmishing that succeeded the failed major attack.

Edward was in the second line of skirmishers. "A bullet parted my hair in the middle," he recalled. "I wasn't hurt, but it was a close shave, and Gen. 'Baldy' Smith, who saw the thing said, 'If you were human you would be dead.'"

At the Battle of Drewry's Bluff, Edward's daughter jotted in her father's copy of the regimental history that he "came out of battle [with] 7 holes in his clothes. None touched his flesh."

NPS/RICHMOND



*Edward
Cohota, 1899*
BOSTON SUNDAY JOURNAL



A comrade, William E. Low, told his family that he'd been "severely wounded by a bullet through his jaw [and] lay suffering and helpless among the dead and wounded" at Cold Harbor until Edward "picked him up and hid him behind a rock" under the shade of some trees. Though Edward "rejoined the fighting line," he later returned to where he'd hidden Low and carried him to an ambulance station in the rear. Speaking often about Edward and with deep gratitude and affection, Low called him "a fine soldier who did his duty nobly."

According to Lucy, the army was not what her father had expected and he had been relieved to muster out June 25, 1865 and go home to Gloucester. Then, unable to find work, he went to Boston "hoping to sign onto a ship and unexpectedly ran into some army friends, among them a recruiting sergeant. They all went to a saloon to celebrate their reunion and ended up drunk and in the army before they knew it."

When telling this story of his enlistment as a private in the 15th US Infantry, Edward always roared with laughter, and he reenlisted repeatedly, even after marriage and a family, ultimately serving 30 years.

Indeed, Edward's devotion to service and family are reflected in how he passed his final years between Lucy's home and the Battle Mountain Sanitarium for Veterans in Hot Springs, South Dakota. There, despite his advanced years, rheumatism, varicose veins, pleurisy, and kidney trouble, he would unfailingly go outside for flag-down and stand "uncovered and at attention with reverence and respect."

Edward served a 30-year career in the regular army at various posts throughout the West and Southwest. While at Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, he said he stood guard over American Indian chief Sitting Bull. After his military service, he operated a restaurant in Valentine, Nebraska.

M. COOPER



*Front row:
William (son),
Edward Day Cohota,
Edward Woods (son)
Back Row: Lucy and
Elizabeth (daughters)*

M. COOPER

Edward spent his final years living with his daughter Lucy and at a home for veterans where, despite his many ailments, he still stood at attention each night for the lowering of the American flag.

M. COOPER



Fellow soldier, William Low credits Edward with saving his life in the Battle of Cold Harbor. Low often spoke of him with deep gratitude and affection, calling Edward "a fine soldier who did his duty nobly." Years later in 1928, the old comrades met. Low was quite deaf and nearly blind. As reported in the local paper, "The two old soldiers faced each other and relatives gathered closely, waiting expectantly, but then almost despairingly as Low showed no response to their shouted efforts to enlighten him. Suddenly, his whole face flamed with recognition and his whole being was electrified as he leaped to his feet with a cry of, 'Cohota!' [and] the two embraced with tears."



Part of the Story

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

History is story. The facts are fixed, but the story changes depending on who's telling it, what is left out, and what is included. This was brought home to me through my experiences at two Lincoln, Nebraska archives in 1991.

At the first, my query, "Do you have anything about Chinese in 19th century Nebraska?" received the sharp response, "No, we ran them out."

"Then there must have been Chinese here," I observed.

"NO!"

At the second archive, the newspapers had been thoroughly indexed, and the title of the Nebraska State Journal's article "Man without a Country" about Chinese Civil War veteran Edward Cohota seemed particularly apt.

I'd begun collecting items about Chinese Civil War veterans six years earlier when a tiny clipping about Joseph Pierce in a Connecticut archive fell from a file onto my lap. My Nebraska experience spurred me to reconstruct their lives and, five years later, give them collective voice in "Chinese in the Civil War: Ten Who Served" from Chinese America: History & Perspectives 1996.

The service of Asian and Pacific Islander Civil War veterans has never been as fully acknowledged as in these pages. But they have always been part of the story.

A Japanese Man Meets Three US Presidents

by Ted Alexander

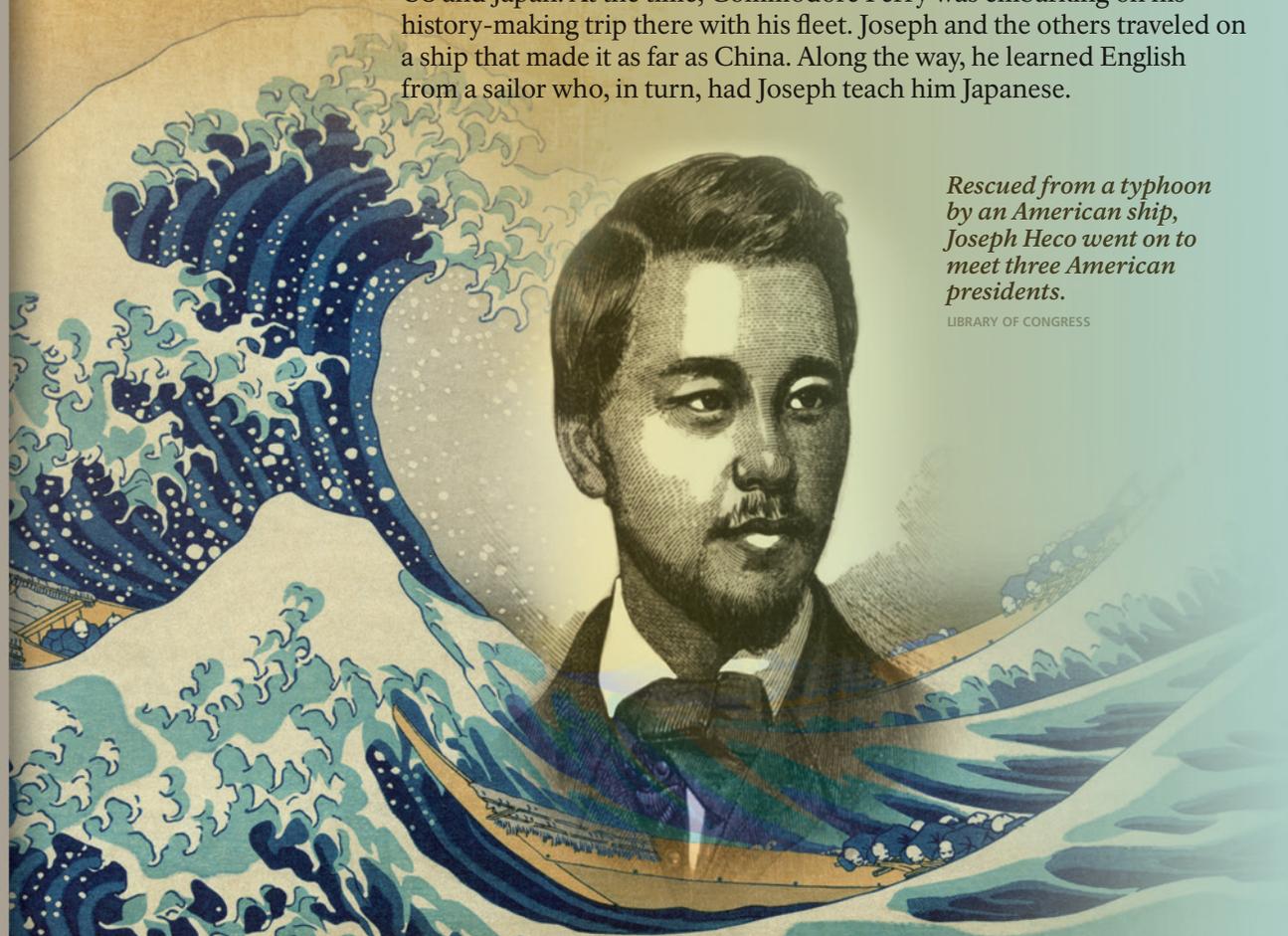
In 1850 at age 13, Joseph Heco (aka Hikozo Hamada) was part of a 17-man crew on a Japanese ship delivering a shipment to Edo (present-day Tokyo). On the return to his home province, the ship met a fierce typhoon. Due to Japan's isolationist policies which had been in place for more than 200 years, all ships were designed for shallow water to prevent mariners from straying away from Japanese shores.

Accordingly, Joseph's ship soon lost its sail and rudder in the storm and was set adrift for 50 days. Finally, almost out of water and food, the castaways were rescued by an American merchant ship. After some time at sea, the group arrived in San Francisco in February 1851. This was one of the first groups of Japanese nationals to arrive on US soil. The San Francisco newspapers made much of their arrival. At one point, the group was even deceived into being put on exhibition before a fascinated audience of Whites.

Secretary of State Daniel Webster thought it would be a goodwill gesture to return the men back to Japan as relations were warming between the US and Japan. At the time, Commodore Perry was embarking on his history-making trip there with his fleet. Joseph and the others traveled on a ship that made it as far as China. Along the way, he learned English from a sailor who, in turn, had Joseph teach him Japanese.

Rescued from a typhoon by an American ship, Joseph Heco went on to meet three American presidents.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



After a sojourn in China, Joseph returned to the US and got a job working in a boarding house in Vallejo, California. Soon he caught the attention of Beverly Sanders, who was Collector of Customs in San Francisco—a very important political position. He hired the 15-year-old Joseph as a clerk. When Sanders returned to his home in Baltimore, he brought young Joseph with him. Pulling into port at New York City, they then took the train to Baltimore. Some historians believe that Joseph may have been the first person from Japan to ever ride on a railroad. One day, Sanders made a trip to Washington, D.C., taking Joseph with him. There, they visited the White House and Joseph got to meet President Franklin Pierce. This was the first meeting between a US President and a person from Japan. Joseph was much taken by the simplicity of dress and demeanor of President Pierce, who even pulled out a chair for the young Asian. This manifestation of American democracy would have a lasting impression on Joseph.

The Sanders family put Joseph through Catholic school and he was baptized a Catholic. He then returned to San Francisco with Sanders. There he got a position with an import/export business where he received on the job training in mercantile matters. Soon, he caught the attention of US Senator William M. Gwin of California. The Senator took him under his wing and brought him back to Washington, D.C. While living in the nation's capital, he met another US President, James Buchanan.

It was no doubt through Gwin's influence that Joseph was naturalized as a US citizen in 1858. His citizenship, however, was an anomaly. The Naturalization Law of 1790 restricted citizenship to "free white persons." Thus, Joseph slipped through the cracks. He became the first person from Japan to become a US citizen. It would be many years later that other Japanese would be granted the same privilege.

Joseph returned to his native land in 1859. There, he went into business as a commission agent, custom broker, and interpreter. The latter skill came in handy when he helped resolve a diplomatic incident between Japan and Russia. When a Russian naval officer was murdered by some Japanese in Yokohama, the Russian Admiral threatened to shell the city when the culprits were not turned over for punishment. The US Consul suggested that Joseph, due to his language skills, be brought in as a mediator. Unable to find the

Upon meeting Franklin Pierce, Joseph Heco was struck by the simplicity of dress and demeanor of the American president.

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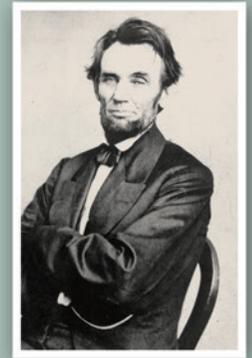


Joseph Heco met President James Buchanan during one of his visits to Washington.

A.W. MELLON EDUCATIONAL & CHARITABLE TRUST

murderers, Joseph was able to persuade the Japanese to cede a portion of Saghalien Island to the Russians, thus avoiding further bloodshed.

Next, the enterprising young Joseph returned to the United States. This time, laden with strong letters of recommendation from prominent people, he sought and received an appointment as the Interpreter to the US Consulate at Kanagawa. This position enabled him to wear a diplomatic uniform and to serve as Acting Vice-Consul, in the event of the absence of the US Consul.



After meeting Abraham Lincoln, Joseph noted that "... President [Lincoln] was tall, lean and ... a most sincere and kind person."

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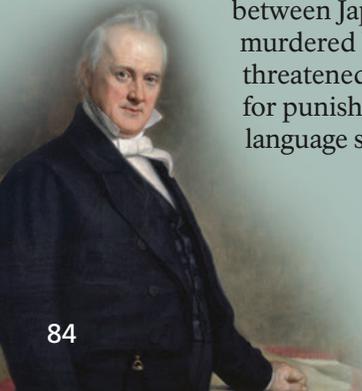
During his visit to Washington in 1862, Joseph met with President Abraham Lincoln at the White House. This was the third and the last US President he was to meet. Some historians suggest that this incident was fabricated by Joseph. Other scholars stand by his account.

Joseph recalled his meeting with Lincoln, "The President was tall, lean, with large hands, darkish hair streaked with grey, slight side-whiskers and clean shaved about the mouth. . . . He shook hands with me very cordially, and then he made a great many inquiries about the position of affairs in our country" (Japan). The young Japanese man described Lincoln as "a most sincere and kind person, greatly beloved by all those who came in contact with him. . . ."

By 1863, Joseph had left his job with the US Consul. He now pursued other ventures in the land of his birth. He became a prominent journalist, government official, and businessman. Joseph established Japan's first newspaper and was one of the first to spread the word of Lincoln's assassination throughout Japan. Because of his journalistic endeavors, he is known in Japan as "the father of Japanese journalism." Joseph Heco died in 1897.

Joseph's language skills helped resolve a diplomatic incident between Japan and Russia. He then received an appointment as the Interpreter to the US Consulate in Kanagawa, Japan.

SANSEIDO



John Williams

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

On August 25, 1864, New York's Third District Enrollment Board accepted "John Williams," a five-foot one inch, black-eyed, black-haired, dark complexioned youth from Japan as a substitute for Brooklyn resident William E. Bailey Jr.

Draftees with money could lawfully present enrollment boards with men paid to take their place. To find substitutes, draftees advertised in newspapers or turned to substitute brokers. Enrollment boards, anxious to meet quotas, accepted almost any man presented without question.

On John's Substitute Volunteer Enlistment form, there's an "X" in lieu of a signature. So he wasn't literate in English, and whether he was a fluent speaker or merely knew enough to give his age as "22" and occupation as "laborer" is unknown. He did later say that at his enlistment, he'd been in the country for only ten days and his military records suggest he received no money for signing. Yet where many substitutes and draftees ran away before arriving at their assigned regiments, John did not.

The 1st New York (Lincoln) Cavalry, which he joined, had been the first volunteer cavalry regiment raised in the North. Named in honor of President Abraham Lincoln, the regiment was composed partially of immigrants, many German, Irish, and English, and they'd been fighting together, and fighting hard, for three grueling years.

No matter how desperately a regiment needed replacements, veterans despised substitutes and made their life a misery. "Our boys don't play fair," one admitted. "They steal [the substitutes'] knapsacks and guns and everything else." John, probably likewise plagued in Company I, did not desert. So he might have been willing, even eager to be in the fight.

John joined the 1st New York "Lincoln" Cavalry—the first volunteer cavalry regiment raised in the North during the Civil War. It was composed partially of immigrants.

COURTESY OF NYS MILITARY MUSEUM



John's regiment fought hard throughout the war, from early operations in the Peninsula Campaign to the battles in the Shenandoah Valley.

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Young samurai had been sent to the United States for study ever since Japan's closed door policy lifted in October 1854. And, according to historian Katsuya Hirano, if John knew how to ride, perhaps even fight, he could have been of samurai origin. Some non-samurai people also knew how to ride, but they were very unlikely to have been able to travel to America at that time. Regardless of John's origins or how he landed in the Lincoln Cavalry, however, he fit in so well that his singularity was never mentioned in the regimental history.

At this point in the war, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant—resolved to destroy the Confederate bread basket of the Shenandoah Valley and crush its army—had placed the bulk of the Union cavalry under the aggressive commander Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. Sheridan had launched the Shenandoah Valley Campaign and the cavalry was riding hard day after day. For John's regiment, "rests" were spent unsaddling and rubbing down the horses, then feeding them and saddling up again. During the nights, men unsaddled, groomed, saddled their horses, and then dozed with arms at hand, ears cocked for the bugle to call them to battle. As described in the regimental history, however, they were uncomplaining, "always ready for duty, day or night [and] could camp anywhere."

Throughout the fall, fighting was fierce. In a move to prevent food from getting to Gen. Robert E. Lee's army at Petersburg, Sheridan's forces systematically burned mills, barns, and public buildings, destroyed or carried away forage and grain, and drove off livestock. Some soldiers refused to take part in this action, known as "The Burning." But the unrelenting destruction, coupled with crucial victories on all fronts, helped win President Lincoln reelection in November.

The regiment had ridden 2,460 miles in 1864, much of it during the Shenandoah Valley Campaign. The constant campaigning took its toll on many soldiers, and in the new year, John was hospitalized in the 3rd Division Hospital Cavalry Corps with fever. Disease—not combat—was the major killer and disabler in the war, and this was true in John's regiment. Of the 168 that died, only one-fourth were killed or mortally wounded in battle. The rest died from illness.

John's "febris remittens," according to a period medical text, was a fever that "strikingly exacerbates and remits, but without intermission," and he was transferred to Armory Square General Hospital in Washington. Constructed near a reeking open sewer, the very air would have made recovery a challenge. Not surprisingly, John was unable to rejoin his regiment for its final operations or its muster-out in New York June 27, 1865. Instead, he was mustered out directly from the hospital on June 16.

General U.S. Grant gave Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan (pictured here) the following orders regarding operations in the Shenandoah Valley:

"If you can possibly spare a division [about 6,000 men] of cavalry, send them through Loudon County to destroy and carry off crops, animals, negroes, and all men under fifty years of age bearing arms."

It became known as "the Burning Raid." As the regimental historian wrote, "Men who never flinched in the hottest fight declared they would have no hand in this burning."

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Amity and Parody

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

After Japan signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States, the Tokugawa Shogun sent a large mission of samurai to tour the country. Their arrival in Washington in spring of 1860 was sensationally publicized with exotically illustrated articles in newspapers and periodicals, as well as performances on New York and San Francisco stages, such as “The Japanese Treaty”—a topical sketch the Christy Minstrel Company added to its blackface show.

Tateshi Onojiro Noriyuki, a handsome, fun-loving, English-speaking 16-year-old interpreter trainee in the Japanese mission, became so popular with the American public, especially young women, that the New York Times reported he received scores of love letters and was pursued by a “Light Female Brigade.” He even inspired a hit song, “Tommy Polka.”

Wives and maids by scores are flocking
Round that charming, little man,
Known as Tommy, witty Tommy,
Yellow Tommy, from Japan.

The lyrics, demeaning even as they praise, reflect the times—as did a blackface minstrel star’s decade-long run depicting “Japanese Tommy.”

Tateshi Onojiro Noriyuki, a handsome young Japanese interpreter, became very popular with the American public. So much so that he inspired a hit song, “Tommy Polka.”

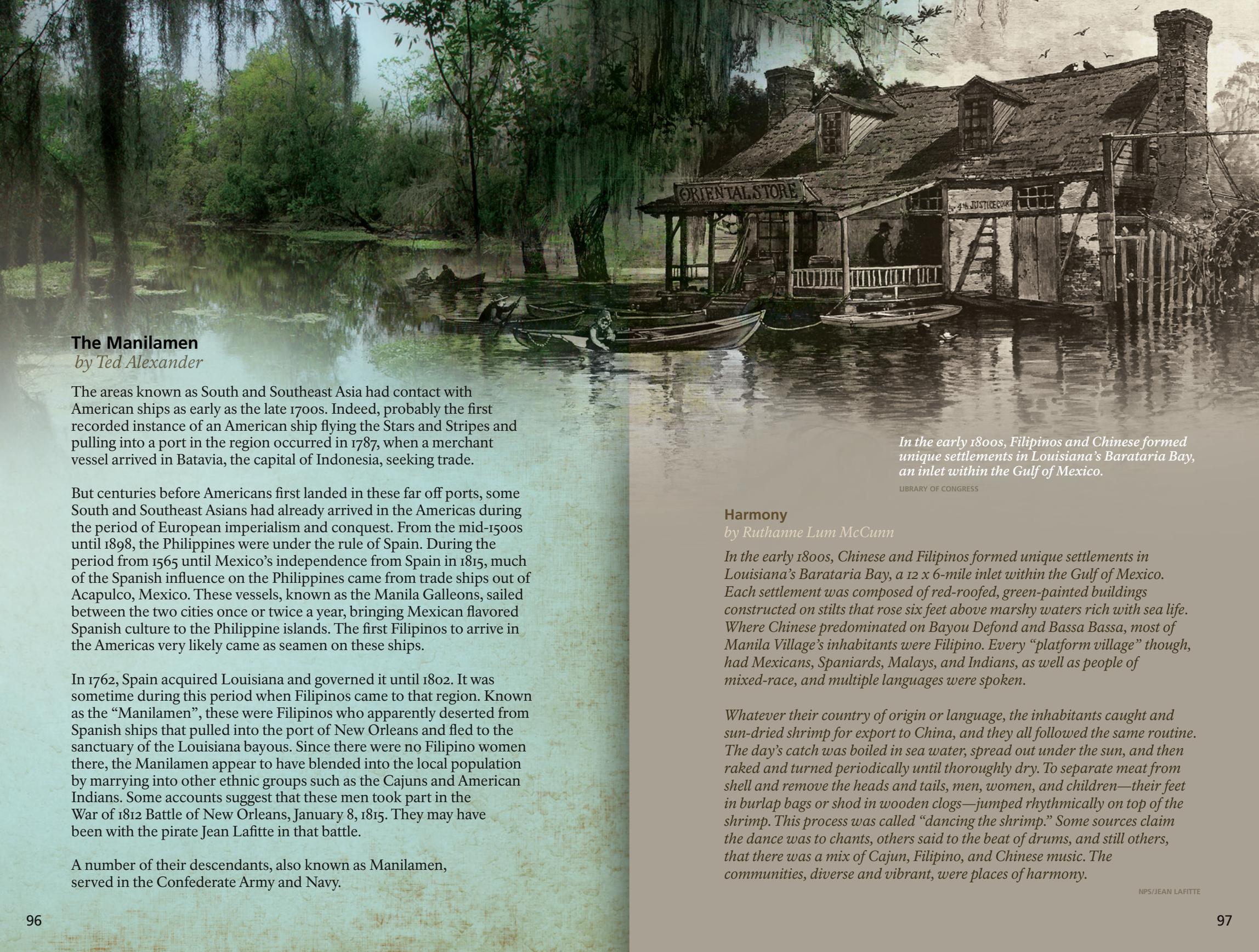
WM. B. BECKER COLLECTION/AMERICAN MUSEUM OF PHOTOGRAPHY



The regions of South and Southeast Asia comprise a vast expanse of sea and land including part of continental Asia, flanked by more than 20,000 islands in the South China Sea and Bay of Bengal.

SHUTTERSTOCK.COM/JOHN BILL

Rice terraces in the mountains of the Philippines.

The background of the page is a detailed painting of a bayou scene. On the right, a two-story wooden building with a gabled roof sits on stilts over the water. A sign above the porch reads "ORIENTAL STORE" and another sign to the right says "4th JUSTICE COURT". Several small wooden boats are on the water, with people in them. The left side of the painting is dominated by tall, thin trees with hanging moss, their reflections visible in the calm water. The overall atmosphere is quiet and historical.

The Manilamen

by Ted Alexander

The areas known as South and Southeast Asia had contact with American ships as early as the late 1700s. Indeed, probably the first recorded instance of an American ship flying the Stars and Stripes and pulling into a port in the region occurred in 1787, when a merchant vessel arrived in Batavia, the capital of Indonesia, seeking trade.

But centuries before Americans first landed in these far off ports, some South and Southeast Asians had already arrived in the Americas during the period of European imperialism and conquest. From the mid-1500s until 1898, the Philippines were under the rule of Spain. During the period from 1565 until Mexico's independence from Spain in 1815, much of the Spanish influence on the Philippines came from trade ships out of Acapulco, Mexico. These vessels, known as the Manila Galleons, sailed between the two cities once or twice a year, bringing Mexican flavored Spanish culture to the Philippine islands. The first Filipinos to arrive in the Americas very likely came as seamen on these ships.

In 1762, Spain acquired Louisiana and governed it until 1802. It was sometime during this period when Filipinos came to that region. Known as the "Manilamen", these were Filipinos who apparently deserted from Spanish ships that pulled into the port of New Orleans and fled to the sanctuary of the Louisiana bayous. Since there were no Filipino women there, the Manilamen appear to have blended into the local population by marrying into other ethnic groups such as the Cajuns and American Indians. Some accounts suggest that these men took part in the War of 1812 Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. They may have been with the pirate Jean Lafitte in that battle.

A number of their descendants, also known as Manilamen, served in the Confederate Army and Navy.

In the early 1800s, Filipinos and Chinese formed unique settlements in Louisiana's Barataria Bay, an inlet within the Gulf of Mexico.

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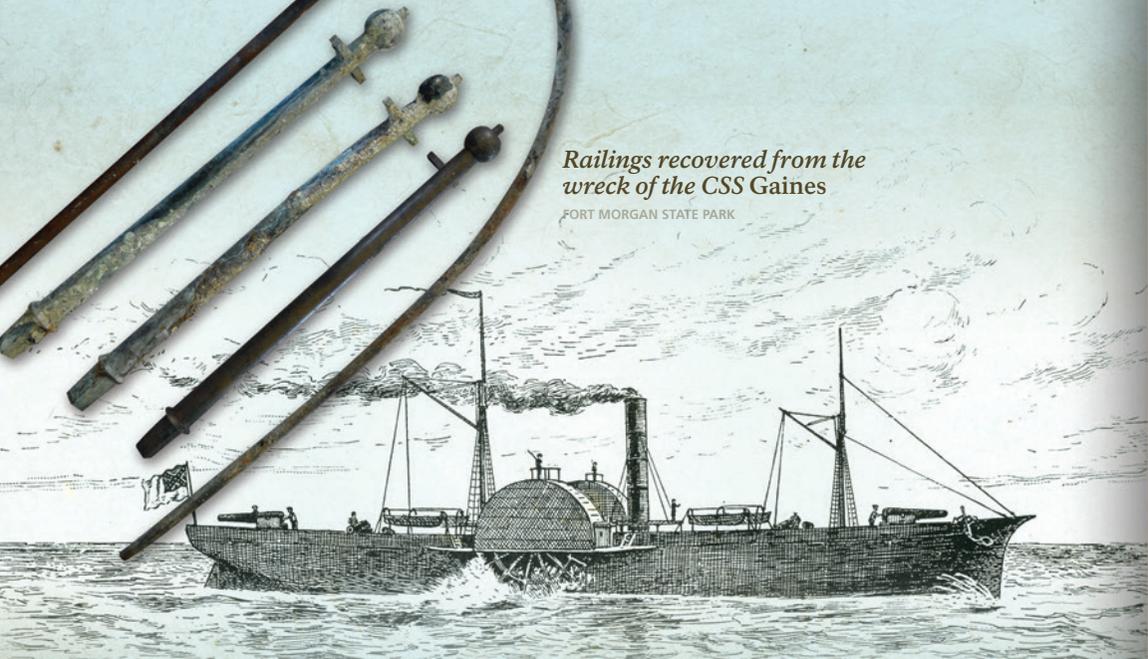
Harmony

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

In the early 1800s, Chinese and Filipinos formed unique settlements in Louisiana's Barataria Bay, a 12 x 6-mile inlet within the Gulf of Mexico. Each settlement was composed of red-roofed, green-painted buildings constructed on stilts that rose six feet above marshy waters rich with sea life. Where Chinese predominated on Bayou Defond and Bassa Bassa, most of Manila Village's inhabitants were Filipino. Every "platform village" though, had Mexicans, Spaniards, Malays, and Indians, as well as people of mixed-race, and multiple languages were spoken.

Whatever their country of origin or language, the inhabitants caught and sun-dried shrimp for export to China, and they all followed the same routine. The day's catch was boiled in sea water, spread out under the sun, and then raked and turned periodically until thoroughly dry. To separate meat from shell and remove the heads and tails, men, women, and children—their feet in burlap bags or shod in wooden clogs—jumped rhythmically on top of the shrimp. This process was called "dancing the shrimp." Some sources claim the dance was to chants, others said to the beat of drums, and still others, that there was a mix of Cajun, Filipino, and Chinese music. The communities, diverse and vibrant, were places of harmony.

NPS/JEAN LAFITTE



Railings recovered from the wreck of the CSS Gaines

FORT MORGAN STATE PARK

Filipino sailors, known as Manilamen, served on the CSS Gaines.

OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE NAVIES, GEORGE WATERMAN

The CSS Gaines

by Ted Alexander

At least ten Manilamen served on the CSS *Gaines* at Mobile, Alabama. Men such as Seaman Francisco Sabarino, who was born in Manila about 1837, and 50-year-old Mathew Francisco, another Manila-born sailor. Juan Domingo was at first a seaman and then a cook. Later, he left the navy and was a captain in the Spanish Guard, a unit raised to defend Mobile composed entirely of foreign citizens. Other Filipinos served in this regiment too.

The *Gaines* was commissioned on January 30, 1862 as part of the Mobile Squadron. Its major duty was for harbor defense of Mobile Bay. A sidewheeler, it was known as a very slow ship, having a maximum speed of 10 knots. The ship was built very quickly with unseasoned wood and it was covered in part with 2-inch iron plating.

On August 5, 1864, during the battle of Mobile Bay, it was hit by a broadside of cannon fire from Union Admiral David Farragut's ships. Though sinking, it made its way back toward the Mobile defenses and was grounded and set afire by the crew, so the Union would not have access to it. The Manilamen of the CSS *Gaines* had been previously discharged from the service for various reasons, thus they avoided the demise of this Confederate ship.

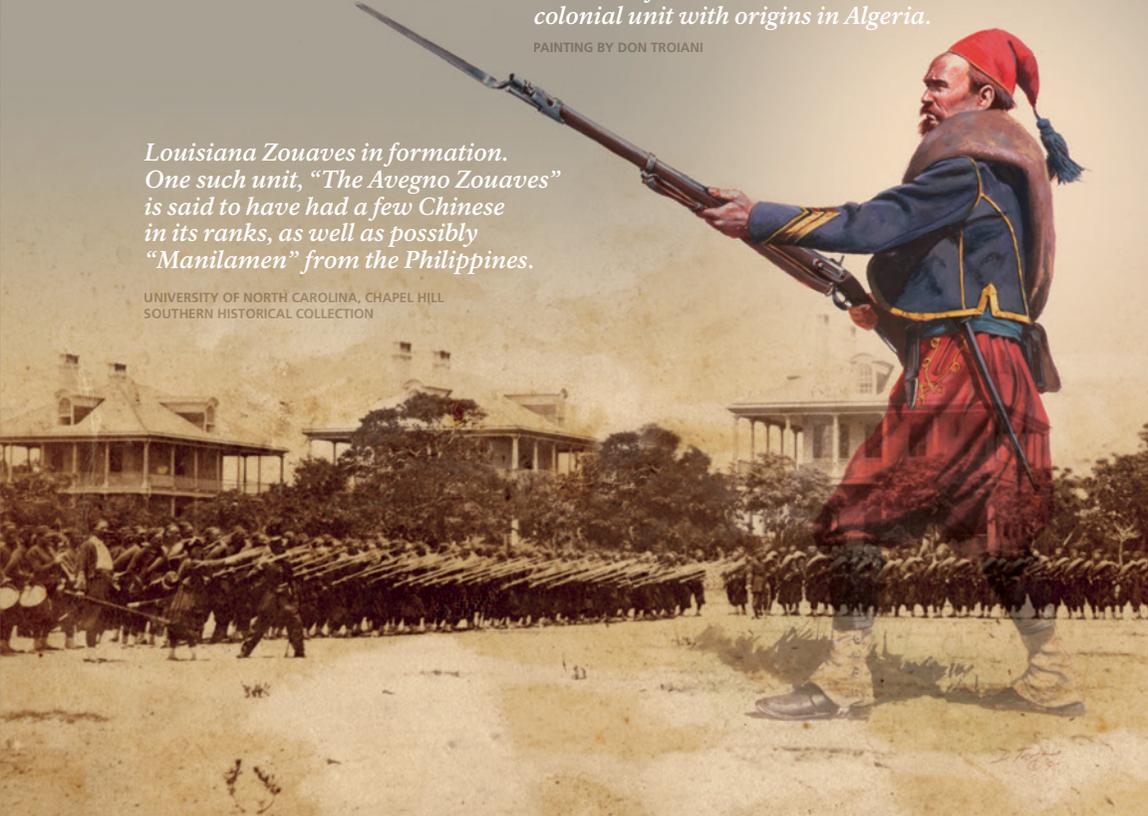
The Avegno Zouaves

by Ted Alexander

The Avegno Zouaves were a Confederate Louisiana unit that later became part of the 13th Louisiana Infantry. Raised in New Orleans and wearing the colorful garb of the French Zouaves, this very cosmopolitan command was composed of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Mexicans, Italians, Germans, Chinese, Irishmen, and men from other nations. Could it be that some of the "Chinese" that were mentioned by their commanding officer in a post-war article, were actually "Manilamen?" Historian John O'Donnell-Rosales has researched and written extensively on Hispanics in the Civil War. He writes regarding the Louisiana Filipinos, "These few [Filipino] men might be the reason that 'Chinese' are mentioned as being part of the Louisiana Zouaves."

In the mid-1800s, France set the trend for military fashion around the world. Many pre-Civil War militia units, both North and South, emulated the garb and drill of the Zouave—a French colonial unit with origins in Algeria.

PAINTING BY DON TROIANI



Louisiana Zouaves in formation. One such unit, "The Avegno Zouaves" is said to have had a few Chinese in its ranks, as well as possibly "Manilamen" from the Philippines.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL
SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION



Felix Balderry

by Ted Alexander

Summer 1864. The American Civil War was in its third bloody year. Gen. William T. Sherman's army was slugging its way to Atlanta in one of the last major campaigns of the war. Soon, places such as Buzzard's Roost, Resaca, New Hope Church, and Kennesaw Mountain would become household words in the lexicon of bloody slugfests of the Civil War.

Most of Sherman's men were farm boys from the Midwest. Among them was Felix Balderry, a 21-year-old private in Company A, 11th Michigan Infantry. Felix's background and ethnicity were a bit different from most of the other soldiers in the ranks of Sherman's army. Private Balderry was a Filipino.

The state of Michigan had been slow in accepting non-Whites into their regiments. However, as the war dragged on, American Indians were recruited into Michigan regiments. One such unit, the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters, contained an entire company of Ojibways. However, Felix Balderry was one of the only Filipinos to serve in the Union Army.

Felix Balderry was born in 1842 on Monmouth Island, part of a small island chain in the northernmost part of Luzon, about 100 miles north of Manila, the capital of the Philippines. At age 16, he very likely went to the thriving port of Manila. For it was at that time he joined the crew of an American merchant ship commanded by Capt. Joseph S. Foster. For two years, he sailed both the Pacific and Atlantic. In 1860, Captain Foster retired to his farm near the town of Leonidas, in St. Joseph County, Michigan.

Foster brought the young Filipino with him and Felix worked as a farm hand for him until December, 7, 1863. On that day, he joined Company A of the 11th Michigan Infantry. After learning the rudiments of military life with other new recruits in an army camp of instruction, now Private Balderry found himself with the rest of the regiment on outpost duty at Rossville, Georgia on January 28, 1864.

While a number of Filipino men served in the US Navy, Pvt. Felix C. Balderry is one of the few known, to date, to serve in the US Army.

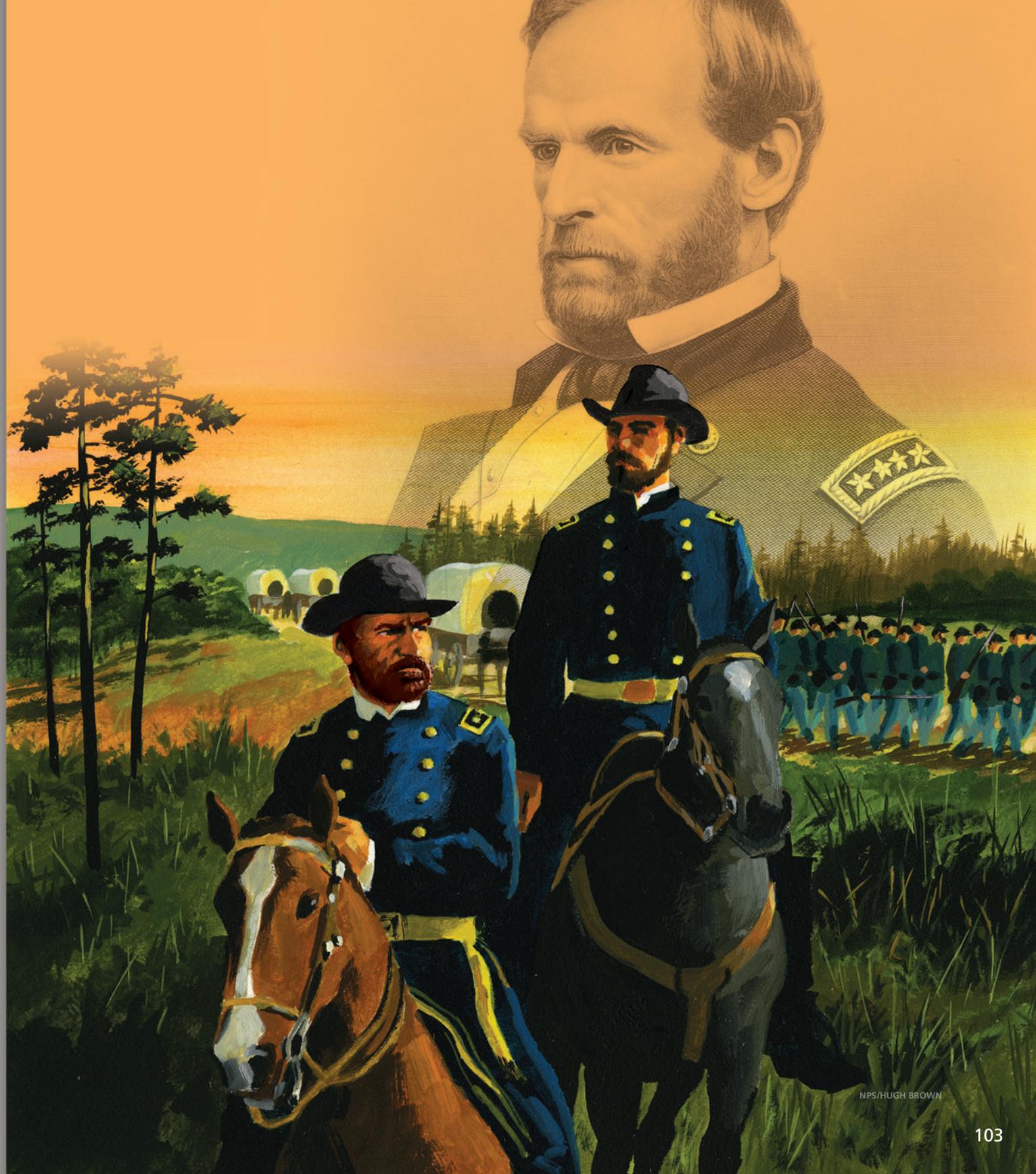
ARCHIVES OF MICHIGAN

Private Balderry served with Gen. William T. Sherman in many of the engagements of the Atlanta Campaign.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

By the first week of May, 1864, Felix and his regiment were moving south as part of the 14th Corps, Army of the Cumberland. He took part in a number of the noted actions of the Atlanta Campaign, among them; Buzzard's Roost, Resaca and New Hope Church, where, for eight days, the regiment was under almost continual fire. But when the Confederates evacuated their works, the 11th Michigan joined in the pursuit as Sherman attempted to outflank them.

During this maneuver, the soldiers were exposed to heavy rains that battered them for weeks. Indeed, many of Sherman's men became casualties not from combat but rather from exposure to the elements in this rugged part of Georgia. Part of the Union force was compelled to ford the chest deep Ettowah River. Among them was the 11th Michigan, including Private Balderry. Felix was already "sick, but doing duty." The young Filipino then participated in the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. In this bloodbath, Union troops charged headlong in a series of disastrous frontal assaults against the entrenched Confederates. This was Sherman's last major obstacle in the campaign to take Atlanta, Georgia.



NPS/HUGH BROWN

The rough campaigning had taken its toll on the soldier from Luzon. The excessive rains and the fording of the river had left Felix very ill. After that river crossing his health became increasingly worse. One of his officers recalled:

There was a severe rain storm the last days of June 1864, while on the battlefield, we had been more or less engaged in battle with the enemy. We had no tents or shelter and I well remember that [Private Balderry] contracted a severe cold from exposure which settled on his lungs and in his throat and on the third day of July 1864 I saw [him] and well remember that he coughed a good deal and complained to me that he was sore and distressed in the lungs so much so he was left behind, could not march with the regiment.

By July 4, 1864, he was being treated in a nearby field hospital and was soon transferred to a military hospital in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

On August 27, 1864 the 11th Michigan was sent back to Chattanooga, Tennessee. Although he appears to have spent much time in the hospital, Felix may have returned to duty, guarding railroads in East Tennessee, where threats from Confederate guerillas still existed. This went on until the late summer of 1865, several months after General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House. Felix was mustered out of the service with his regiment at Nashville, Tennessee on September 16, 1865.

After the war, Private Balderry returned to his home in Michigan. There he tried to do farm work again but to no avail. Whereas before the war he had been strong and healthy and capable of any type of manual labor, Felix was now disabled with his cough and partial paralysis in his left arm and side.

As when at war, Felix, did not give up. He pushed on, learning a new trade, working as a tailor in the town of Colon, Michigan. There, he joined the local Methodist Episcopal Church where he met 16-year-old Ada May Barnes. The couple married on September 1, 1885. Two years later, they had a son who they named Frank, their only child. Felix applied for and received a US pension for his military disability. He died on August 18, 1895, at the age of 49. His widow Ada also collected a pension after his death.

Felix Balderry had traveled a very long way in his lifetime from his home in northern Luzon, across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, to a farm in Michigan, to the battlefields of Georgia, and back to Michigan. His final place of rest is the Leonidas Cemetery in St. Joseph County, Michigan.

In Sherman's pursuit of the Confederate Army during the Atlanta Campaign, part of the Union force was compelled to ford the chest deep Ettowah River. Among them was Felix Balderry. He was already "sick, but doing duty."

NPS/HFCCAC



Conjee Rustumjee Cohoujee Bey (Antonio Francisco Gomez)

by Terry Foenander

Born about 1836 or 1837 in Lahore, in the Punjabi region of India (now Pakistan), Conjee Rustumjee Cohoujee Bey was said to have been the son of a prince of the Punjab, although some accounts contradict this notion. He must have come from privilege, however, as he was sent to London for schooling. After his studies in about 1860, he moved to the United States and settled in Brooklyn, New York. There, he met the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher who wanted to train the young Indian man for the ministry and changed his name to Antonio Francisco Gomez.

However, when the Civil War erupted, instead of continuing his studies for the ministry, Antonio decided to throw in his lot for the Union and enlisted as a landsman in the US Navy in New York on February 8, 1862. He served on the USS *Dacotah* as part of the Union's naval blockade, skirmishing with Confederates in Virginia and then on the USS *Louisville*, capturing and sinking Confederate ships off the shores of the South.

Discharged on January 5, 1863, Antonio re-enlisted the very next day, serving aboard the USS *Iroquois* as a ward room steward. After his second discharge from the Navy, he re-enlisted for yet a third time, serving on the USS *Niagara*. The ship steamed from New York on June 1, 1864, to look for Confederate vessels being transformed into warships in Europe. There, it roved the English Channel, the French Atlantic Coast, and the Bay of Biscay. On August 15, 1864, the *Niagara* captured the *Georgia*, a former Confederate warship, off of Portugal.

Antonio was finally discharged on January 25, 1865. However, since the ship was cruising in European waters, he was only able to leave once it stopped at a port nearly three months later, in Lisbon, Portugal, several days after the war had ended.

Returning to the United States, Antonio eventually settled in California and worked at the US Naval Pay office in San Francisco. In 1889, he married Suzanne Dutreux, a popular concert singer there. In his later years, Antonio joined the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a fraternal organization for Union veterans. After contracting a slight cold which developed into pneumonia, he died at the age of 74 at his home on Gough Street in San Francisco on Friday morning, February 17, 1911. Antonio was buried the following Sunday at the Presidio, with full honors provided by his GAR post. He was survived by his widow and four children.



Upon his death, Antonio was buried with full military honors at the National Cemetery in the Presidio of San Francisco.

WIKIPEDIA COMMONS/EPOELZL

Antonio Francisco Gomez

SAN FRANCISCO CALL

Encouraged by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Antonio was studying for the ministry in New York. When the Civil War erupted, however, he enlisted in the Union Navy.

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George Dupont

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

The service of Siam-born George Dupont was first brought to light by historian Col. William F. Strobridge, who noted that the youth volunteered at a time when some Americans, already disillusioned by the war, had started scheming to avoid being drafted.

Under the Federal Militia Act of 1862, each state had a quota of men to deliver. To meet its quota of five regiments, New Jersey was enticing recruits with a \$25.00 bounty. Jersey City, where George made metal type at a foundry, was offering an additional \$50.00 from its Bounty Fund. Yet willing recruits were still slow to step forward, which could explain why on August 12, 1862, George was accepted into a White unit, Company B, 13th New Jersey Volunteers despite a dark complexion and being underage. Curiously, the “CONSENT IN CASE OF MINOR” form in his military records certifies he’s the legal age: 18. Even more curiously, his purported guardian’s name has been crossed out and his enrolling officer’s inscribed above.

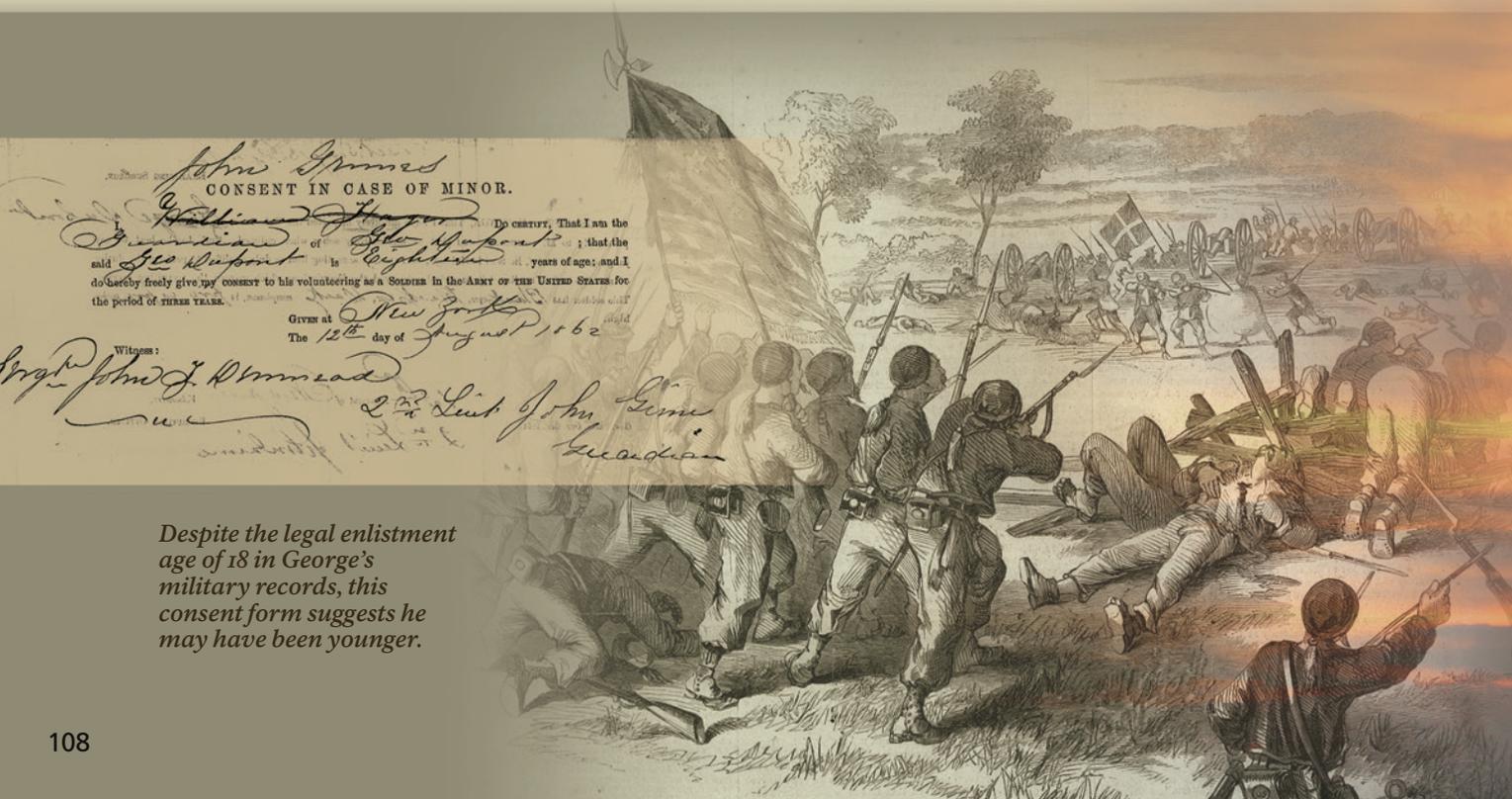
Mustered in before an immense crowd of on-lookers on August 31, the 13th was camped outside Washington two days later, waking to the heavy tread of battle-worn infantry dragging from a second defeat at Bull Run. By mid-September, George and his comrades were in

Maryland, close enough to the fight for South Mountain to hear the fearful roar of canon and the shriek of exploding shell.

Then, they were crossing Antietam Creek. As Joseph Crowell of Company K recalled:

The Thirteenth was formed in ‘close column,’ which is a usual way to prepare for a battle. We had never been drilled in such movement, and to get us in the right position it was almost necessary for the officers to lead each man by the shoulders and put him where he ought to be. [M]ost of the officers knew about as little of these movements as the men. . . . Over eight hundred strong, in battle front, we proceeded. The officers ordered us to “dress to the right,” but it was a straggling line. . . . Suddenly something occurred that seemed almost supernatural. A vast number of the enemy appeared to rise straight out of the solid earth, and they poured into us a deadly volley of leaden hail.

Devastated by the murderous fire, the untrained and untried soldiers ran. Officers somehow stopped the stampede, rallying them to turn towards the enemy once more. Attacked again, the raw troops scattered again. Rallied a third time, however, the regiment stood its ground, leading Joseph Crowell to conclude that by battle’s end, “the Thirteenth, for the first time under fire, had acquitted itself with more than ordinary credit.”



The New Jersey State Monument at Antietam National Battlefield commemorates the role of George’s unit and the other units from that state. The Battle of Antietam was the bloodiest one day battle in American history. After 12 hours of fighting, more than 23,000 Americans were killed, wounded or missing.

NPS/ANTIETAM

US ARMY

Despite the legal enlistment age of 18 in George’s military records, this consent form suggests he may have been younger.

Together with his regiment, George served on picket duty near Sharpsburg through the rest of the year and began the next slogging through mud in a misguided mid-winter campaign the generals were forced to abort. He reported his “cartridge-box-belt & plate and gun sling” lost in May 1863. The army had crossed the Rapidan River at a ford four feet deep, and George, five feet five inches tall, had put his bayonet on his rifle, then hung his knapsack, haversack, and belt with cap pouch and bayonet scabbard on it, so as to keep them above water while struggling against a strong current. Obtaining replacements, he fought at Chancellorsville, then Gettysburg.

George served with General Sherman in the campaign to take Atlanta, Georgia.

NPS/HUGH BROWN

But on picket duty at Kelly’s Ford, young George gave in to exhaustion and was admitted, feeble and without appetite, to the US General Hospital at Fairfax Seminary, Virginia, on August 7. Hospital records note the onset of a headache for which “hot cups on temples” brought relief. This was followed by a cough and “bronchial irritation,” for which he received a variety of treatments so beneficial that after two weeks, he began “acting in capacity of nurse” while convalescing.

The spring of 1864 found George and his regiment serving in Sherman’s Atlanta Campaign. Slightly wounded in the hand near Resaca, Georgia on May 15, 1864, he was treated in the field. But on the skirmish line on June 22 at Kolb’s Farm, minie balls tore the flesh of his left hand so severely that George had to be evacuated to Nashville, Tennessee, and then sent to the US General Hospital in Jeffersonville, Indiana. He did not recover sufficiently for discharge until over a month after the war ended.

An Atlanta home after shelling by Union artillery

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



The
United States
of
America.

To all to whom these
Presents shall come Greeting

I, the undersigned Secretary of State of the
United States of America hereby
request all whom it may con-
cern to permit safely and freely
to pass George Dupont, a
citizen of the United States, and
in case of need to give him all
lawful Aid and Protection.

Given under my hand
and the impression
of the Seal of the
Department of State
at the City of Wash-
ington the 10th day
of August A.D. 1869.
in the 94th year of the
Independence of the
United States.



Description.
Age, 22 Years.
Stature, 5 Feet 5 1/2 inches.
Forehead - Medium.
Eyes - Black.
Nose - Ordinary.
Mouth - Medium.
Hair - Short Black.
Complexion - Dark.
Face - Oval.

Signature of the Bearer

Geo. Dupont.

No. 2752

During his year in the hospital, he may have received some education. Researcher Jim Sundman places him clerking at a Philadelphia type foundry the spring of 1866.

On August 2, 1869, George vacated his oath to the King of Siam and became a naturalized American citizen. His passport, issued on August 10, gives his age as "22," which means that at his enlistment, he was just a boy of 15.

William Strobridge: A Tribute
by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Col. William F. Strobridge, whose publications include groundbreaking research on American Civil War-era diplomacy with Southeast Asia, was among the most generous of scholars.

For nearly 20 years, he assisted me in reclaiming the past through his knowledge of the National Archives' vast holdings. In particular, his military expertise guided my early research on Chinese in the Civil War. This profile of George Dupont's service is built on the foundation of Colonel Strobridge's unpublished typescript, "Siam's Union Army Veteran," which he gave me in 1993. I'm indebted to him and to his children, Bill and Anne, for sharing this information with all our readers.

John Banks

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Born in the East Indies, John Banks was a 21-year-old laborer in Bridgeport when he enlisted in Company D, 30th Regiment Connecticut Colored Infantry on February 4, 1864.

The previous November 23, the governor had authorized a bill for organizing a regiment of Colored Infantry, and the response was overwhelming. By January 1864, one regiment of over 1,200 men had formed (the 29th Regiment Connecticut Colored Infantry). More were enlisting in a second (the 30th).

Addressing the troops at their rendezvous in Fair Haven, the former slave and famous abolitionist orator Frederick Douglass declared:

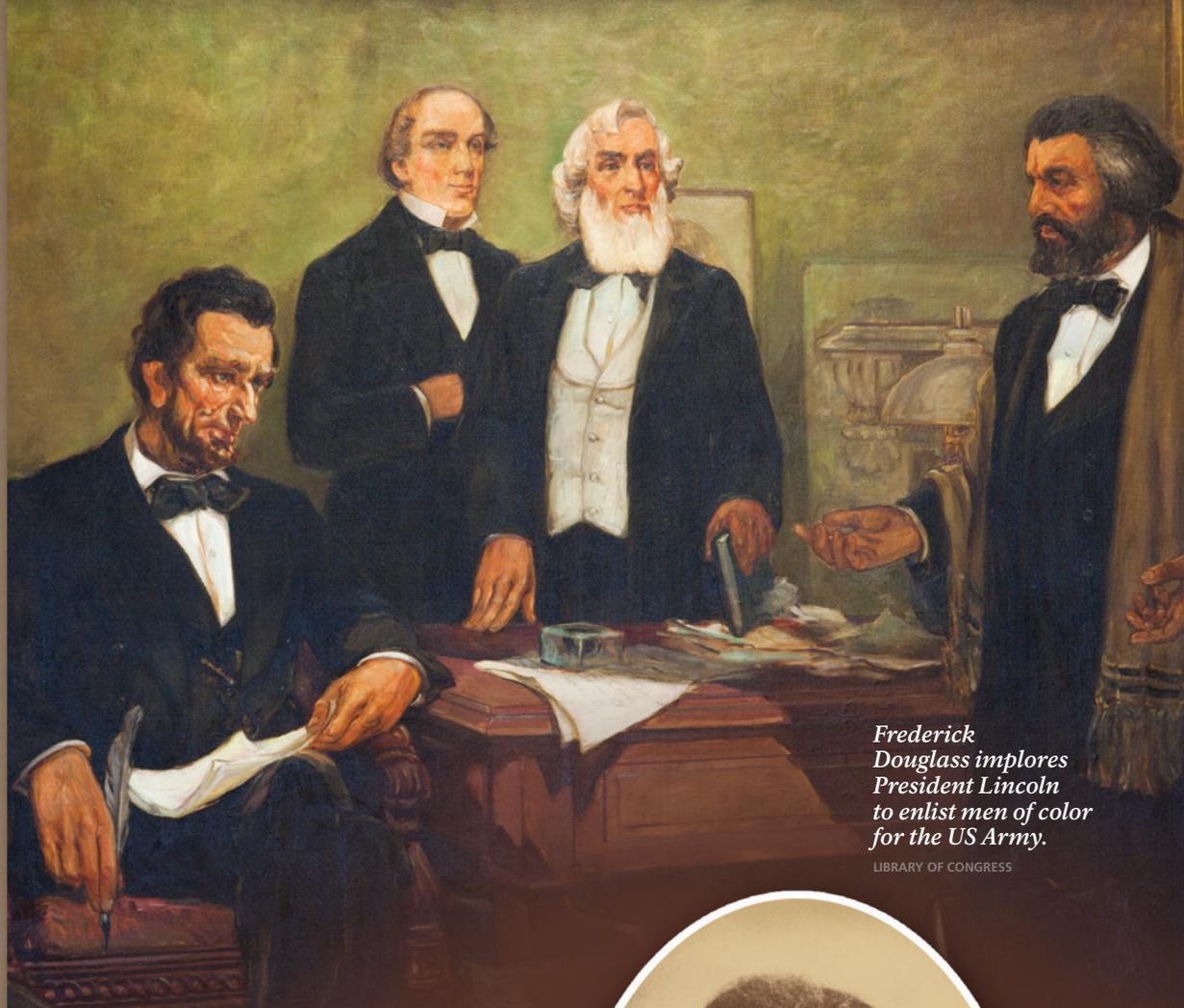
You are the pioneers of the liberty of your race. With the United States cap on your head, the United States eagle on your belt, the United States musket on your shoulder, not all the powers of darkness can prevent you from becoming American citizens.

That promise may well have been John's inspiration for enlisting.

Certainly his enrollment officer, who added "(col.)" after John's name, considered he belonged in the regiment. John, who was 5 feet 7 inches tall, with black eyes, black hair, and a black complexion, did fit in physically. In civilian life, he had doubtless been subjected to the prejudicial treatment accorded all people of color, and he'd likely have been aware of the federal government's unequal treatment of its soldiers.

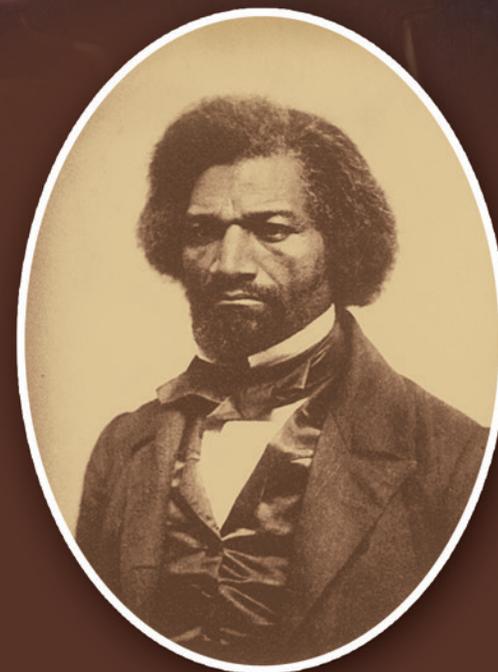
For soldiers in White regiments, the pay was \$13.00 a month. For those under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Colored Troops [hereafter "Colored regiments"], it was \$10.00 (\$3.00 of which was to pay for their uniforms). In protest, some soldiers in Colored regiments had been refusing to accept the inferior pay for close to a year. Yet nothing had changed, and their families were suffering. Nevertheless, men of color, even married men like John, continued to enlist.

With 78 percent of Connecticut's eligible men already enrolled though, the 30th had only 429 men in its ranks by May, so they were sent south to be consolidated with the 31st Regiment, US Colored Troops (31st USCT)—the last of three regiments raised in New York. Together, the men totaled 1,211, and according to historian William Seraile's analysis, almost half were Southern-born, implying many had run from enslavement. One third were from the Caribbean, and the rest from diverse countries, including two Chinese and another East Indian besides John. Regardless of origin, they all bore standard Western names and the designations "colored," "black," or "negro."



Frederick Douglass implores President Lincoln to enlist men of color for the US Army.

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The promise of citizenship, as stated in Frederick Douglass's powerful oratory, may well have been John's inspiration for enlisting.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Soldiers in Colored regiments had primarily been used as laborers, and so blatant had such discriminatory assignments grown, that the adjutant general had intervened, forbidding the unequal employment of Colored regiments for fatigue duty—tasks involving hard physical labor. His order did not halt the practice. But after consolidation with the 31st USCT, John was among those detailed as guard for several thousand Confederate prisoners. Then, as part of the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division, 9th Corps, Army of the Potomac, the 31st USCT was ordered to siege operations against Petersburg.

Some Pennsylvania soldiers, miners before the war, had been tunneling beneath the Confederate breastworks in hopes of detonating explosives that would destroy the enemy fortifications so Union troops could break through. Nearly one in every eight Union soldiers laying siege to the city was in a Colored regiment, and the plan was for a Colored division to lead the assault.

The entrance to the mine tunnel at the Battle of the Crater.

SUSAN RUDISILL MYERS



To break the long stalemate at the Siege of Petersburg, Union forces spent a month digging a tunnel underneath Confederate lines which they filled with gunpowder and detonated on July 30, 1864.

NPS/GIL COHEN

For days, nine Colored regiments drilled hard to take Cemetery Hill, and clear the way to Petersburg. But Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, fearing accusations of using Colored regiments as cannon fodder, replaced them with a White division. Brig. Gen. Ambrose Burnside argued that his White troops were severely fatigued, but was overridden by General Grant.

The night of July 29, John and his comrades in the 31st Regiment marched silently to get in position behind three divisions of White troops. There, they dozed fitfully on their muskets, with bayonets fixed. Nothing in the morning went as planned. The fuse initially burned out and had to be relighted. The explosion ripped open a crater about 170 feet long, 70 to 80 feet wide, and 30 feet deep, killing or wounding at least 278 Confederate troops and destroying two of the four guns in the battery beyond repair. But shock and the need to remove obstructions between the lines delayed the Union attack in what would become known as the Battle of the Crater.

The explosion blew massive holes in the ground. In the confusion, Union soldiers became trapped in the crater where Confederates shot them 'like fish in a barrel.'

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The hard-pressed Confederates rallied quickly and poured shells and bullets into their opponents. With the White troops bogged down, Colored reinforcements drove in, capturing several hundred prisoners. Attacking the crest in the rear however, they were met by a countercharge that pushed them back into the crater. Then the Confederates sealed off the breakthrough and fired on those trapped from the front and the flank. By the end of the debacle, nearly 4,000 Union soldiers were captured, killed, or wounded, including John.

Medical care for men in Colored regiments was even worse than that for Whites. There weren't enough trained physicians of color, and many White doctors refused to serve in Colored regiments. Few White volunteer physicians and nurses stepped forward to ease the shortage. With post and general hospitals outside the USCT's direct chain of command, the facilities were commonly separate and grossly unequal. Patients of color, often neglected, suffered unnecessary pain and death. His hand struck by a minie ball, John was hospitalized for four months with "Simple Dressing" the sole treatment on record.

His commitment to the fight undiminished however, John earned promotion to corporal two months after his return to the 31st USCT. He distinguished himself further in the regiment's engagements at the fall of Petersburg on April 2, and in the pursuit of the Confederate Army through its surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. It was here that John Banks was promoted to sergeant, the rank he held when his regiment mustered out on November 7.

Barely recovered from an injury, John distinguished himself at the fall of Petersburg through the surrender at Appomattox. He was promoted first to corporal and then to sergeant.

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After more than nine months of siege, Union soldiers finally raised the American flag over the courthouse in Petersburg.

Daniel Newport

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Daniel Newport, a 26-year-old laborer born in the East Indies, enrolled in the 29th Regiment Connecticut Colored Infantry on August 31, 1864, as a substitute for Andrew Hull, a New Haven carriage maker with a wife and two children. By the time Daniel, without a day's training, reached the 29th, his fellow soldiers had served four months in Beaufort, South Carolina, on guard and picket duty, and had been in the trenches surrounding Petersburg, Virginia, for several weeks.

Daniel's service began with duty in these pits. As one soldier described it:

We are in two, and sometimes four, days at a time, through night and day, rain and sun, mud and water. When a shell comes along, down we all go with a jerk... [W]hen we are relieved and get behind our breastworks, it is not much better; for, if a head or hand is lifted in sight, fifty bullets are sent after it.

On September 29, Daniel's regiment participated in a bold offensive north of the James River. Several thousand Union soldiers assaulted the strong Confederate position at New Market Heights, only a few miles south of Richmond. Fortunately, the Connecticut regiment was not at the very front of the costly attack, but it was close enough to lose a few men, and when their enemy evacuated the heights, Daniel likely joined his comrades in surging across the abandoned entrenchments, shouting ringing hurrahs.

Daniel's military service began in trenches at Petersburg, Virginia, similar to those pictured here at Fredericksburg.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES





The Battle of New Market Heights became a seminal moment for United States Colored Troops during the Civil War. The following day, the 29th Connecticut participated in the successful defense of Fort Harrison, a victory that ensured a permanent foothold for the US Army on the outskirts of Richmond.

For weeks after, they pushed on, marching without tents, many without blankets, working day and night on heavy fatigue parties. Then, as October drew to a close, all available troops were brought to bear on the Confederate capital, Richmond. On the 27th, Daniel and his comrades, having had no relief, were deployed in the skirmish line for the fight on Darbytown Road in what became known as the Second Battle of Fair Oaks.

Relentlessly, the 29th drove enemy skirmishers from tree to tree, bush to

Daniel's unit provided support in the Battle of New Market Heights where the US Colored Troops took charge of some units when the White officers were killed. For their valor in that day's fight, 14 men were awarded Medals of Honor.

COUNTY OF HENRICO, VIRGINIA, HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND MUSEUM SERVICES

rock to rifle pit—until they fled into the safety of their breastworks from which poured heavy fire.

Out of ammunition, the 29th scrounged from the dead and wounded, keeping up their fire. Some muskets became so foul the charge could not be rammed home and had to be replaced with those abandoned by the dead. By nightfall, Daniel and his comrades had been fighting for many hours. Under darkness, the crackle of musketry slackened and, at last ceased.

Daniel's unit lost 71 of its men that day. And Richmond did not fall for another five months. When it finally did, Union soldiers marched proudly into the fallen Confederate capital.

The commissary sergeant in Daniel's regiment wrote down President Abraham Lincoln's triumphant address: "Now you Colored people are free, as free as I am . . . having the same rights of liberty, life, and the pursuit of happiness."

But days later, the President was assassinated. Then, though General Lee's Confederate Army had surrendered, the 29th was crammed in a steamer headed south without enough food or water. Those like Daniel, who'd been suffering chronic diarrhea throughout his service, grew worse, and as more and more men sickened, the word buzzing from parched lip to parched lip was that they were being shipped to Cuba as slaves.



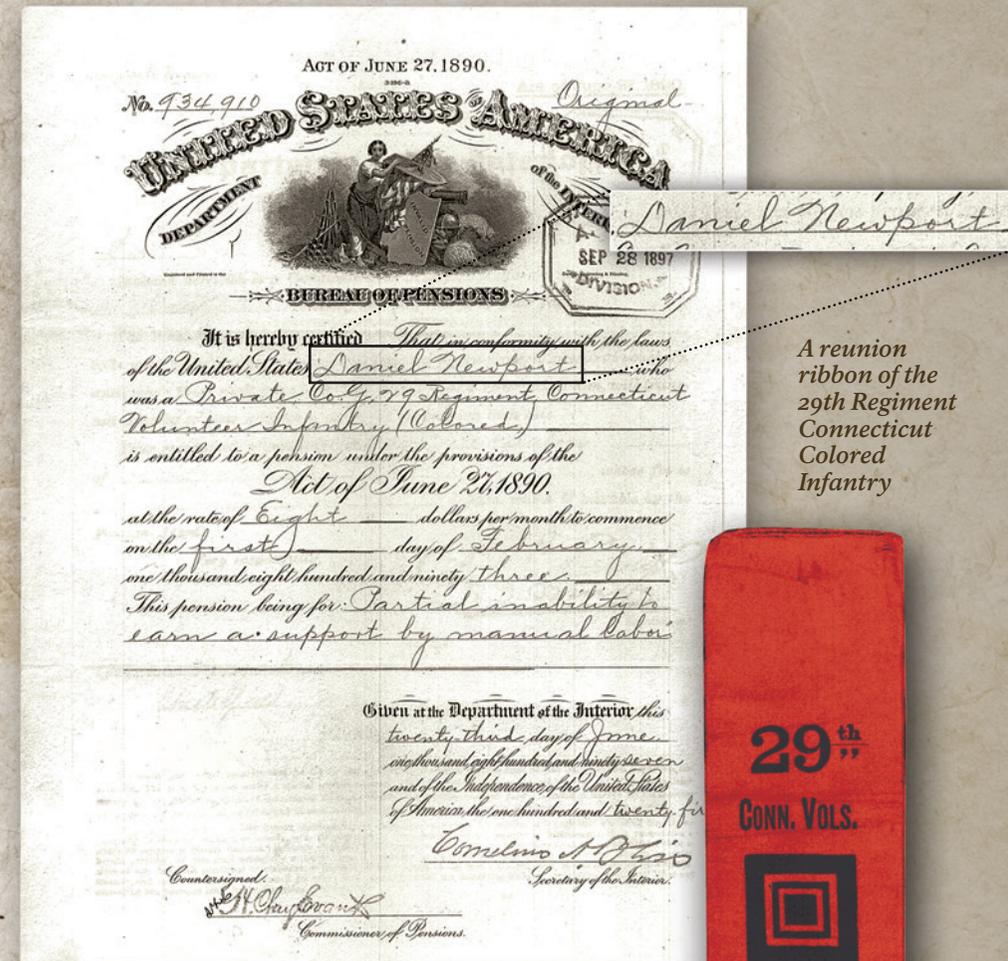
After months under siege by Union forces, the Confederate capital of Richmond lay in ruins.

NPS/HUGH BROWN

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

They were not. The commissary sergeant, however, declared Brownsville, Texas, where the 29th was posted, "God-forsaken." Of particular relevance to Daniel, who injured his right shoulder in a fall from a building while on duty, the doctors and nurses in the General Hospital were "without any feeling," treating patients of color like they were animals.

The cheers that greeted the 29th's return to New Haven in November, 1865, were gratifying. But Daniel was still sick—and would be for a year before he could return to his work as a laborer. Andrew Hull, the carriage maker on whose behalf Daniel had fought, was prospering. Before the war, Andrew Hull's holdings had amounted to \$2,000. By 1870, they would be worth \$15,000. Daniel labored as long as he could despite an incomplete recovery and then was compelled to survive on a disability pension of \$8.00 a month.



A reunion ribbon of the 29th Regiment Connecticut Colored Infantry



The man for whom Daniel had been a substitute, Andrew Hull, prospered greatly after the war. Daniel survived the rest of his life on a small military pension.



The Economic Impact of the Civil War on South and Southeast Asia

by Ted Alexander

*The Civil War had a negative effect on shipping commerce in Southeast Asia due to fears of Confederate sea raiders in the region. Some ports refused to deal with American ships unless they could guarantee the “war risk” liability. An example of this was Singapore. There, 80 American merchant ships had pulled into port in 1859. In 1861, just a few US ships had been there. From September to November, 1863, the famous Confederate sea raider, the CSS **Alabama** roamed the Indian Ocean, where it gathered a few prizes. In December, 1863, the famed raider embarked on its final expedition capturing some ships in the Strait of Malacca and then heading to France for repairs.*

*The export market gained momentum again as the threat from Confederate raiders such as the **Alabama**, subsided. Prices for Manila hemp rose during the war years, yet exports increased to ports on both US coasts. With major tobacco markets in Virginia and other places in the South out of the equation, both Spain and the US turned to the Philippines for cigars.*

Likewise, sugar production from Louisiana took a drastic plunge from more than 200,000 tons per year to less than 10,000 tons by the end of the war. This was primarily due to Union military occupation and the near complete destruction of the cane fields. Accordingly, sugar became a luxury for both sides but more so for the Confederacy. The Northern demand for sugar increased the market for it from places such as Manila, Java, Siam, and Hawaii.

It was a similar case for cotton. The Union naval blockade of the South and Great Britain’s self-imposed embargo on cotton from the Confederacy opened up great possibilities in Southeast Asia. Soon cotton crops prospered in places such as Siam and Sumatra. Rice exports from Confederate states like South Carolina practically came to a standstill. Again, this promoted more commerce for Southeast Asia. The Philippines and Burma were among the locales that benefited economically from the shortages caused by the American Civil War.

Connections

by Ted Alexander

Prior to becoming a historian for the National Park Service, I served two tours of duty with the US Marine Corps in Vietnam and one in the Philippines. My connection to those who served in the Civil War comes from having been in a war myself and having had relatives on both sides in the Civil War. It was while stationed in Southeast Asia that I became interested in the history of the region, particularly the Philippines, and it was there that I met my wife. We have one daughter, Rica Dyas, who also works for the National Park Service.

The American Civil War had both positive and negative impacts on exports from Asia.

SHUTTERSTOCK.COM/GREENPHILE

The End of the War

by Ted Alexander

Word of the end of the American Civil War came to Asia in the late spring and summer of 1865. In May, a telegram reached one Singapore business with the false report that Gen. Robert E. Lee had been captured and wounded. The next month, on June 5, 1865, merchants in Singapore and Manila received word of Lincoln's assassination. The death of President Abraham Lincoln prompted memorials attended by both native people and Americans at different places in Asia.

Memorial services honored the fallen president in various places in Asia.

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In Siam, Grant had a private meeting with the King, promising that upon his return to the states he would "do what I can" to improve relations between the two countries. Pictured here is the King's bodyguard.

FORSHEE & MCMAKIN CO.



U.S. Grant Goes to Asia

by Ted Alexander

After his victory in the Civil War and two terms as president, Ulysses S. Grant went on a world tour from 1877-1879 where he was hailed as a hero in various nations of Europe, Scandinavia, Russia, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

In Asia, he was received by royalty and heads of state in India, Siam, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, China, and Japan. His visit enhanced relations with the US and these countries.

General Grant met with the Chinese Viceroy Li Hung, who had been victorious in his own nation's devastating civil war from 1850 - 1864.

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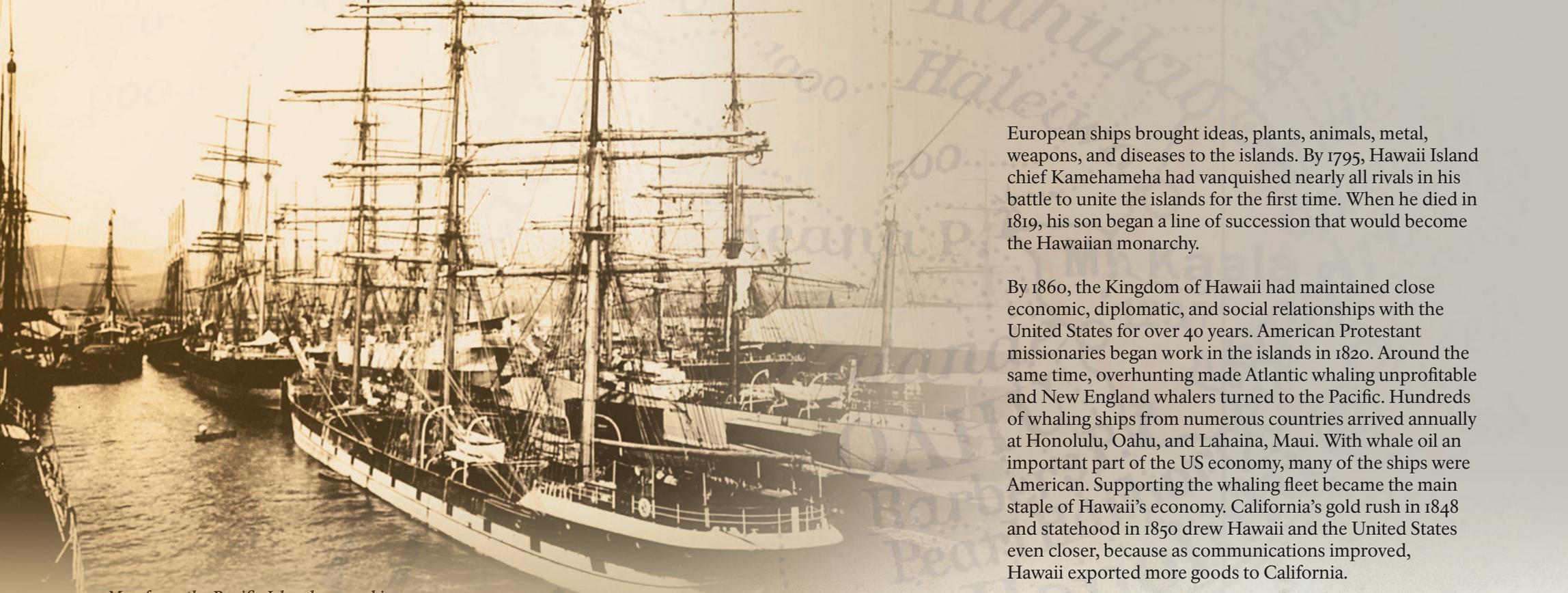


Pacific Islanders and the Civil War

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

Oahu, Hawaii

GALYNA ANDRUSHKO/SHUTTERSTOCK.COM



European ships brought ideas, plants, animals, metal, weapons, and diseases to the islands. By 1795, Hawaii Island chief Kamehameha had vanquished nearly all rivals in his battle to unite the islands for the first time. When he died in 1819, his son began a line of succession that would become the Hawaiian monarchy.

By 1860, the Kingdom of Hawaii had maintained close economic, diplomatic, and social relationships with the United States for over 40 years. American Protestant missionaries began work in the islands in 1820. Around the same time, overhunting made Atlantic whaling unprofitable and New England whalers turned to the Pacific. Hundreds of whaling ships from numerous countries arrived annually at Honolulu, Oahu, and Lahaina, Maui. With whale oil an important part of the US economy, many of the ships were American. Supporting the whaling fleet became the main staple of Hawaii's economy. California's gold rush in 1848 and statehood in 1850 drew Hawaii and the United States even closer, because as communications improved, Hawaii exported more goods to California.

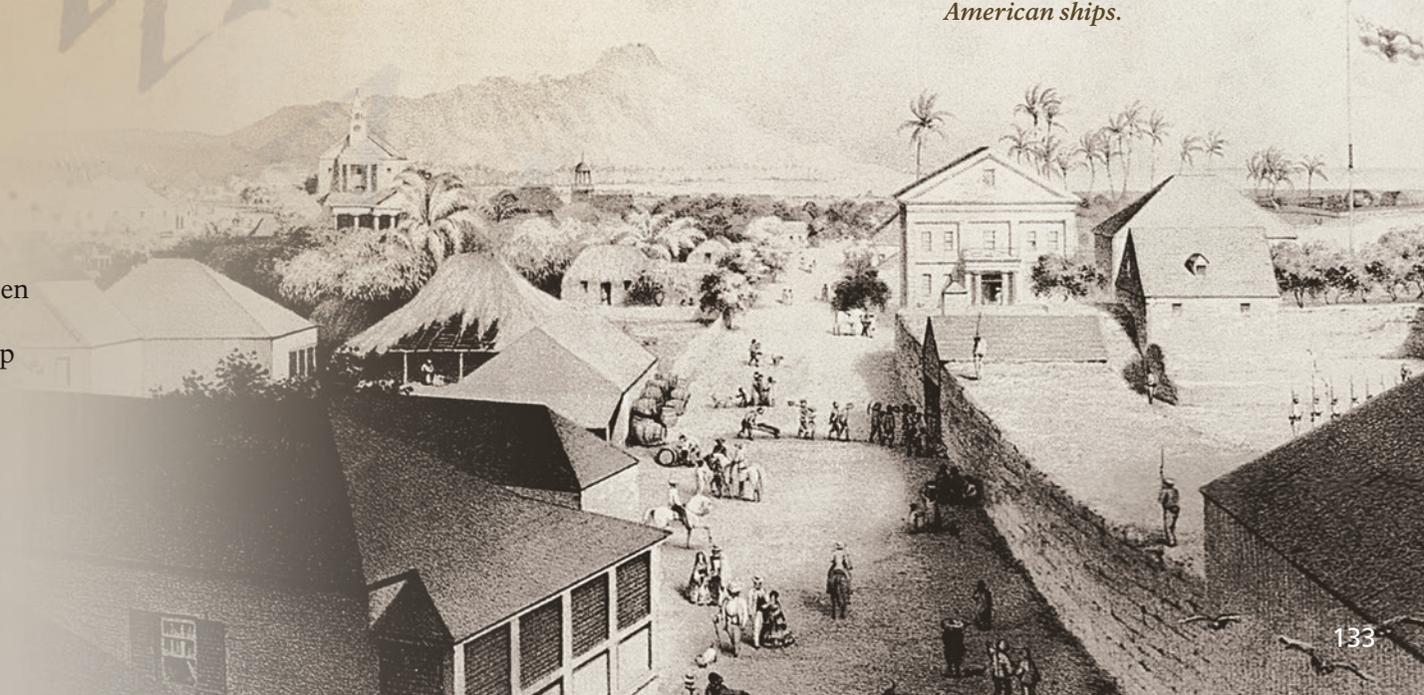
Men from the Pacific Islands served in the Civil War. To date, research has recovered the stories of servicemen from Australia, Guam, New Zealand, Northern Mariana Islands, Polynesia, Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, the Society Islands, and others, each with their own specific history of relations to the United States. But the majority were from the Hawaiian Islands.

At the time of the Civil War, the Hawaiian Islands were a convenient half-way stop across the Pacific for European and American ships.

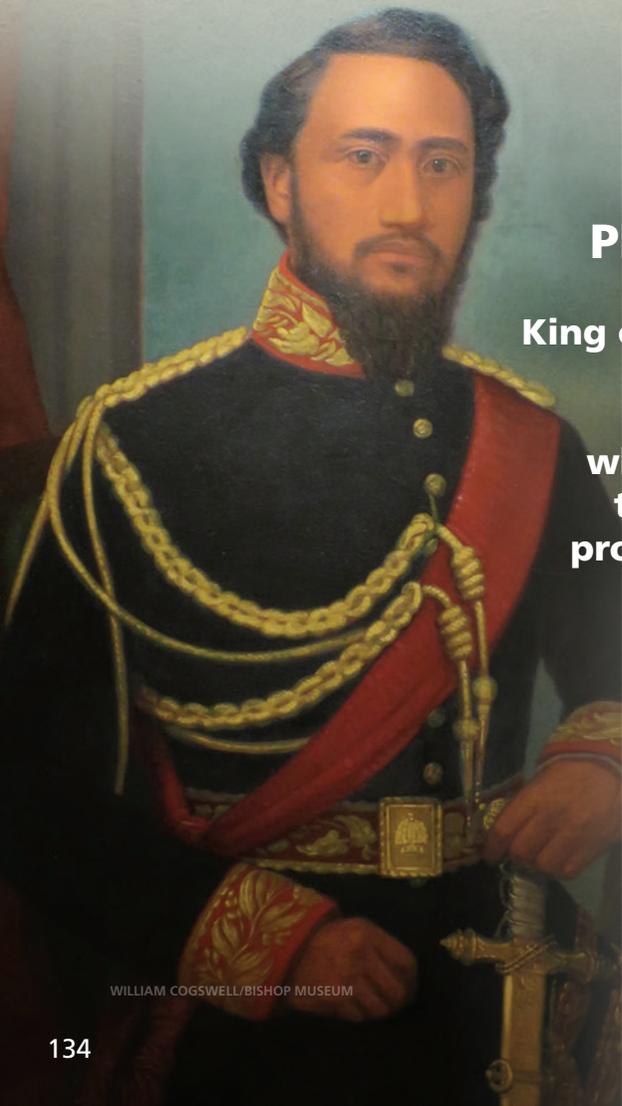
Introduction

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

When the Civil War began, Hawaii was a sovereign kingdom, not a US state. The islands, settled by Polynesian voyagers as early as 300 AD, were first contacted by Europeans in 1778 when British Capt. James Cook's fleet accidentally encountered the islands. The islands quickly became a convenient half-way stop across the Pacific for refueling and restocking European and American ships. While stopped, some of the European and American seaman jumped ship and established families in the islands. And some Hawaiian men signed onto these ships to travel the world.



News of the American Civil War reached Hawaii on May 9, 1861. King Kamehameha IV and his advisors felt the need to choose. They could either recognize an independent Confederate States of America, side with the Union, or declare neutrality. For the King and his advisors (most of whom were of British ancestry) and most of Europe's monarchs, the war evidenced the failure of America's experiment in democracy. Other factors in making this decision were Hawaii's lack of a standing army or navy to protect its harbors if either side threatened Hawaii, and the desire for a Hawaii-United States treaty allowing Hawaii's exports into the US without tariffs. Further, most foreigners in Hawaii were of American descent—New Englanders who supported the Union.



**PROCLAMATION:
Kamehameha IV,
King of the Hawaiian Islands.**

**Be it known, to all
whom it may concern,
that we, hereby
proclaim Our neutrality.**

By Authority.
PROCLAMATION!
Kamehameha IV., King of the Hawaiian Islands.
BE IT KNOWN, to all whom it may concern, that we, KAMEHAMEHA IV., King of the Hawaiian Islands, having been officially recognized by the United States and certain States thereof as the true and lawful King of America," hereby proclaim Our neutrality. That Our neutrality is to be respected to the full extent of Our jurisdiction, and that all captures, and seizures made within the limits of Our jurisdiction, shall be strictly prohibited to all persons, and all who are within Our jurisdiction, from engaging either directly or indirectly in the service or commerce of either of the contending parties, or of rendering any aid to such enterprises whatever; and all persons so offending will be liable to the penalties imposed by the laws of nations, as well as by the laws of said States, and they will in no wise obtain any protection from Us as against any penal consequences which they may incur.
Be it further known, that no adjudication of prizes will be entertained within Our jurisdiction, nor will the sale of goods or other property belonging to prizes be allowed.
Be it further known, that the rights of asylum are not extended to the Privateers or their prizes of either of the contending parties, excepting only in case of distress or of compulsory delay by stress of weather or dangers of the sea, or in such cases as may be regulated by Treaty stipulation.
Given at Our Marine Residence of Kailua, this 26th day of August, A. D. 1861, and the Seventh of Our Reign.
KAMEHAMEHA.
By the King.
KAHUMANU.
By the King and Kuhina Nui.
R. C. WYLLIE.

WILLIAM COGSWELL/BISHOP MUSEUM

By contrast, Southern sympathizers were few and made no public demonstration of support. Reassured by news of British and French neutrality, Hawaii also proclaimed neutrality on August 26, 1861. This proclamation declared captures and seizures of ships unlawful within the Kingdom by either side in the war, and prohibited privateering against either side's shipping. Once declared, the Kingdom enforced its neutrality. In July of 1861, the Hawaiian government blocked a mostly Native Hawaiian company seeking to formally offer their services to President Lincoln. These self-titled "Spencer's Invincibles," led by American expatriate Thomas Spencer, were from Hilo, Hawaii.

The reasons individual Pacific peoples participated in the war are likely as varied as those of enlisting American citizens. Young men seek adventure. A variety of ideological reasons may have also motivated them. Abolition was a theme in some Native Hawaiian churches where annual collections were sent to support abolition advocates in America. Others were motivated by economic reasons.

More than 100 Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders served in the armies and navies of the American Civil War—some Native and others of American descent. Most served in the Union Navy. Superior sailors, they were sought as crew by all working vessels. When war broke out, the Union Navy bought up whale and merchant ships to increase the size of their fleet in order to blockade Southern ports. Many Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders aboard those ships needed jobs and enlisted. In the Union Army, they generally mustered into African American regiments. At least 12 men served in Colored Infantry or Cavalry units. Four Hawaiians from the USS *Santiago de Cuba* were reported among those who volunteered to storm Fort Fisher near Wilmington, North Carolina, in January of 1865. Hawaiians also served the Confederacy. Ten were crewmembers of the CSS *Shenandoah*.

Part of the story of Hawaii and the Pacific Islands is that their men who served just disappeared from the collective memory and story line of the Civil War.

Eyewitness aboard the USS *Santiago de Cuba*

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

The contribution Pacific Islanders made to the Civil War is often untold. For example, Hawaiian servicemen are not mentioned in the official histories of the USS Santiago de Cuba nor the successful assault on Fort Fisher on January 15, 1865. This heavily fortified Confederate fort protected Wilmington, North Carolina, the last major port through which the Confederacy was able to receive supplies from abroad through the blockade. A Baltimore American reporter on the Santiago, however, filed this report after witnessing the bravery of these sailors from the Pacific Islands in this assault.



Pacific Islanders were among the first to volunteer when Union forces from the USS Santiago de Cuba stormed Fort Fisher.

NAVAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE COMMAND

Capt. GLISSON informed the men that he wanted thirty-five blue-jacket volunteers, all that could be spared from the guns, and he wanted only such men as would go willingly, with the determination to plant the flag of the Santiago first on the ramparts of Fort Fisher. Those who desired to volunteer were invited to step to the front side of the vessel. . . . Among them were four swarthy, broad-shouldered Sandwich Islanders [Hawaiians], and the entire crew of the Captain's gig. At the time I write the grindstones are at work sharpening their sabres, and the storming party exhibit as much glee-some hilarity as a party of children preparing for a picnic. The same spirit has been manifested on all the vessels. If Fort Fisher is not taken, there will at least be some bloody work.

—reprinted in the *New York Times*, January 18, 1865

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



There were likely dozens more Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in service than identified to date, but it may be impossible to ever recover them all because often the names used in their military records were simplified or invented, such as “Joe Maui,” “John Boy,” or “Joseph Kanaka” [Kanaka is Hawaiian for “man”]. As a result, it becomes very difficult to track them later

in life or find descendants who might have information about them. In *Two Years Before the Mast*, Richard H. Dana, Jr. relates that Hawaiian names were dropped for the convenience of others. Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders were called “both collectively and individually” Kanaka. “Their proper names . . . being difficult to pronounce and remember, they are called by any names which the captains or crews . . . give them.”



Like many Asians and Pacific Islanders, J.R. Kealoha served with the US Colored Troops.

WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/POSTDLF

J.R. Kealoha

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

Though little is known about his life in Hawaii prior to his Civil War service, J.R. Kealoha travelled from the island to the US mainland in 1864. The 41st Regiment, United States Colored Infantry was organized at Camp William Penn in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, starting in September of that year. They were ordered to join the Army of the James in Virginia on October 18, 1864. The unit was part of the 10th Corps until December 3 and thereafter was part of the 25th Corps.

Kealoha served at the rank of private in the 41st Regiment in 1864 and 1865. We may never know the name under which he enlisted since so many Hawaiians were enlisted under *noms de guerre*—names convenient for English tongues to pronounce. However, Kealoha was mentioned by his Hawaiian name in a letter from Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, another Hawaii-born Civil War soldier but of American descent, on January 22, 1865 outside Richmond, Virginia.

Yesterday, as my orderly was holding my horse, I asked him where he was from. He said he was from Hawaii! He proved to be a full-blood kanaka, by the name of Kealoha, who came from the Islands last year. There is also another, by the name of Kaiwi, who lived near Judge Smith's, who left the Islands last July. I enjoyed seeing them very much and we had a good jabber in kanaka. Kealoha is a private in the 41st Regiment US Colored Troops, and Kaiwi is a private in the 28th U.S.C.T., in the pioneer corps. Both are good men and seemed glad to have seen me.

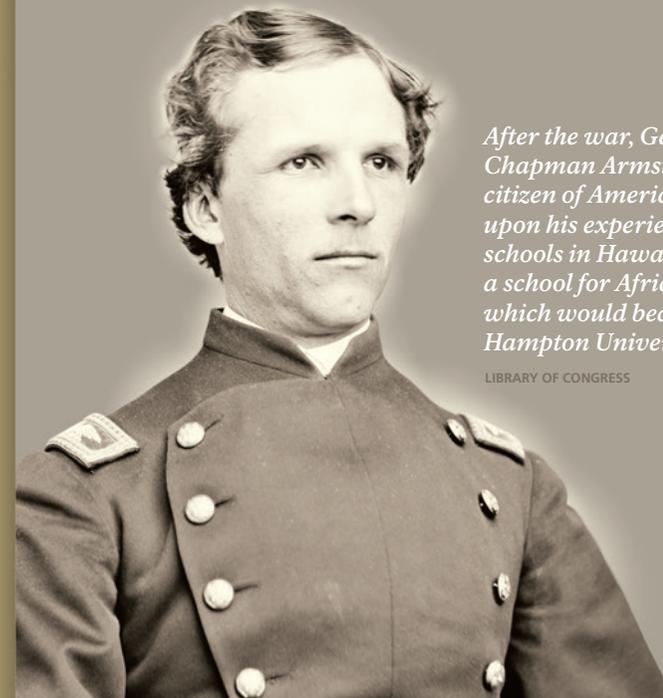
For all three Hawaiian men, the visit with fellow countrymen appears to have been a pleasant memory of home amid the grueling days and months outside the embattled Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia.
(cont. p. 140)

Kingdom of Hawaii Citizens of American Descent

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

By 1861, Hawaii—the Pacific crossroads—had naturalized immigrant citizens of diverse heritage. Their children were citizens of Hawaii by birth. With the same mixed reasons as motivated Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, these “sons of Hawaii” also served in America’s Civil War. Only a few are known to have served the Confederacy. Most served in the Union Army, while some joined the US Sanitary Commission. Many were American missionary descendants, including 21 graduates of Punahou School, originally founded to serve missionary children. Two of the 21 died in the war: Eli Samuel Ruggles and Joseph C. Forbes.

The most famous to serve was Samuel Chapman Armstrong, whose American missionary parents, Rev. and Mrs. Richard Armstrong, arrived in Hawaii in 1832. After graduating from Williams College, Massachusetts, in 1862, he was commissioned a captain in the 125th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and served in many engagements including Gettysburg. Armstrong was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the 9th US Colored Troops and later colonel and commanding officer of the 8th Regiment, US Colored Troops. At war’s end, he was a brevet brigadier general. During Reconstruction, Armstrong worked in the Freedmen’s Bureau from 1866–1872 and later founded Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton University).



After the war, Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong—a Hawaiian citizen of American descent—drew upon his experiences with mission schools in Hawaii to help expand a school for African Americans which would become known as Hampton University.

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After an unsuccessful assault on the city of Petersburg in June 1864, Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's forces dug trenches that extended over 30 miles from the Confederate capital of Richmond to Petersburg, Virginia. The 41st fought in the grueling trench warfare during the nine-month siege of Petersburg.

NPS/GIL COHEN

From October 1864 to April 1865, Kealoha and the 41st were in or around the trench warfare taking place outside of Petersburg and Richmond. The city of Petersburg was crucial to supplying Gen. Robert E. Lee's army in a last desperate attempt to defend their capital. After more than nine months of deadly battles and dwindling supplies, Lee finally abandoned both cities in April of 1865, fleeing west toward Appomattox Court House, Virginia. The 41st was engaged heavily during the final fighting in the siege south of Petersburg and in the ensuing pursuit. In the Battle of Appomattox, the 41st suffered casualties, including one killed. After this battle, Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865. The 41st continued to occupy Petersburg until May 25 and then embarked for Texas to do guard and provost duty until their muster out on November 10. They arrived back in Philadelphia, received their final pay, and were discharged on December 14, 1865.

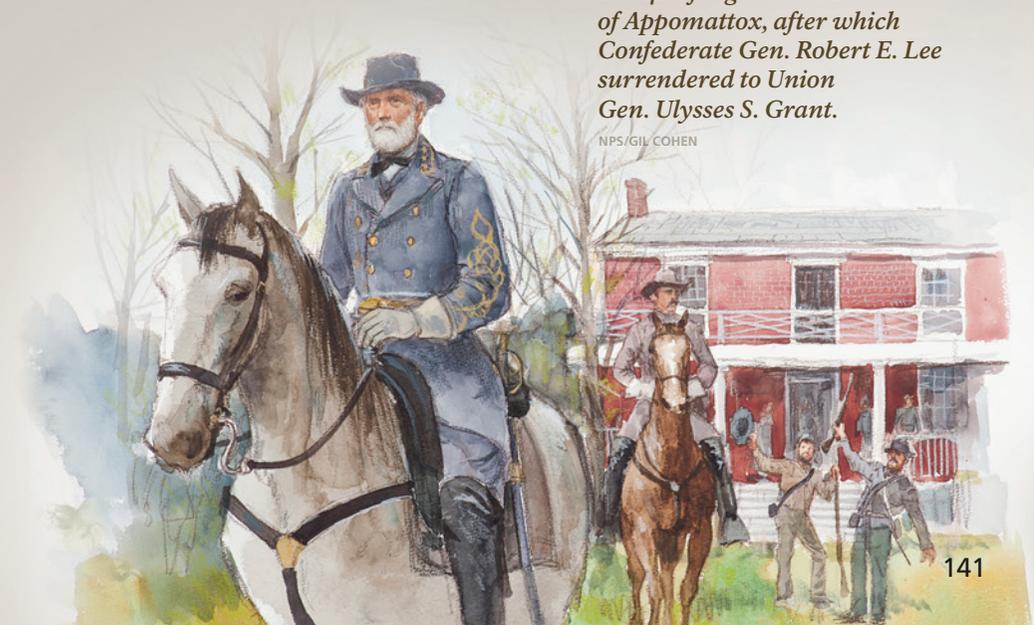
Though Kealoha's name has not yet been found in the records of the 41st, there is evidence that he served. The histories of the Colored Regiments were almost always written by their White officers. Hawaiian names and birthplaces were often misspelled or Anglicized in their records, so it is possible that his service is noted under a different name. Also, the history of the 41st USCT states that some of the records were not turned in at the end of the war. According to Samuel Bates' 1871, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers 1861-65*, only the names of the men who were with the regiment for the final muster out on November 10, 1865 "were returned to the Adjutant General's office."

Kealoha's Civil War service was recognized by the United Veterans Service Council (UVSC) which existed in Hawaii from 1932-1945, offering services for the Territory of Hawaii which we now associate with the US Department of Veterans Affairs. The UVSC included him in their database of "Deceased Veterans" and recorded his burial site.

J.R. Kealoha returned to the Islands and died March 5, 1877. He is buried in Honolulu at Oahu Cemetery in Section 1, Lot 56.

The 41st fought in the Battle of Appomattox, after which Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

NPS/GIL COHEN



Prince Romerson

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

The military records of Hawaii-born Prince Romerson reveal both his service to the United States and the diverse attitudes of officers towards people of color.

How Prince, whose name does not infer royalty, had come to be in New York or how long he had resided in the city before enlisting in the navy as a landsman on January 22, 1863 is not known. And though his age, 23, and height, 5 feet 2½ inches, are given in the records, his “PERSONAL DESCRIPTION” may offer a better picture of his enrollment

Days after Prince mustered in, the regiment assembled within the forts that defended the Union capital of Washington. Here they received arms before joining the fight for the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia.

NPS/DIGITAL IMAGE ARCHIVES

officer than of him: Scrawled across the individual columns allocated for “Eyes,” “Hair,” and “Complexion,” is a single word—“Mulatto.”

Prior to his enlistment, Prince had been working as a barber, but since many Hawaiians in the Northeast arrived as sailors on whalers, he may have entered the navy with experience at sea. Now, on the USS *Wamsutta* and USS *Mercidita*, he was part of the Blockading Squadrons, and some of his officers would have shared Rear Admiral David Dixon Porter’s belief that “White men cannot stand the Southern sun, an exposure to which inevitably brings on the disease of this climate, resultant fever . . . The blacks must therefore be used for boats’ crews, or for duty requiring exposure to the sun.”

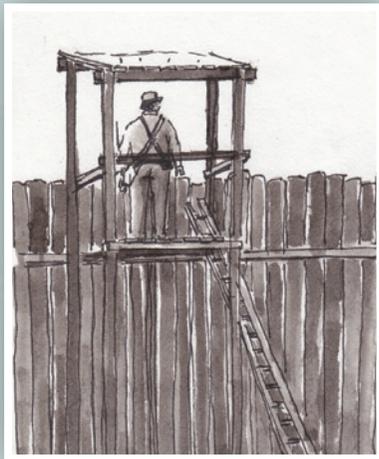
After his discharge on March 28, 1864, Prince left the navy, but not military service. Less than a month later in Boston, he enlisted in Company M of the 5th Regiment Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Cavalry. In contrast to the naval records, Prince’s enlistment document in the 5th specifies his black eyes, black hair, black complexion, and his place of birth: “Owyhee [a variant spelling for Hawaii], Sandwich Islands.” That the enrollment officer would specify the island of Hawaii within the Kingdom of Hawaii suggests he had had a more than superficial exchange with Prince, possible respect. Indeed, during muster in at Camp Meigs, Readville, on May 5, 1864, Prince was promoted to sergeant, effective June 1, 1864.

Organization for the 5th had begun the previous autumn and winter and Company M was its last. Days after Prince’s muster in, the regiment assembled in a camp within the defenses of Washington where it was armed and equipped as infantry. Then, as the 5th Regiment Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Cavalry (Dismounted), it proceeded south to City Point, Virginia, on the James River, where it was attached to the Colored Division of the 18th Army Corps.

Though he had no more experience than the men under him, Prince was charged as sergeant with preserving order in his squad during reconnoitering expeditions and on picket duty. In the second battle against Petersburg, he was responsible for keeping his men in ranks and stopping anyone from running. The regiment performed well. Up against a Confederate position, the US Colored Infantry captured a Confederate cannon and the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry dragged it off the field. Where speed was essential, however, Union generals in charge delayed. This resulted in confusion, heavy casualties, and the eventual necessity for a prolonged nine-month siege of the city of Petersburg.

At Point Lookout, Maryland, the 5th guarded Confederate prisoners in a stockade that sometimes imprisoned twice as many men as it was designed to hold. Food and shelter were in short supply. Tensions ran high.

DEBORAH GROSSE



At the end of June, the 5th was sent to Point Lookout, Maryland, to guard Confederate prisoners of war who were penned within 40 acres surrounded by wooden walls 14 feet high. Guards patrolled a walkway atop the walls, day and night. Built for 10,000, the stockade sometimes held twice that number, and there was a shortage of tents and food. Not surprisingly, the tension between prisoners and guards was extreme.

Prince, now a commissary sergeant, was likely spared the worst of this posting as well as the rigors of the regiment's return to the field in March of 1865 to participate in the closing campaign near Richmond and Petersburg. Even so, he fell ill soon after victory, and on the way to the regiment's new posting in Clarksville, Texas, he was admitted to the Corps d'Afrique USA General Hospital in New Orleans, Louisiana, on July 8. He never recovered sufficiently to rejoin the regiment. Transferred on September 19, 1865 to De Camp USA General Hospital, David's Island, New York, he was mustered out October 9, 1865.

This was not the end of Prince's service, however. When Congress authorized the creation of four regiments of "Colored Troops" for the regular army, recruiters actively sought out Civil War veterans, and Prince made an excellent candidate. His service record was unblemished. Had he not been literate, it's doubtful he would have been promoted to sergeant in the 5th at muster in and then assigned to the commissary. But with the Civil War's almost 200 Colored Regiments reduced to six, the need for sergeants was drastically reduced, and Prince enlisted on September 13, 1867, in the 39th Infantry Regiment (later consolidated with the 40th into the 25th) at the reduced rank of private.

The information in his enlistment document reflects the ease with which a misunderstanding can occur between enrolling officer and recruit as well as the sometimes insurmountable challenges such misunderstandings have created for researchers.

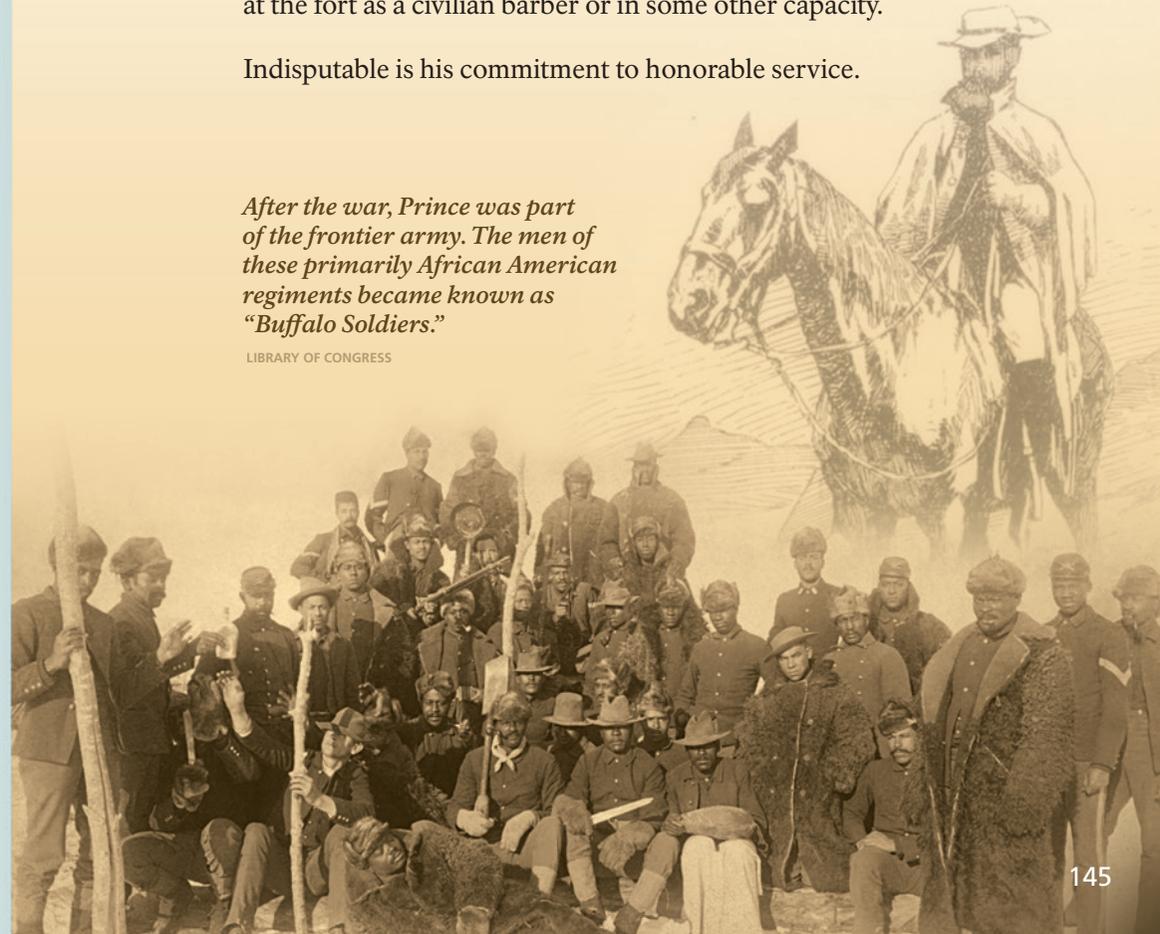
"Hawaii" should be in the section for "place of birth." Instead, it's "Albany, New York." Likely, Prince had been working in that city and given it in response to the query, "Where are you from?" The age, "28," occupation, "barber," and general physical description match the two-time veteran. What remains open for interpretation is the "yellow" complexion, which could connote a light skinned person of color or jaundice or a lingering malaise.

Whatever the case, Prince seems to have served the full three-year term. But he died less than two years later on March 30, 1872. Since he was buried initially at Fort Griffin, Texas, then reinterred on May 11 at the San Antonio National Cemetery, he apparently remained in the state where he'd been discharged. Health permitting, he might have reenlisted. Or he could have been at the fort as a civilian barber or in some other capacity.

Indisputable is his commitment to honorable service.

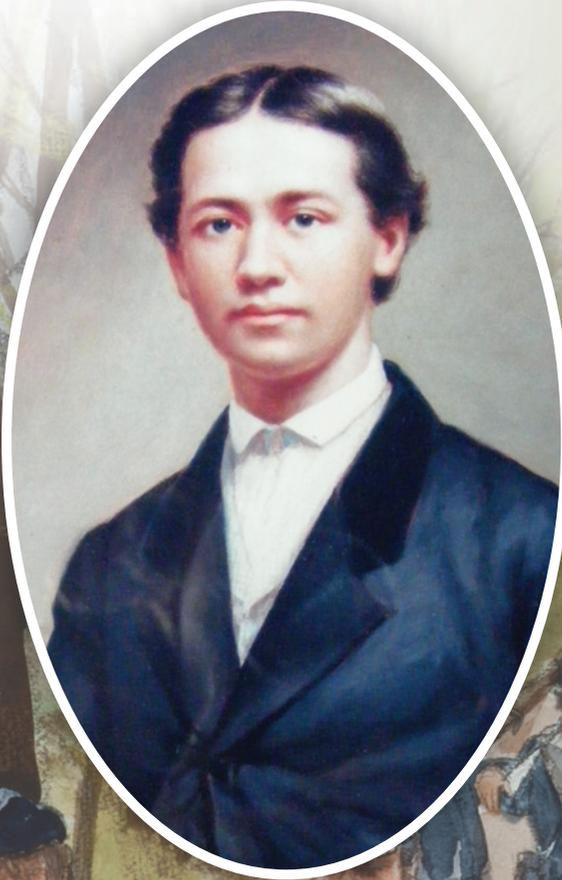
After the war, Prince was part of the frontier army. The men of these primarily African American regiments became known as "Buffalo Soldiers."

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Henry Hoolulu Pitman was the son of a Hawaiian woman of high social status and an American businessman from Boston.

DIANE PITMAN SPIELER



Henry was with the Army of the Potomac at the Battle of Antietam and was captured on their march south during the Fredericksburg Campaign.

NPS/GIL COHEN



Henry Hoolulu (Timothy) Pitman

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

Henry Hoolulu (Timothy) Pitman descended from an “alii” family—one of high social status. His mother was Kinoole o Liliha, high chieftess of Hilo district, Island of Hawaii. His father was Benjamin Pitman, a businessman from Boston, Massachusetts, who came to Hawaii in 1836 and became a successful banker, ship owner, merchant, and sugar planter. When Henry was ten years old, his mother died. A few years later, his father took the family back to Massachusetts.

Reportedly without knowledge of his family, Henry left school and enlisted in the Union Army on August 14, 1862. According to military records, he was 20 years old, but family records show he was only 17. While most Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders were assigned to African American regiments, at least one Hawaiian served in a White unit. Henry served in the 22nd Massachusetts Infantry, Company H. As his father was White, Henry was fair skinned, so unit assignment may have depended on how dark Hawaiians appeared. On his military record, his name appears as Timothy H. Pitman.

As a private in the 22nd Massachusetts, Henry and his regiment were with the Army of the Potomac at the Second Battle of Bull Run but did not come under enemy fire. Henry saw more action at the Battle of Antietam where the 22nd Massachusetts came under artillery fire all day while anchoring the center of the Union lines. As part of the 5th Corps, it was kept there as a reserve in case of counterattack by the Army of Northern Virginia. From their position located on high ground, the 22nd witnessed many of the Union attacks that resulted in the bloodiest one day battle in American history.

During the Army of the Potomac’s march south toward what would ultimately be the Battle of Fredericksburg, Henry’s strength ran out. On November 17, 1862, near Warrenton, Virginia, he asked a member of the company to fall out with him as he was sick. His feet, from wearing tight boots, were blistered and unfit for marching. His comrade consented to do so. They started a fire and put coffee on to boil. But when the rear of the column had nearly passed, they realized that without permission to fall out—even to care for a sick man—arrest or disastrous consequences, like capture or death, might result.

According to the *History of the 22nd Massachusetts Infantry* compiled by John Parker in 1887:

[Henry's comrade urged him] to make further effort and go into camp, but he positively refused to budge until his poor sick body was rested from the exhausting efforts of the day's march. Leaving him as comfortable as possible, his comrade joined the rear of the column, and . . . went into camp an hour later. Pitman was never heard from, and was always borne upon the rolls as missing. . . . When left by the roadside, he remained drinking his coffee until the rear of the column was out of sight. No sooner had it disappeared than four of Mosby's guerillas came out of the woods, and without a struggle took the poor fellow prisoner. He was sent to Libby Prison.

On November 3, 1862, Henry arrived in weak condition at Confederate Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia. Conditions at Libby were notorious. The prison was a former tobacco warehouse where 700 prisoners were crowded into large open rooms with open barred windows leaving them exposed to weather and temperature extremes. The overcrowding and lack of sanitation caused diseases. The majority of the 750,000 men who died during the war succumbed to disease rather than wounds from battle.

Henry was paroled at City Point, Virginia, on December 12, 1862. Parker's account further noted that, "Nearly a year later, upon picking up a Boston paper, his funeral was announced to take place in Roxbury, where he had resided." While being held at Camp Parole, near Annapolis, Maryland, Henry had died of what was described as "lung disease" on February 27, 1863. Thus, he has the unfortunate distinction of being the only known Hawaiian or Pacific Islander to die as a prisoner of war in the Civil War.

Henry was buried by his family at Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. When word spread of his death, he was mourned in Hawaii by the American and missionary communities and by his elders as far away as England.



Food was scarce at Libby Prison. A group of Union surgeons, upon their release, noted that 200 wounded prisoners brought in from one battle had been given only a few hard crackers during their three days' journey, and then suffered two more days in the prison without medical attention or food. And, as Parker noted, this was, "to say nothing of the . . . startling instances of individual suffering and horrid pictures of death . . . we have had thrust upon our observation."



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The CSS *Shenandoah*: A Confederate Raider in the Pacific

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

By November 1861, news about the war was reaching Hawaii in about two weeks instead of the month it had taken to reach Honolulu at the beginning of the war. This was due to the completion of the transcontinental telegraph line which placed the eastern US in instant communication with San Francisco. Hawaii residents began receiving reports of ships being sunk in the Pacific by Confederate privateers and raiders. These sinkings were at a distance, however, until the CSS *Shenandoah* entered the Pacific in spring of 1865.

This Confederate States Ship was built in England and launched in 1863 as the *Sea King*. In late 1864, with Capt. James I. Waddell commanding, it set out with these orders:

Sir: You are about to proceed upon a cruise in the far-distant Pacific, into the seas and among the islands frequented by the great American whaling fleet, a source of abundant wealth to our enemies and a nursery for their seamen. It is hoped that you may be able to greatly damage and disperse that fleet, even if you do not succeed in utterly destroying it.

-Commander Bulloch, C.S. Navy, October 5, 1864.

The 230-foot, three-masted CSS *Shenandoah* had a 32-foot beam and steam power. Sleek and swift, it could make 16 knots under sail and nine knots from 150-horsepower engines. Armaments included two 32-pound and two 12-pound cannon, both rifled for accuracy.

On January 25, 1865, the *Shenandoah* reached Melbourne, Australia, via the Cape of Good Hope and Indian Ocean. There, it was refitted as a warship and enlisted additional crew before setting out to pursue whalers on February 18. On March 30, 1865, *Shenandoah* encountered the Hawaiian trading schooner *Pfjel* on the open seas and learned of American whalers at Pohnpei (then Ascension Island), Caroline Islands. Under full sail and steam, CSS *Shenandoah* raced to Pohnpei on April 1, 1865, and caught four whalers at Pohnahtik, Madolenihmw. What later became known as the “Battle of Pohnpei” ensued. The *Edward Carey*, the *Pearl*, and the *Hector* raised American flags. The *Harvest* of Oahu raised a Hawaiian flag.



Capt. James Waddell (shown here in a post-war image) was ordered to “utterly destroy” or at least “greatly damage and disperse” the great American whaling fleet—“a source of abundant use” to the Union and “a nursery to her seaman.”

NAVAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE COMMAND

The CSS *Shenandoah* raided and captured 38 vessels in 1864 and 1865, affecting many Hawaiian crews.

CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM



Shenandoah's Captain Waddell sent prize crews to board the four ships and secure their papers, including whaling charts. Waddell now had the key to finding the entire New England whaling fleet. All four ships were stripped of value and burned, including the *Harvest*. *Harvest* was owned by Honolulu's H. Hackfield & Co. and manned by Hawaiian seamen. As a Hawaiian—not a US vessel—it was not an enemy ship. Waddell justified taking the *Harvest* by claiming “she bore the name *Harvest* of New Bedford, carried an American register, was in charge of the same master who had commanded her on former whaling voyages, and her mates were American.” 1860s records show, however, that the *Harvest* was sold and re-registered as a Hawaiian vessel in 1862, and had a completely different master than before the sale. When news of the marooned sailors in Pohnpei reached Hawaii, the bark *Kamehameha V* was sent to rescue them. On November 18, 1865, nearly 100 Native Hawaiian seamen arrived safely home in Honolulu.

Waddell pursued more of the New England whaling fleet into the Arctic Ocean where he captured 23 additional whalers during June—two months after Lee's surrender at Appomattox. All were burned except four which were placed in bond with the idea of collecting ransom for them. Loaded with prisoners, they were directed to San Francisco. Although the whalers captured and burned in the Arctic were American vessels, there were immediate sharp impacts felt in Hawaii and around the Pacific. Since the war required most available American manpower, Hawaiians and other Polynesians made up even more of the whaling crews than usual, perhaps a majority.

Short on crew, when the *Shenandoah* captured ships, its captain offered their crews the option of being marooned, put in the brig, crammed on a bonded ship, or joining the *Shenandoah* crew. The more pleasant nature of the latter option, with the promise of adventure and possible loot, attracted some to join. Ten Hawaiians enlisted, took the Confederate States of America oath of allegiance, and served aboard the CSS *Shenandoah* during its cruise in the Pacific. One of the ten, William Bill, died in service.

Waddell received news of General Lee's April 9 surrender at Appomattox from the clipper bark *Victoria* of Honolulu on May 10, but read in captured newspapers of Confederate President Jefferson Davis's call for continued resistance in his Danville proclamation. Waddell finally accepted the war was over on August 2, 1865, when informed by a British captain.

Waddell decided to head around Cape Horn versus returning back to Australia which would give the *Shenandoah* the distinction of being the only Confederate ship to circumnavigate the world. In late September, a vigorous debate emerged on the ship about whether it should head for Cape Town, South Africa, or a port in Europe. The debate resulted in several signed petitions from officers and crew being submitted to Captain Waddell. Interestingly, nine of the ten Hawaiians serving onboard signed a petition supporting Waddell's ultimate decision, which was to continue on to England. It is significant that Hawaiians were included on the petition because rarely, if ever, could people of color at this time vote or be witnesses for each other—let alone a White man.

Captain Waddell surrendered the ship to British forces in Liverpool, England, on November 6. In all, the *Shenandoah* captured 38 vessels in 1864 and 1865, affecting many Hawaiian crews.

By capturing American whaling ships and securing their charts, Captain Waddell had the key to finding the entire New England whaling fleet.

WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/UBERPRUSTER

**Hawaiian Sailor
Helps Convict a Slaver**

by Anita Manning from "Keaupuni: A Hawaiian Sailor's Odyssey," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 2013, 47

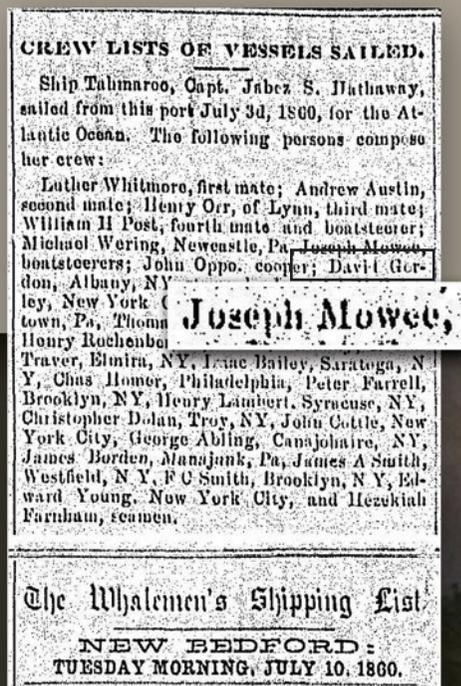
The Hawaiian whaler Keaupuni, aka Joseph Mowee (an alternate spelling of Maui), was a reluctant participant in the American Civil War.

The 1818 Slave Trade Act had banned US vessels from transporting slaves. To hide a slaver's true purpose, however, some masqueraded as whalers, and signed on unsuspecting crews. One such case which was prosecuted was the July 1860 voyage of the Tahmaroo. Those charged in the case were the ship's owner Jabez S. Hathaway, the ship fitter Zeno Kelley, Capt. John Cook, and others. Prosecution of these men took years while witnesses fled the jurisdiction, jumped bail, and changed their testimony. Frustration arose as guilty verdicts were overturned on technicalities.

Prosecuting the case was Richard Henry Dana, Jr., the Boston US District Attorney a former sailor

Getting the vessel's crew listed publicly in the newspaper helped create the impression that the ship was leaving port as a whale ship, not a slave ship. Capt. Cook later joined the vessel in open waters to hide his presence on its nefarious missions.

and author of the memoir *Two Years Before the Mast*. The war created a climate in which US Attorney Dana had wide support when he prepared to prosecute the major actors in the Tahmaroo's plan to hunt slaves, not whales. Dana's strongest witness was experienced Hawaiian whaler Keaupuni. Keaupuni was in charge of a small boat that went out to do battle with whales. It was a position of some responsibility, reflecting his experience and reliability. Dana had learned some Hawaiian and "sailor English" —or pidgin—during his youthful sea adventures. He respected "Sandwich-Islanders (Hawaiians) . . . the most interesting, intelligent, and kind hearted people that I ever fell in with." Dana enlisted Hawaii missionary son and Harvard Law School student Albert Francis Judd as Keaupuni's translator during the case.



Defense attorneys attempted to disqualify Keaupuni's testimony, questioning whether "his knowledge of the Bible, God & c[etc.]" was sufficient to take a sworn oath on the Bible. When the judge ruled Keaupuni fit to take the oath, the defense objected to Judd's translating. Dana then questioned Keaupuni in pidgin. Dana, Keaupuni, and Judd understood, but the defense now insisted on Judd's translating.

In addition to providing details of the kegs of handcuffs on board, the orders to prepare the vessel to hold men captive, and the negotiations for purchase of slaves, Keaupuni related that a defense attorney had counseled that he should pretend to have no knowledge of pidgin.

Keaupuni spent 472 days in protective custody, testifying in several trials. Judd visited repeatedly during his lengthy incarceration, taking him Hawaiian language newspapers, ensuring his quick release at trial's end, and safeguarding his trial fees of \$472 (about \$8,300 today). Eventually, the jury's "guilty" verdicts were upheld. The court ruled against the slavers, imposing fines on some and jail

sentences on others. Captain Cook plead guilty and Zeno Kelley turned state's evidence to shorten his jail time. On November 17, 1863, Keaupuni, finally free, feared retribution since his testimony had helped convict some schemers, but others were free. Judd and Keaupuni recruited James W. Austin, a Hawaii resident planning his family's return home. Over hours of talk in Hawaiian, the men hatched a plan to get Keaupuni home. Austin agreed to "hire" Keaupuni for the San Francisco-Honolulu voyage, assuring him a free passage as a "servant." On November 21, 1863, Keaupuni and the Austins left aboard the *Champion*, transferring to the *Comet* in San Francisco, and arriving in Honolulu on January 8, 1864.

But a sailor is not long happy on land. It is likely, though not confirmed, that Keaupuni is the sailor by that name who signed aboard the whaler *Milo* in November 1864. The Civil War came again to Keaupuni when the CSS *Shenandoah* attacked five whalers on June 22, 1865, sinking four, then forcing all five crews onto the *Milo* without adequate food or water, and sending them as a bonded ship toward San Francisco.

Keaupuni feared retribution, so a plan was hatched to get him safely home to Hawaii.

WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/HONOLULU MUSEUM OF ART

Though long unacknowledged, among those who fought “to renew the birthright of liberty” in the Civil War were men from the Pacific Islands.

A whaleman, circa 1882

US FISH COMMISSION RECORDS, ARCHIVES CENTER, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Present-day Centre Street in historic New Bedford, Massachusetts

NPS/NEW BEDFORD NHP



From Whaler to Sailor Pacific Islanders and the New Bedford Whale Fishery

by Laura A. Miller and Marla R. Miller, Text and illustration excerpted from Ethnohistory of Ethnic Whalemens and their Communities in the New Bedford Area

To many, the mention of Pacific Islanders in New Bedford probably conjures quickly the scene described in Herman Melville’s 1851 novel *Moby Dick*, where “actual cannibals stand chatting at street corners, savages outright,” and “Feegeans, Tongataboos, Erromanggoans, Pannangians and Brighggians” ranged through the city. Melville wrote from experience, having shipped out from New Bedford aboard the *Acushnet*. Indeed, between 1770 and 1900, some 30,000 Pacific Islander men (neither “cannibals” nor “savages”) boarded Euro-American ships from the Hawaiian Islands, the Marquesas, Tahiti, and New Zealand. Many found their way onto New Bedford whalers, and hundreds spent periods—long and short—on the southern coast of Massachusetts.

Most New Englanders lumped these Oceanic peoples together under one term: “Kanaka.” An 1834 New Bedford *Mercury* editorial defined “Canackers” suggesting the word “bears the same meaning as our English word man and is used by the natives to signify man, in general, and a man as distinguished from a woman or female. . . .”

By 1844, an estimated five to six hundred “Kanakas” crewed American whalers. By mid-century, one in five sailors on American whaleships (more than 300 hailing from New Bedford) were Pacific Islanders. A number of them seized the opportunity of the American Civil War to change their circumstances.

Some of the Hawaiian sailors who enlisted at New Bedford were Henry Williams, George Holland, William Rodoma, James Bush, and Peter Warren, as did Thomas Domingo, of Manila, Phillipines. Antone Henry, born near Guam, enlisted in the US Navy and served three years as an ordinary seaman, as did “Bob Macator,” reporting his birthplace as “Macator, Pacific Islands.”

A dozen years later, on July 4th, 1876, New Bedford orator William W. Crapo reflected on the town’s history, including the 3,200 men who joined the military —some becoming “martyrs who died that our flag might still wave [as] a symbol of freedom and the equal rights of all mankind.” However, as historian Gary Okihiro observes, “Numbered among that ‘noble ancestry,’ although unacknowledged by Crapo, were helmsmen of the Hawaiian diaspora who had a hand in directing and renewing that precious birthright of liberty.”



The Impact of the Civil War on the Kingdom of Hawaii

by Dr. Justin Vance and Anita Manning

The Civil War played a significant role in the demise of Hawaii's whaling industry. The number of American whale ships in the Pacific decreased by 60 percent during the war between 1860 and 1866. Confederate raiding also took a heavy toll on the industry. Around 50 whale ships were captured, mostly by the CSS Shenandoah and CSS Alabama. This raiding also led to the sale of many more Northern whale ships to foreign owners for fear that they would be captured flying under American flags.

Additionally, at the outset of the war, 45 ships from the American whaling fleet were purchased by the US government for use in the war. All but five, weighted with loads of stone, were deliberately sunk at the entrance to Charleston Harbor in an attempt to block the port. By all accounts, this "Stone Fleet" was ineffectual as a blockade, but it devastated whaling. The Civil War brought a sharp, and what proved to be—irreversible—depression to an industry that had begun a slow decline, but otherwise may have endured decades longer, despite the increasing scarcity of whales and birth of the petroleum industry in 1859. This destruction of the whaling fleet was a contributing factor in the growth of the petroleum industry in the post-war years.

At the same time, the Civil War made sugar the Kingdom's number one export. The war created high market prices, as Southern grown sugar was no longer available to the markets of the Northern states. The total amount of sugar exported from Hawaii rose from around 1½ million pounds in 1860 to almost 18 million pounds in 1866—an average growth rate of 175.36% per year between those years. The number of sugar plantations operating increased as well, and by 1866 there were 32 plantations and mill companies, up from 12 in 1860. The quality of the sugar also increased and although there was a post-war recession of the industry, the economic change was long lasting. By the turn of the century, Hawaii was exporting 500 million pounds of sugar annually, bringing contract labor from all over the world. Workers came to Hawaii from China, Japan, Korea, Portugal, Philippines, and other countries. Sugar would be Hawaii's main industry until tourism superseded it in the latter half of the 1900s.

Despite their active participation in Civil War armies and navies, the service of Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders was largely forgotten. A chapter of the Civil War veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), was formed in Hawaii in 1882 and membership does not seem to have included any Native Hawaiians. Part of the Hawaiian story is that they just disappeared from the collective memory and story line of the war.

But James's great niece, Edna Ellis, age 88, a current Hawaiian resident of Honolulu, did not forget Bush's service and insisted that "our boys from Hawaii" who served should be remembered. She has been the catalyst and inspiration behind the plaque placed along the memorial pathway at the National Cemetery of the Pacific commemorating those from Hawaii who served in the Civil War and many other projects to preserve their memory. This generated a new interest in Hawaii's role in the war coinciding with the sesquicentennial of the great conflict.

Members of the Hawaii Sons of the Civil War Memorial Committee, a community group made up of members of the Hawaii Civil War Round Table, Elks Lodge 616, Oahu Cemetery, and other individuals, gather at the installation of the commemorative plaque.

HAWAII PACIFIC UNIVERSITY



From left to right,

*Back row:
Damian Paul,
Karen Paul, Anita
Manning, John Scheleski,
Justin Vance, Donna
Miller, Donald Clegg,
Yvonne Vance*

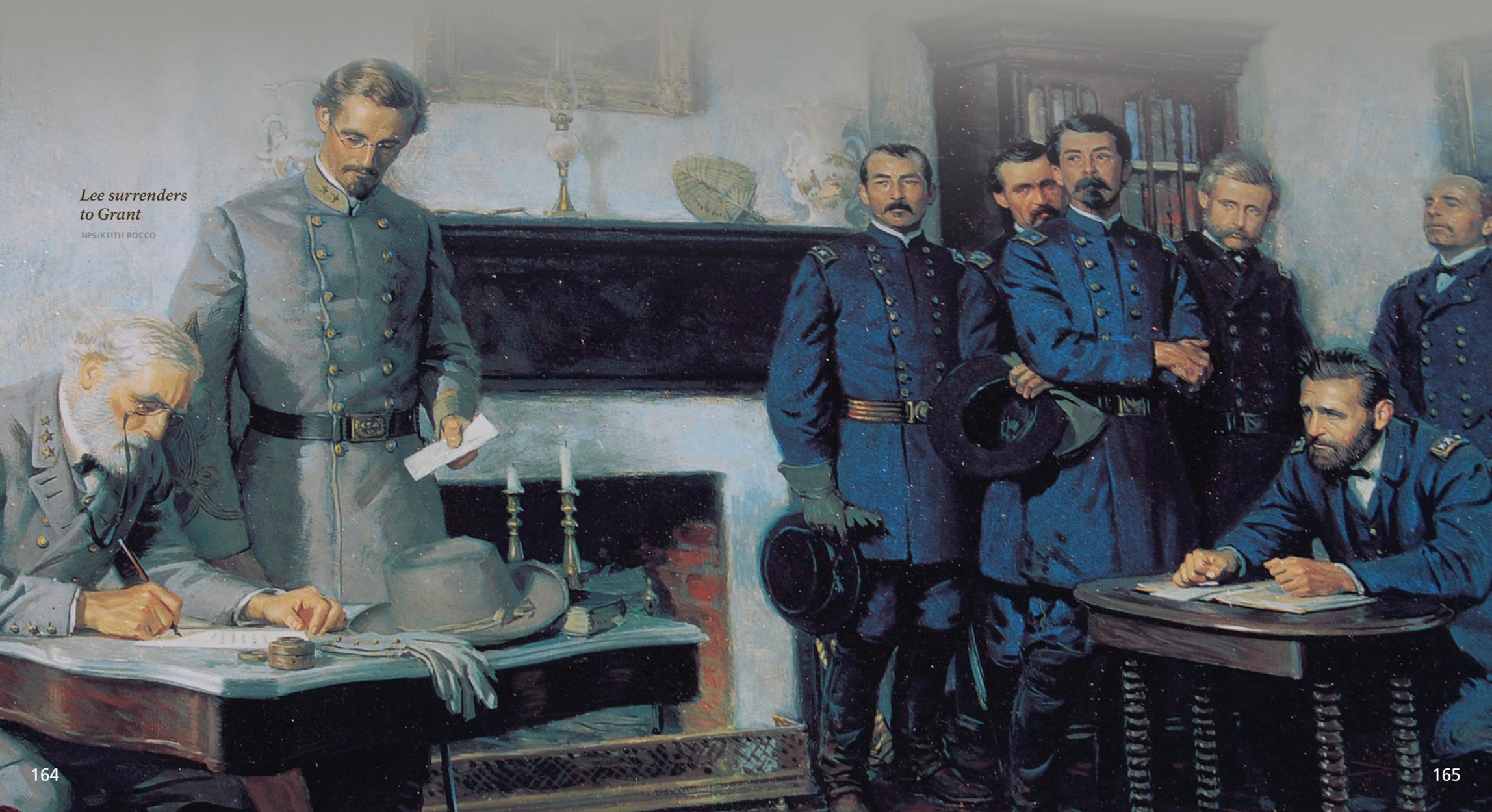
*Front row:
Nanette Napoleon,
Diane Kinoole Spieler
(great niece of Henry H.
Pitman), Edna Ellis (great
niece of James W. Bush),
Annabel Powers*

After the War

Having survived the perils of war, many veterans now faced the daunting challenges of rebuilding their lives and livelihoods. For Asians and Pacific Islanders, there were even more obstacles.

Lee surrenders to Grant

NPS/KEITH ROCCO



Chinese Laborers in the Post-War South

by Ted Alexander

The demise of the Confederacy in 1865 brought freedom to more than four million enslaved people across the South. Conversely, their freedom caused grave concerns among white planters. Fearing the loss of their previously free labor force, they resumed prewar discussions about importing cheap Chinese labor for the sugarcane and cotton fields, as well as railroad construction.

As noted earlier in this book, some Chinese arrived in Latin America and New Orleans as early as the 1500s, and by the 1830s, labor trafficking was bringing Chinese to work in America. Among those supportive of bringing more Chinese laborers to the Deep South after the war were ex-Confederate leaders including well-known generals such as Gideon Pillow and the controversial Nathan Bedford Forrest. The latter commander had been a prominent planter prior to the war and was a leader in the post-war Ku Klux Klan.

At a Chinese Labor Convention held in July 1869 in Memphis, Tennessee, Forrest pledged \$5,000 for bringing 1,000 Chinese to the region as laborers. About 500 delegates representing various business interests attended the convention.

The idea of importing Chinese laborers into the former Confederacy did not stand without controversy. Very few Whites had actually owned enslaved labor. Working class Whites saw cheap African American and Chinese workers as competitors and threats to their well-being. Many white Southerners expressed opposition to the plans, as did African American leaders. Noted former slave and eminent abolitionist, Frederick Douglass was very critical of Southern proponents of such plans, proclaiming in one speech, “. . . they believed in slavery and they believe in it still. . . . The Chinaman will not long be willing to wear the cast off shoes of the negro, and if he refuses, there will be trouble again.

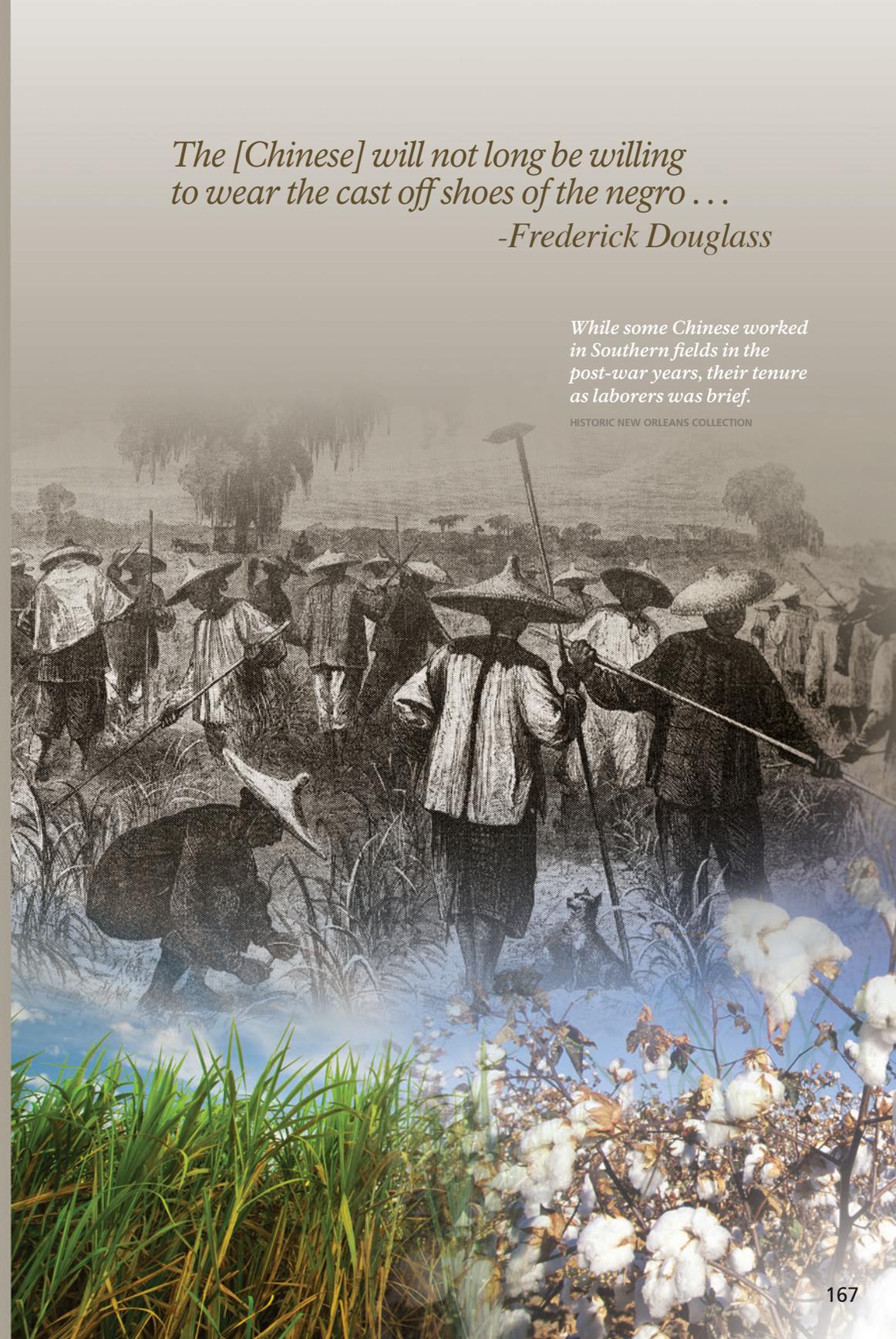
Wary from decades of human trafficking, Chinese failed to respond to recruiters in the hoped-for numbers. As well, Douglass's words proved to be prophetic for the Chinese that recruiters did succeed in luring. Treated unfairly by planters, Chinese soon quit the fields. Most left the area. Those who remained became sharecroppers or peddlers. Some intermarried and formed Chinese American communities and hybrid cultures. Their legacy remains with the many small Chinese enclaves in various parts of the Deep South.

The [Chinese] will not long be willing to wear the cast off shoes of the negro . . .

-Frederick Douglass

While some Chinese worked in Southern fields in the post-war years, their tenure as laborers was brief.

HISTORIC NEW ORLEANS COLLECTION



The Cost of War

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

During the war, some people called casualty lists butcher bills, and with good reason since thousands fell in a single battle. Scores died from disease, too. And many never recovered sufficiently from injuries or illness for employment. This is true of any war, and one of the first acts that Congress passed in 1776 was the National Pension Law granting lifetime half-pay to combatants too disabled in the American War of Independence to perform manual labor.

The death count for the American Civil War was 750,000 or more. Pictured is a luminary event honoring the fallen at Petersburg National Battlefield.

NPS/PETERSBURG

At the start of the Civil War, there were 25,000 Revolutionary War and post-Revolutionary War veterans and widows receiving pensions. Washington stopped paying those living in the Confederacy, regardless of their loyalties. Three months later, Congress passed the Pension Authorization Act for Union soldiers. The next year, all people making claims to the government had to swear an oath of allegiance. The pension rate was also raised and eligibility was expanded to include sailors, widows, and orphans, as well as dependent mothers and orphan sisters. As more acts were passed, rules became increasingly complex, and interpretations often differed—sorely challenging veterans and their dependents.

A claimant for an invalid pension had to prove his disability stemmed from an injury incurred in the line of duty. Since a surgeon's certificate for discharge did not indicate whether an injury was service related, an officer had to provide verification. A claimant also had to prove his identity with two sworn witnesses certified to be respectable and credible. Sworn testimony about the "habits of the applicant and his occupation" had to be submitted, too. Applicants who were poorly educated, illiterate in English, or otherwise handicapped had to rely on third parties to submit claims on their behalf, and agencies for that purpose proliferated.

Given the increasing number of applicants (4,000 percent during the war alone) and complexity of the rules, lengthy processing was the norm. Discharged in 1865 from a US Naval Hospital in Brooklyn, New York, with ruined health exacerbated by spinal injuries, Hawaiian Navy veteran James Wood Bush languished in the Massachusetts State Poor House in Bridgewater for several years before recovering sufficiently to make his way back to the island of Kauai, where he worked variously as a police officer, road supervisor, jailer, tax assessor and collector for over a decade. When he finally applied for the pension that was his due, the process dragged on so long that a senator intervened on his behalf. Even then, by the time his pension was granted in 1905, he had to be credited for back payments from 1897.

Under the Pension Act of 1890, Union Army veterans could receive pensions for disabilities unrelated to their service. So when Siam-born veteran George Dupont was injured in his native country in 1889, he applied for a pension, submitting proof of his service in the 13th New Jersey as well as an Examining Surgeon's affidavit about his inability to perform manual labor. In due course, he was granted a monthly pension of \$12.00. Shortly thereafter, the Pension Act of 1893 restricted payments of non-war related injuries to US citizens. The US Consular General in Bangkok verified his naturalization, and he continued to collect a pension until his death.

Dupont's experience was unusually smooth, perhaps because it did not involve imperfect military records. Joseph Pierce, 14th Connecticut, was granted a pension, but when he sought an increase for ailments stemming from a battle injury, the Bureau of Pensions denied it because "[n]o record [was] found showing wound or injury as alleged." Antonio Dardelle, 27th Connecticut, also claimed a battle injury, and a list of hospitalized soldiers in *The Weekly Courant* on January 31, 1863 includes "Antonio Dardell, contusion or injury by shell." Yet military records showed him as "sick" rather than wounded.

Pension clerks process the several hundred thousand pension claims from veterans of the Civil War.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES



PENSION BUILDING

U.S. FEB 28 1907

SURGEON'S CERTIFICATE

IN CASE OF
John W. Moore

Cod. 19 Reg't Key Inf

APPLICANT FOR Inc.

No 207757

DATE OF EXAMINATION:
February 20th, 1907.

A. W. Tuck, Pres.,
Lois McManis, Sec'y,
Wm. Wood, Treas., } BOARD.

Post office, Greencastle,

County, Putnam,

State, Indiana.

Do not use backs of certificates for any purpose other than indicated by printed matter thereon. 6-322a

SOUTH INDIANA WAR 1861-1865

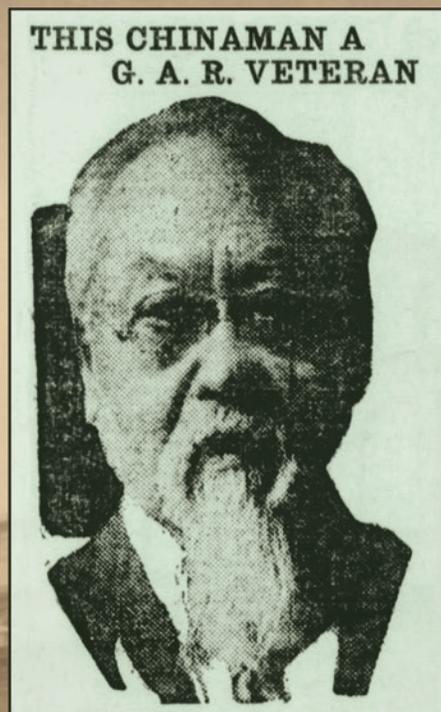
The outlines of the human skeleton and figure should be used to indicate precisely the location of a missile, an amputation, etc. (Paste continuation sheet, if used, here.)

Since a surgeon's certificate did not indicate whether an injury was service related, an officer had to provide verification. A veteran also had to prove his identity with two sworn witnesses.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The Bureau of Pensions required veterans to produce a public or church record, copy of a Bible, or “other family record” to prove date of birth. But public and church records for births did not exist in Asia and the Pacific Islands—nor did family Bibles. So giving examiners a firm birth date was a challenge for veterans like John [Ah] Hang (pictured here).

TACOMA TIMES



The biggest hurdles Asian and Pacific Islander applicants had to overcome, however, were cultural. For example, the Bureau of Pensions required veterans to produce a public or church record, copy of a Bible, or “other family record” to prove date of birth. But public and church records for births did not exist in Asia and the Pacific Islands—nor did family Bibles. Moreover, as Canton-born Navy veteran John [Ah] Hang pointed out in a 1917 inquiry regarding his birth date, he had the imperfect memory of a man in his seventies. His father and mother were dead. He was the sole living member of his family. He had not been to China for many years, and any family record was either lost or destroyed.

The Bureau reacted by expanding the birth date inquiry to Hang’s multiple names: service as John Ah Hang; pension application as John Hang; naturalization as William Hang. Instead of querying him, however, the Bureau’s investigator asked his White witness, “Have you any knowledge why the pensioner has taken so many different names?” The witness, who’d known Hang for 30 years, replied, “I really don’t know, except Chinamen have many names. . . . Look into a Chinese window and you will see the name as Charley Lee or Jim Sing or Jim Wah, and that is to get in the Americanized part, but very few ever find out their real Chinese name.”

Hang, when interviewed, voluntarily told the investigator his real name, Tong Kee Hang, explaining he had dropped it because he was called John in America. His English still limited at his enlistment, the “Ah” had merely been “a Chinese way of pronouncing the name.” Furthermore, since a ship’s master would “put down any old name for a Chinese,” he had worked under different names on different ships. Indeed, he continued to be called by “all kinds of nicknames.” As for the discrepancy in his age, Hang freely admitted, “I have no record of my birth, and I have no knowledge of any in existence.” Pushed to “fix” his date of birth, he said, “I cannot fix it. I am simply guessing at it.” Probably realizing he needed to produce some sort of record, Hang finally proffered a piece of paper that he claimed was “a record from my mother over 30 years ago. I wrote to her for it because I had forgotten my birthday, and she sent it to me.”

In the interview transcript, the investigator noted, “All in Chinese and I have no way of telling just what it is.” Submitting it as an attachment to his final report anyway, the investigator concluded, “John Hang . . . has been able to give a good account of himself, I do not believe that it is necessary to extend the investigation.” Luckily for Hang, the Bureau concurred.

Kwong Lee was not as fortunate. Like Hang, China-born Lee did not speak English when he enlisted in the US Navy on May 3, 1862 as a 22-year old cabin boy in New York City. In his pension application 45 years later, he recalled the vessel was a gunboat “in the nature of a dispatch boat carrying provisions, messages, and everything for the army.” Due to language limitations, he could only name a few of the ports and areas served: New Orleans, Galveston, Mobile, the Mississippi River, and the coasts of Texas and Florida. But from his three years of service, he bore gunshot scars at the center and right side of his forehead, right cheek, back of his head, and right leg. His back was scarred by shell. His first and second finger nails were injured by percussion caps. Unable to name the ships he served on and his sole witness a veteran from the East Indies, however, his pension was denied.

The Bureau of Pensions offered no reason for its 1863 denial of a claim from Hong Kong-born Thomas Sylvanus despite his providing full documentation that linked his discharge from the 81st Pennsylvania for “partial blindness from cataract of both eyes” to battle injury. And when he applied again in 1877, the Bureau’s designated Examining Surgeon acknowledged the veteran was “no doubt in constant pain and unable to see distinctly” since his eyes were “much inflamed,” yet deemed him only temporarily and “partially disabled from ordinary manual labor, the precise degree being “one half.”

His personal physician, on the contrary, found Sylvanus “suffering from cataract to such an extent” that he could not perform manual labor, and this finding was reinforced by witnesses who attested to his good habits, poor eyesight, and hardship in earning a living. With absolutely no ill will intended, though, some acquaintances testified his eyes had “the peculiar look characteristic of his race, nothing more.”

While the Chief of the Investigative Division did ultimately grant Sylvanus a pension, it was at the “half” rate that the Bureau’s Examining Surgeon recommended. Fortunately, where the Bureau of Pensions fell short, comrades in the Grand Army of the Republic stepped into the breach, as they did for many veterans.

Fortunately, where the Bureau of Pensions fell short, comrades in the Grand Army of the Republic stepped into the breach, as they did for many veterans.



The patriarch of this family, Kwong (also spelled Kwang) Lee, claimed service in the US Navy during the war. Due to language limitations at the time of his service, however, he could not later accurately name the ships on which he'd served, so his pension application was rejected. He was also stripped of his naturalized citizenship—but not his children's pride and belief in him. Recounting her father's service in the Civil War, his daughter Marian Lim said, “He had the scars to prove it.”

MARIAN LEE LIM COLLECTION, ARIZONA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REJECTED
1863

3-550.
(Old No. 5-255.)
No. 57333
Act of Feb. 6, 1907
RICE Ex'r. ABANDONED
NAVY INVALID.
Kwong Lee
P. O. 642 Washington St.
San Francisco, California
Service: Cabin Boy
Enlisted: May 3, 1862
Discharged: June 18, 1865
Application filed: July 1, 1899
Alleges: [Signature]
Re-enlisted: []
Attorney: []
P. O. []
Recognized. [] Contract. []
[] No. 14066

**AGED CHINESE SERVED
3 YEARS IN CIVIL WAR
Order Canceling Naturalization
Certificate Signed**

An order canceling the naturalization certificate of Kwang Lee, a Chinese who had enjoyed the privileges of United States citizenship since 1874, was signed yesterday by United States District Judge John J. de Haven.

It was further ascertained by those investigating the case that Kwang Lee served in the United States navy during the civil war, having enlisted immediately after his coming to the country. His service was mostly on the Mississippi river, and he was wounded five times. As a testimony to this he exhibited the scars. He had applied for a pension and would probably have been in receipt of it within a few weeks.

He registered in San Francisco July 22 of this year, and would have voted at the coming election.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE
R. DIST. of CALIFORNIA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PETITIONER
VS.
KWANG LEE
RESPONDENT.
DECREE OF CANCELLATION.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CALL

Wives, Widows, and Orphans

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

The experiences of wives caring for disabled husbands varied. So did the success of widows in claiming pensions for themselves and their orphaned children.

When Johanna Sullivan married Filipino-born Sabas Pilisardo on July 8, 1855 at St. Andrew's Church, New York, she couldn't possibly have anticipated that six years later, she'd be watching him sail away to war. Or that while serving as a seaman on the USS *Lancaster*, he would be accidentally struck by a rammer over his left eye, "causing a wound about one inch in length, to which [hospital records state] adhesive strips were applied." As a seaman, he was a sail maker's mate, and a rammer was the long staff used to press home the charge while loading a gun. After her husband's return home

The Sylvanus orphans were promised they could remain together. But May was sent to the Soldiers' Orphans' Industrial School in Scotland, Pennsylvania. Her brother John was sent to the school for orphans in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, pictured here.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE ARCHIVES



from five years of service, he told Johanna he had been shot in the head and according to an affidavit, they both attributed the "brain trouble" he suffered to this injury. For a while, he managed to work as a fisherman anyway. But his spells of insanity grew so severe that he was admitted to the Charity Hospital in New Orleans, where he remained until his death.

Sixteen-year-old Ada Burns knowingly married a disabled veteran, Filipino Felix Balderry. Felix had been unable to use his left arm properly since he had been seized by a cramp while he and the rest of his regiment were fording a chest-deep river during the summer of 1864. But after hospitalization, he'd returned to duty with his regiment until they mustered out at war's end. Moreover, unable to go back to farming in Leonidas, Michigan, he'd learned tailoring, and multiple affidavits testify to his intelligence as well as his faithfulness to duty. So Ada had good reasons to marry him, and they celebrated the birth of a son. Within a few years, however, Felix became emaciated from chronic bronchitis, and his worsening paralysis meant he dragged his left leg while walking and had so little control over his tongue that it protruded. Still, Ada managed to take



Denied a widow's pension, Tillie Sylvanus was unable to support her children, May and John. They were sent to Soldiers' Orphans Schools in Pennsylvania. She tried desperately to get them back, but to no avail.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

care of him as well as their little boy, and when Felix died shortly before their tenth anniversary, she was granted a widow's and an orphan's pension.

Tillie Sylvanus, too, had married her Hong Kong-born husband, Thomas, knowing his sight and health had been badly damaged while soldiering. She had had a daughter born out of wedlock and he had offered them a home, and the child, his name. At his death, there were three children: this girl, almost 16; a daughter, 10, son, 7; and no certificate of marriage. Widows and children under the age of 16 were entitled to pensions. But the Bureau of Pensions—refusing to accept Tillie's explanation of a lost certificate or to recognize her marriage under common law—denied her a widow's pension and, unable to support the two younger children, she was induced by the Women's Relief Corps to send them to Soldiers' Orphan Homes. Desperate to get them back, she submitted an appeal. So destitute was she, that to go before the Special Examiner, she had to borrow a dress to wear. Denied again, she appealed again. This time she resorted to stealing a piece of fabric and a pattern to make a dress for her interview—and was arrested, sentenced to nine months in jail. She never did receive a pension, and the family remained broken.

At the orphans' schools, girls learned homemaking skills and boys were trained in the trades. Pictured here is a cooking class at the Soldiers' Orphans' Industrial School that May Sylvanus attended.

ANNUAL REPORT TO COMMISSION OF SOLDIERS ORPHANS SCHOOLS, 1895



The Grand Army of the Republic

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

During the war, the Union's volunteer forces were popularly known as the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), and veterans used that name in 1866 for a fraternal society organized along military lines with posts and commanders. Founded on the principles of fraternity, charity, and loyalty, membership in the GAR was open to any honorably discharged officer or enlisted man from the Union Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Revenue Cutter Service who had served between April 1861 and April 1865. There was no color or class bar. But a veteran wishing to join a post had to be sponsored by a member in good standing, and a single nay vote was sufficient for denying a candidate entry.

Exclusion was therefore possible, and no Asian veteran of a Colored regiment has been identified as a GAR comrade. Nor has any Native Hawaiian been identified as a member of the Hawaii post. The London Branch of US Civil War Veterans included a Sikh comrade, however, and Navy Veteran Antonio Francisco Gomez from Lahore, India, was a member of the GAR in San Francisco. Also, Chinese veterans who served in White regiments have been found on the rolls of posts in Connecticut, Nebraska, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Not surprisingly, just as each of these veterans thought he had been the sole Chinese in the Union Army, the Indiana, Pennsylvania GAR Post #28, on mustering in Hong Kong-born Thomas Sylvanus, bragged in the May 19, 1885 *National Tribune* that it had the distinction of claiming as a member what no other post could, "to wit, a full-fledged Chinaman," moreover one who had "survived Andersonville, Millen, and other Southern prisons."

The GAR's national membership of over 400,000 gave it considerable clout in lobbying Washington for legislation benefitting veterans and their widows and orphans. Posts also supported charity for needy veterans, widows, and orphans in their communities. They contributed huge sums that made possible Soldiers' Orphan Schools and homes for veterans, such as the New York State Soldiers and Sailors Home at Bath in Steuben County, New York, where Navy veteran John Hang spent his final days.

The London Branch of US Civil War Veterans included a Sikh comrade.

JOHN COLLIER
MICHAEL HAMMERSON



The GAR was a fraternal organization formed by veterans to preserve the camaraderie that had sustained them during the war. Members, regardless of rank during their service or their class in civilian life, addressed each other as comrade.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS





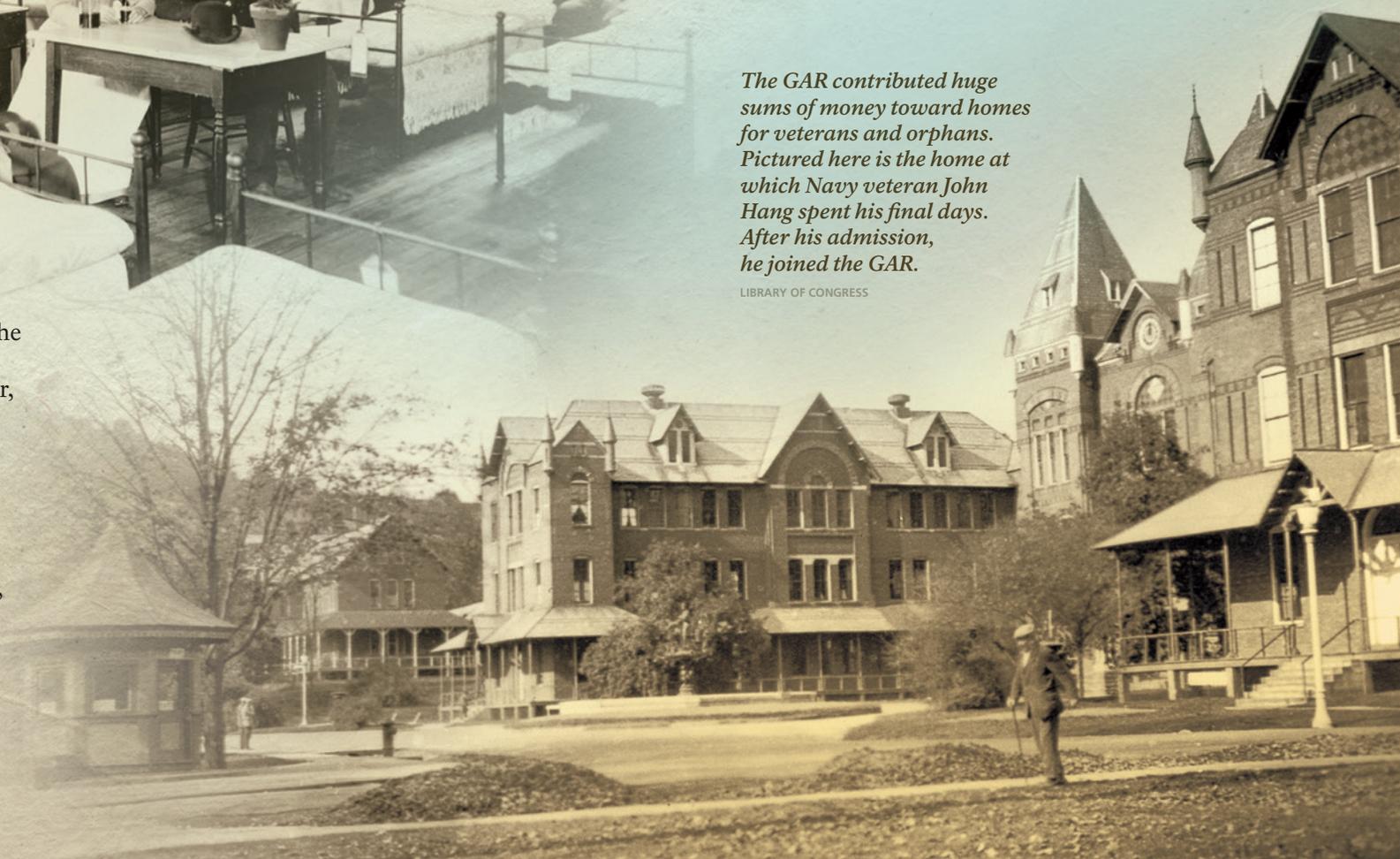
The GAR ensured dead comrades would always be honored through a national day of remembrance to be observed annually in May. Known at its inception in 1868 as Decoration Day (now Memorial Day), communities throughout the country organized church services, speeches given by dignitaries, and parades that ended with decorating the graves of the war dead.

By 1940, death had reduced GAR membership to 1,000. In 1954, two years before its last member died, Congress chartered the Sons of Union Veterans to be the GAR's legal successor. Formed in 1881, the Sons of Union Veterans is dedicated to preserving the history and legacy of those who fought.

The GAR contributed huge sums of money toward homes for veterans and orphans. Pictured here is the home at which Navy veteran John Hang spent his final days. After his admission, he joined the GAR.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

While Soldiers' Orphan Schools were segregated, neither the State Soldiers and Sailors Homes nor the National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers excluded people of color. Residents were, however, segregated with separate sleeping quarters and dining areas. It is unknown how Asian veterans like China-born John Hang, India-born Samuel Henderson (in the Michigan National Home), or East Indian Charles Mine (National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Virginia) were categorized and quartered. But when Ling Kubser, veteran of Company F, 64th New York Infantry, died on January 23, 1905 at the Hampton National Soldier's Home hospital, the local paper reported: "[A]t a largely attended meeting of the personal friends of the dead man, held after the funeral, rousing tributes to the memory of the Chinaman were paid by a score of orators."



Regimental Reunions

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Regimental reunions were important to veterans on both sides of the conflict.

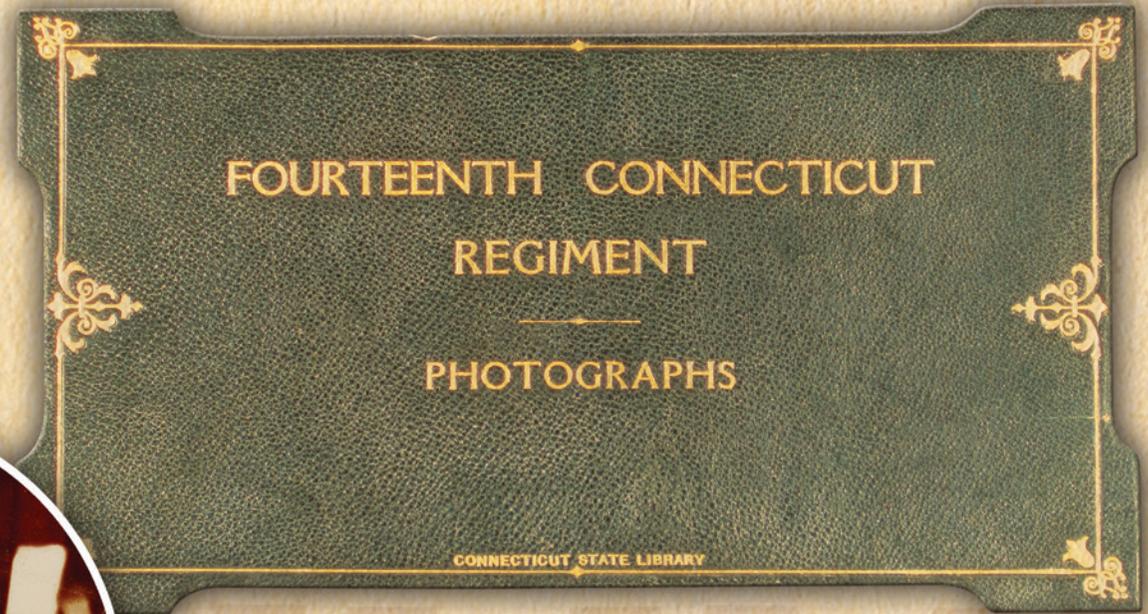
The *New Haven Register*, reporting on the 27th Connecticut's annual reunion in 1888, noted the popularity of China-born Antonio Dardelle with whom "everybody shook hands most cordially." A politically active tinsmith and mason, this veteran was often on his regiment's organizing committee for reunions. He made time for meetings of the GAR, Post #17, as well, officially joining on July 16, 1892.

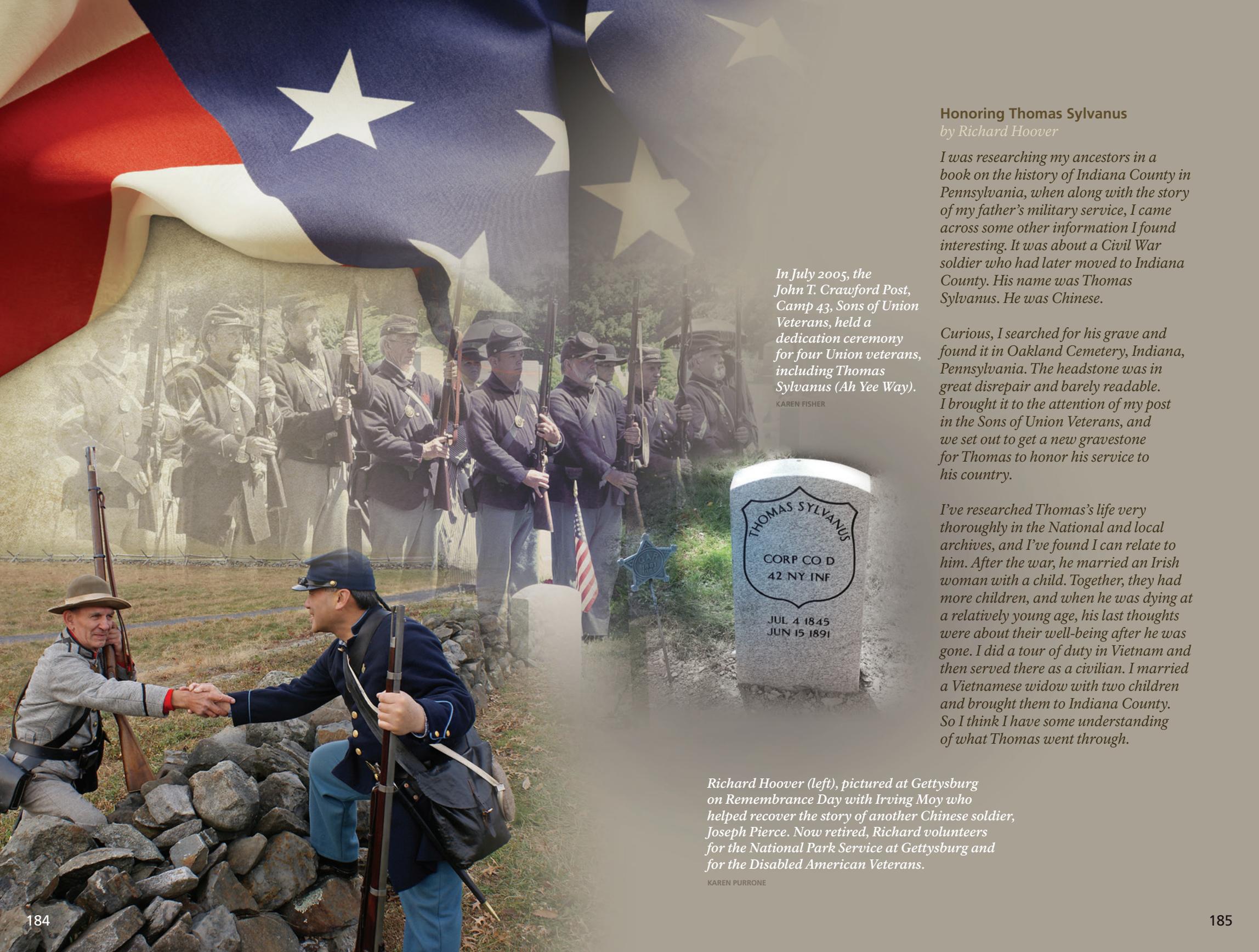
Christopher Bunker, although farming a thousand acres in North Carolina, rarely missed a reunion of the 37th Battalion, Virginia Cavalry. It is not known whether he also joined the United Confederate Veterans Association after its formation in 1889.

Joseph Pierce, working as a silver engraver, is only on record for attending two of the 14th Connecticut's annual reunions, but he may have gone to more. Certainly he would have been welcome. According to the regiment's chaplain, the veteran was greeted in 1890 by a "hearty, vociferous round of applause," and his eyes snapped and sparkled "in his honest face as they were wont to years ago."

This veteran is believed to be Joseph Pierce who was met with "a hearty vociferous round of applause" at the reunion of the 14th Connecticut.

CONNECTICUT STATE ARCHIVES





Honoring Thomas Sylvanus

by Richard Hoover

I was researching my ancestors in a book on the history of Indiana County in Pennsylvania, when along with the story of my father's military service, I came across some other information I found interesting. It was about a Civil War soldier who had later moved to Indiana County. His name was Thomas Sylvanus. He was Chinese.

Curious, I searched for his grave and found it in Oakland Cemetery, Indiana, Pennsylvania. The headstone was in great disrepair and barely readable. I brought it to the attention of my post in the Sons of Union Veterans, and we set out to get a new gravestone for Thomas to honor his service to his country.

I've researched Thomas's life very thoroughly in the National and local archives, and I've found I can relate to him. After the war, he married an Irish woman with a child. Together, they had more children, and when he was dying at a relatively young age, his last thoughts were about their well-being after he was gone. I did a tour of duty in Vietnam and then served there as a civilian. I married a Vietnamese widow with two children and brought them to Indiana County. So I think I have some understanding of what Thomas went through.

In July 2005, the John T. Crawford Post, Camp 43, Sons of Union Veterans, held a dedication ceremony for four Union veterans, including Thomas Sylvanus (Ah Yee Way).

KAREN FISHER

Richard Hoover (left), pictured at Gettysburg on Remembrance Day with Irving Moy who helped recover the story of another Chinese soldier, Joseph Pierce. Now retired, Richard volunteers for the National Park Service at Gettysburg and for the Disabled American Veterans.

KAREN PURRONE

The Struggle for Citizenship

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Citizenship offers membership in community, and in the second year of the war, Congress passed the Act of July 17, 1862, promising citizenship upon petition to any honorably discharged foreign-born veteran. Among the thousands of foreign-born veterans who filed for naturalization under this law were Asians. Felix Balderry renounced allegiance to Queen Isabella of Spain and the Spanish Possessions (Philippines) in 1868. George Dupont renounced allegiance to the King of Siam in 1869. Yet the 1790 Naturalization Law restricting naturalization to “free white persons” remained in effect. Nor were the 14th Amendment and the Naturalization Act of 1870, which extended naturalization to “aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent,” applicable to Asians.

The 1868 Burlingame Treaty did recognize “free migration and emigration” of Chinese to the United States as well as the rights of Chinese in the country to “enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed as the citizens of the most favored nation.” But it withheld the privilege of naturalization since only Chinese men were wanted, and only for as long as their labor was needed to build the transcontinental railroad and develop the West.

To discourage Chinese men from settling, the California State Legislature passed an act denying Chinese women immigrants the right of entry unless they could prove to the Commissioner of Immigration that they were “of correct habits and good character.” Then, state law forbade intermarriage and many local governments passed discriminatory labor laws. Other states followed suit.

Large numbers of Chinese men stayed anyway. Others came. And when a post-war economic depression struck in the 1870s causing severe unemployment, White workers blamed Chinese. Political parties used Chinese as scapegoats for low wages and societal ills. With the press fanning the flames, anti-Chinese rhetoric exploded into violence, and “The Chinese must go” became national policy.

(cont. p. 190)



STATE OF MICHIGAN, } ss. Circuit Court of said County.
ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

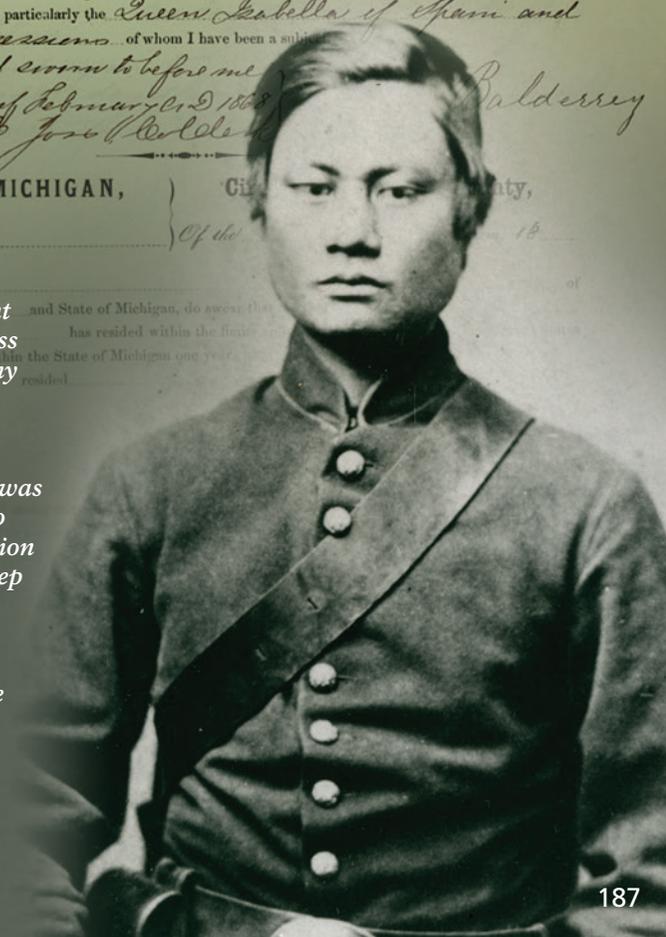
Felix Balderry an alien, being of the age of about
25 years, desirous of becoming a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
in conformity to the laws of the United States relative to the naturalization of aliens, comes into the Court aforesaid,
now in session, and makes the following declaration, viz:
That he was born in the County of *Munamonth Island* in *Philippine Islands*
in allegiance to the *then reigning* ~~Queen~~ *Average* that he emigrated from
Philippine Islands sailing from the port of *Batavia*
in the year *A. D. 1858* and
arrived in the United States in the same year; and that he arrived in the State of Michigan in *September*
A. D. 1859 and that he intends to settle and remain in the
County of *St. Joseph* in said State
Done at *Cassville* this *25th*
day of *February* A. D. 1868 }

I, *Felix Balderry* above named, do solemnly swear that the facts set forth
in the above declaration are true, and that it is bona fide my intention to become a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED
STATES, and to renounce for ever all allegiance and fidelity to each and every foreign Prince, Potentate, State or
Sovereignty whatsoever, and particularly the *Queen Isabella of Spain and*
the Spanish Possessions of whom I have been a subject
Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 25th day of February A. D. 1868
John Joseph Caldwell *Balderry*

STATE OF MICHIGAN, }
COUNTY OF }

WE, and State of Michigan, do swear that
..... has resided within the limits
..... of the State of Michigan one year
..... resided

To encourage enlistment during the war, Congress offered citizenship to any honorably discharged foreign-born veteran, and at the war's end, Filipino Felix Balderry was among the thousands to apply. Filing a Declaration of Intent was the first step in the naturalization process. But many immigrants, including Felix, thought they were already naturalized just by completing the Declaration.



ARCHIVES OF MICHIGAN

The Chinese Must Go!

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Violence against Chinese in the Western states included rioting, lynching, and massacres. Some towns, cities, territories, and states demanded that every Chinese leave by a specific date.

Denouncing the decision to expel Chinese from the Washington Territory by November 1, 1885, eight pastors issued a statement, warning:

Liberty for ourselves, established upon despotism over others, will be dearly bought. Indeed, liberty is threatened with death when any class of men are stripped with impunity of their legal rights.

On the morning of November 3, hundreds of White men in Tacoma—including its mayor—stormed into its Chinatown anyway. Six hundred of Chinatown's 800 residents had already fled. The mob, armed with clubs and pistols, kicked in doors and drove men, women, and children into a freezing rain. They then herded them, shivering, to the train station where those with the means to buy tickets were forced to do so. The rest were shoved into the boxcars of a southbound freight train.

Throughout the West, such scenes were replicated over and over. The scarcity of Chinese in the East spared them similar fates but not from the 1892 Geary Act's threat of legal expulsion.

Anti-Chinese riots and massacres swept the West. In Rock Springs, Wyoming, the Chinatown was burned to the ground with some people still in the buildings. Indeed, so many Chinese were killed that representatives of the Chinese government and US military officers went to investigate and protect survivors.

In addition to extending the exclusion of Chinese laborers for another ten years, the Geary Act required all Chinese in America to apply for a certificate of residence within one year of the law's passage. Thereafter, any Chinese without a certificate would be presumed to be in the country unlawfully and subject to arrest and subsequent deportation unless a White witness swore the failure was due to sickness or accident. Chinese across America protested vehemently in mass meetings, before Congress, and in court challenges—to no avail. By a vote of six to three, the Supreme Court supported the "the right of a nation to expel or deport foreigners."



HARPERS MAGAZINE

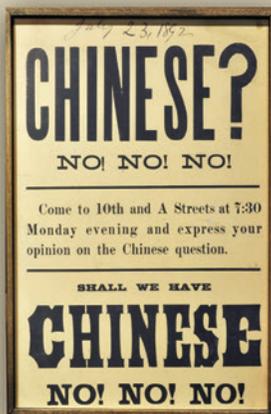
In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act suspending the immigration of Chinese laborers—initially for 10 years—then, through extensions, for the next 50. The Exclusion Act also specifically prohibited naturalized citizenship for Chinese. As immigration of Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and East Indians increased, they too were discriminated against, excluded, and denied naturalization.

Underlying the government’s 1862 promise of naturalization for foreign-born veterans, however, was the premise that they would have proved their worthiness to be citizens through their service. And on that basis, China-born Edward Day Cohota’s claim, “I, if anyone, have earned the right to be pronounced a citizen of the United States and enjoy all of its rights and privileges,” was indisputable. Honorably discharged from the 23rd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, he then served 30 years in the regular army’s 15th Infantry. Indeed, Cohota assumed himself a citizen and had voted in six elections by 1912. But his application for a homestead in Nebraska was refused because he was “not a citizen of this country and could never become a citizen and therefore could never prove up his homestead.”

Outraged, he appealed to the state’s assistant attorney general and his senator. Both supported his claim but to no avail. So Cohota traveled to Washington and appealed directly to his representative in the House, who brought the matter to the chairman of the immigration committee. Together they searched for a “statute that would permit the Chinaman to claim citizenship and give him the right of franchise,” but found none.

The same prejudices that spurred Chinese Exclusion later impacted Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and East Indians.

BLOGSPOT



WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

S Chinese Veteran Wants to Vote

William Ah Hang After Service in Civil War Asks That Citizenship Papers Be Restored.



JOHN A. HANG. MOUNT PLETT PHOTO.

In a letter to Secretary of State Knox William Ah Hang, who has a tobacco shop at No. 500 Pearl street and is the only living veteran of the civil war, asks that citizenship papers obtained in 1867 after being honorably discharged from the navy be restored to him. They were cancelled by the United States District Attorney's office in 1908. Up to that time he voted from New York. In his letter to the Secretary of State he says he wants to vote for one more President before he dies.

"I was in the navy four years," he told a reporter for the HERALD, "and was on the Albatross, Penguin and North Carolina. I was in the fight at New Orleans when Farragut went into the harbor and was at Mobile Bay. I enlisted in the navy at the Brooklyn Navy Yard when I had been in this country only two years. Here is my discharge."

Mr. Hang exhibited a well worn document showing that he had been honorably discharged from the United States Navy July 24, 1868.

"I don't like to fight very much," he said. "No Chinese do until they are forced to it. I was not obliged to fight, but I wanted to become a citizen of this land, and its battles were my battles just as much as though I was born here instead of in China. I liked it in the navy, the ships were so clean and there was so much to do. When I came to New York to live it

was not so nice. People were so crowded together.

"In the navy I learned much of American ways, more quickly than I could have in any other manner. I was with American men, working with them, and had to speak to them in English. I cut my queue off before I enlisted; in fact I did that as soon as I came to America, because I wanted to become a part of this country just as soon as I could."

DRY GOODS, & C.

DRY GOODS, & C.

"I was not obliged to fight [in the war], but I wanted to become a citizen of this land, and its battles were my battles. . . ."

-John A. Hang aka William Ah Hang

Some Chinese, like navy veteran William Hang (aka John Ah Hang), were granted citizenship anyway, and for years after his naturalization in New York on October 6, 1892, he voted without incident. Then, on August 17, 1904, he was arrested while voting, and when he showed his naturalization papers, he was subjected to a tirade on the "inexcusable ignorance" of the judge who had issued them. Hang had served as a landsman on board the *Hartford* as well as the *Albatross* during Admiral Farragut's blockade of Mobile, where he'd "handed out powder." Now he battled to retain the citizenship he'd earned. But on October 21, 1908, New York's Supreme Court vacated it.

Indignant, Hang launched a public fight to regain it, writing letters to the Secretary of the Navy and to President Taft, telling a *New York Herald* reporter on February 12, 1911, "I was not obliged to fight, but I wanted to become a citizen of this land, and its battles were my battles just as much as though I was born here instead of in China." For weeks, his fight was reprinted in newspapers across the country, including *The Saginaw Daily News* in Michigan which sympathetically included Hang's explanation for why he wanted his right to vote restored. "It seems to me a man ought to have something to say about running the government for which he offered his life. I'm as much an American as anybody else."

When arrested while voting, Hang had not been carrying his naturalization papers by chance. The 1892 Geary Act that extended Exclusion required all Chinese in America to carry proof they were in the country legally. Hang must have considered his naturalization papers the proof he needed. In fact, a government issued Certificate of Residence (with photograph attached) was necessary.
(cont. p. 196)

John Hang from China and John Earl from Singapore served with Admiral Farragut in the Battle of Mobile Bay. Yet after the war, US government officials treated both men as if they had not proven their worthiness to become naturalized citizens.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Robert Spicer

No. 64502

ORIGINAL.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
Certificate of Residence.

Issued to Chinese Laborer, under the Provisions of the Act of May 5, 1892.

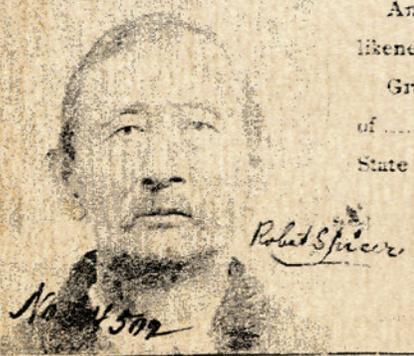
This is to Certify THAT Robert Spicer, a Chinese Laborer, now residing at Noank Conn

has made application No. 7 to me for a Certificate of Residence, under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved May 5, 1892, and I certify that it appears from the affidavits of witnesses submitted with said application that said Robert Spicer was within the limits of the United States at the time of the passage of said Act, and was then residing at Noank Conn and that he was at that time lawfully entitled to remain in the United States, and that the following is a descriptive list of said Chinese Laborer viz:

NAME: Robert Spicer AGE: 49 very fine
LOCAL RESIDENCE: Noank Conn
OCCUPATION: Fisherman HEIGHT: 5 ft 4 in COLOR OF EYES: black
COMPLEXION: Olive PHYSICAL MARKS OR PECULIARITIES FOR IDENTIFICATION:

And as a further means of identification, I have affixed hereto a photographic likeness of said Robert Spicer

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND SEAL this 24th day of March, 1893, at Eastford State of Connecticut



J. J. Hutchinson
Collector of Internal Revenue,
District of Conn

No Safe Harbor
by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

To obtain a Certificate of Residence, Chinese had to prove they had entered the country legally. Witnesses could not be Chinese. Among those few for whom this challenge presented no difficulty was Connecticut Civil War Navy veteran Robert Spicer, who had been brought from Shanghai to Noank, Connecticut, as a seven-year-old by Elihu Spicer, then captain of the Fanny.

Robert could not remember his origins clearly. But according to a sworn statement by the captain, Robert had been the fatherless brother of the Chinese stevedore responsible for discharging and loading the ship's cargo in Shanghai. The captain had offered to take and educate the boy. Both brothers had agreed, and the three had obtained a written document to that effect from a Chinese official. The captain named the boy Robert and, on returning to Noank, sent him to school. Except for his military service from July 20, 1862 to July 19, 1863, Robert remained in Noank and its vicinity, working as a fisherman.

A strong enduring relationship with the Spicer family and lifelong friendships with schoolmates provided Robert with the crucial non-Chinese witnesses the Geary Act demanded. That a Chinese, so deeply rooted and warmly embraced in his community, still felt the need to obtain the certificate's protection, confirms the tenuous position of Chinese in America.

John Earl, a seaman born in Singapore to Chinese and Malay parents, had to show immigration officials his Certificate of Residence each time he wanted to go ashore in a US port. When denied permission to land in San Francisco—more than half a century after he'd first sailed in—he railed to a reporter, "Everyone on the waterfront knows me and here the immigration people are holding me for deportation. Why, I was in this country before any of them were born." A Navy veteran whose ankle had been "smashed by solid shot" during the battle of Mobile Bay, he was released after a few hours detention. But six years later, he was again held for questioning, this time at San Francisco's immigration station on Angel Island, where he explained he had lost his Certificate of Residence in the 1906 earthquake and fire along with his discharge documents from his Civil War and post-war service in the US Navy. Taking his word, the Immigration Inspector ruled Earl could land anyway.

Clearly there were officials for whom a man's service trumped Exclusion's strictures. But reliance on the good will of individuals rather than the protection of the law meant perpetual insecurity and relegation to the position of outsider, no matter how acculturated the veteran was in language, religion, dress, and cultural practices.

Thomas Sylvanus, honorably discharged from three regiments, was a Christian, naturalized citizen, and respected member of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR)—a fraternal organization for veterans. Having left Hong Kong as a boy, the sole Chinese characteristics he retained were his physical features. Nonetheless, in Indiana, Pennsylvania, where he lived with his Irish wife and three children from 1868 until his death 23 years later, he remained "Tom Chinaman" or "the Chinaman." His GAR comrades eulogized him as "one far from his island home, buried in a strange land among strangers."

Joseph Pierce of the 14th Connecticut Voluntary Infantry had fought with his hair combed in the traditional queue of Chinese males. But within a year of the war's end, he had become a naturalized citizen. As reported in the April 26, 1894 *Boston Herald*, the Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue told him that registration under the Geary Act was still necessary, and Pierce, while loathe "to register as a Chinaman yet, having no money with which to contest the matter, fears that he will be deported after May 1." Perhaps spurred by his fear that naturalization might not protect him from losing his wife, children, and adopted country through deportation, Pierce started telling census takers he had been born in a country free of immigration restrictions: Japan.

Pierce, a silver engraver married to a White woman, had two sons. The eldest, Franklin Norris, passed as White after he left home and married. He did not go so far as to hide his son's grandfather from the boy, Franklin Wadsworth. But the shame inherent in passing grew. Franklin Wadsworth hid his Chinese ancestry from his daughters. Even when they questioned him directly, he refused to admit it. (cont. p. 198)

WITH FARRAGUT AT BATTLE OF MOBILE



Boy's Photo

John Earl, of Watsonville, Cal., who was born in Visalla, Cal., August 16, 1836, which makes him 81 years of age; and one of the oldest pioneers of the west. In 1863 he served as cabin boy for Admiral David G. Farragut on the "Old Ironsides," and was aboard that vessel during the battle of Mobile Bay. Later he served on other United States vessels. He is now spending his last days on his farm near Watsonville.

Veteran John Earl, who continued to work as a seaman after the war, had to show immigration officials his Certificate of Residence each time he went ashore in a US port. He lost it in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire, and was therefore later arrested, detained, and interrogated at Angel Island.

NOTICE TO DELIVER OR DETAIN ALIENS
Department of Commerce and Labor
IMMIGRATION SERVICE
Port of SAN FRANCISCO, 1917

To the Master, Commanding Officer, or Agent of S.S. *Great Northern* Line.

You are directed to deliver to the following-named Aliens (at the U.S. Immigrant Station, *Angel Island*, Port of SAN FRANCISCO), your attention being called to the U.S. Statute of which a copy appears on the reverse side of this notice.

Chien Huan per Earl John

William J. ... Edward White
Immigrant Inspector. Commissioner of Immigration.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
March 21, 1917.

Commissioner of Immigration,
Thru Chinese Inspector in Charge,
Angel Island, Cal.

In re Chan Chun Fun, alias Chan Ling Hon, alias John Earl, ex ss "Great Northern" 3/20/17.

I have taken the statement of the applicant regarding his family and relationship. This applicant was born in Singapore and came to the United States when he was 11 years old and has followed the sea almost continuously since that time. He was seven years in the United States Navy on the "Old Ironsides" from 1863 serving continuously for seven years. He states he was registered as a laborer residing at a small alley off of Washington St. between Montgomery and Kearny Sts. and his Certificate of Residence was destroyed in the fire and earthquake in San Francisco, 1906.

The Acting Commissioner W. T. Boyce had his verification as to signing on the articles of the S.S. "Beluga" July 18, 1916, verified by the United States Shipping Commissioner.

I see nothing upon which to hold this applicant, and therefore, recommend favorable action.

W. J. ...
Immigrant Inspector.

Antonio Dardelle of the 27th Connecticut Voluntary Infantry never stopped identifying China as his country of origin in the US Census. A naturalized citizen since 1880, he was a member of the Young Men's Republican Club, a popular organization for Republicans who were not so much young as forceful and vigorous. He was an ardent worker for the Republican Party in the New Haven ward where he made his home—and he continued to be after passage of the Geary Act. In Republican Caucuses, he even repeatedly ran for—and was elected—as a delegate from his ward to town and state conventions. Besides his political activity, Dardelle had been a mason since 1864, and he enjoyed the friendships of many prominent men, including two state governors. Yet his three mixed-race daughters evidently found their Chinese heritage burdensome. Upon leaving home, they each chose to pass as White.

Thus Exclusion sometimes condemned Asian veterans to outsider status even within their own families.

Antonio Dardelle stipulated in his will that his Masonic Lodge, not his family, should take charge of his funeral service and provide the chaplain and pallbearers. Furthermore, outside of \$1,000 to the Madison West Cemetery for perpetual care, his money was to be placed in trust for his three daughters so that none would become destitute. Upon the death of his last surviving daughter, the trust would terminate and the balance would be paid over to the Trustees of the Lodge—which, by 1971, came to nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

JEFFREY P. MAGUT

A World in a Word

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

On January 20, 1900, a Vermont newspaper, the St. Albans Daily Messenger, published a response to an article or letter about Joseph Pierce in a New York newspaper that, to date, has not been identified. This response is notable for its keen perception of race prejudice.

St. Albans Daily Messenger January 20, 1900

How race prejudice will show itself, despite every honest endeavor a man may make to be broadly tolerant, generous, and fair with all his neighbors. Here's a man who writes a New York paper about a Chinaman who served in the Union army during the civil war, says his Americanized name is Joseph Pierce, that he is an engraver in

Meriden, Conn., seems to be rather proud of such an instance of good citizenship in one who represents a despised race, and then kicks it all over by concluding: "I would say further that Mr. Pierce, although a Chinaman, is one of the whitest men I ever met."

Although a Chinaman! There you have it. The words ran jauntily along, billing and cooing, and making quite a pretty ado over a yellow brother—when a pert little conjunction all unconsciously turned up its nose and sniffed and spoiled it all. Although! What a world of pig tails, nasty opium pipes, yellow finger nails, dead girl babies, puppies, joss sticks, rice, red paper, and lanterns is tucked away in that one word!



Joseph Pierce fought at the Battle of Gettysburg.

CHARLES D. PAGE

This photo is believed to be Hong Neok Woo serving in Company I, 50th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia.

THOMAS LOWRY



Where is Home?

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

Hong Neok Woo, educated at Shanghai, China's American Episcopal Mission school, worked his way to America as a "table-boy" on an American Naval frigate. The officer he served was the ship's surgeon who was going home to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and upon the frigate's arrival at Philadelphia's Navy Yard March 1855, Hong Neok went with him.

To the Honorable Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Lancaster.

The Petition of *W. Hoong Neok* a Native of *China*

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH:

That he came into the United States in the year of our Lord, 1855, being then in the year of his age, and has continued to reside therein to the present time. He therefore prays to be admitted a Citizen of the United States, conformably to the Act of Congress, passed the 26th day of May, 1824, relative to naturalization, and he will pray, &c.

W. Hoong Neok

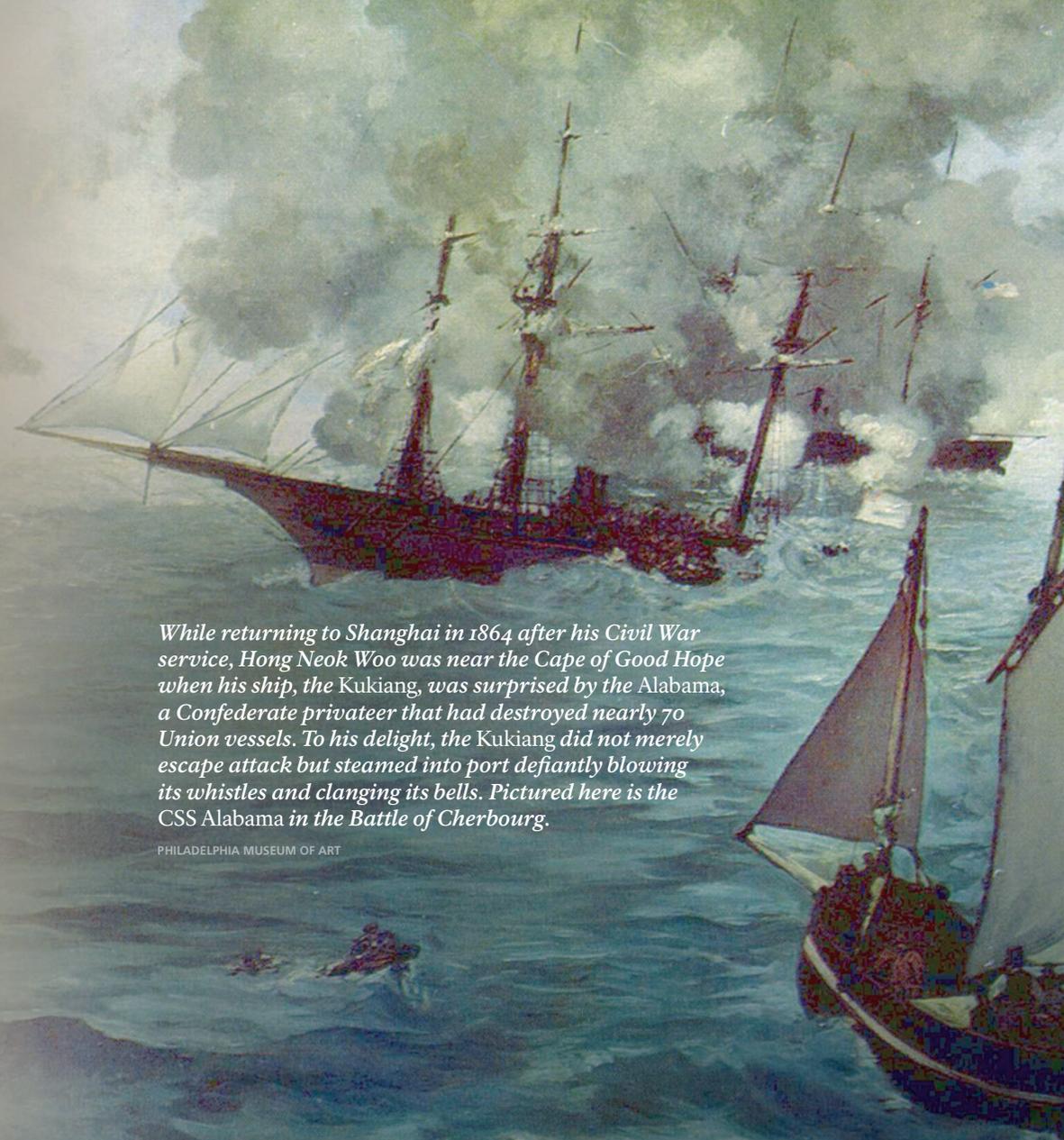
Hong Neok settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and upon completion of the five-year residency requirement for naturalization, applied for, and received, citizenship.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE ARCHIVES

Lancaster County's population, predominantly of German descent, included several hundred African Americans, but no other Chinese. Boarding with the doctor and attending the same church, Hong Neok easily found an apprenticeship as a printer and settled in. Indeed, he came to feel so at home that on completion of the five-year residency required for naturalization, he petitioned for citizenship, and it was granted on September 22, 1860.

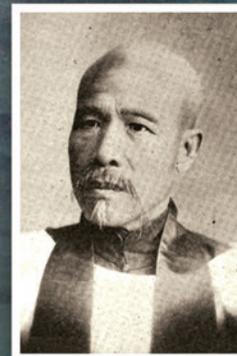
Three years later, Hong Neok felt duty bound to defend his adopted home from Confederate invasion. But his friends argued against it, telling him that his people were in China and that he had neither property nor family to defend in this country. Hong Neok enlisted in Company I, 50th Regiment, Pennsylvania Emergency Ninety-Day Militia anyway.

After muster out, however, he traveled to New York and obtained work on a merchant ship bound for Shanghai. Still faithful to his oath of allegiance to the United States of America, his first stop on landing in May 1864 was the American Consulate, where he registered as an American citizen and then applied himself to regaining his all but forgotten native language.



While returning to Shanghai in 1864 after his Civil War service, Hong Neok Woo was near the Cape of Good Hope when his ship, the Kukiang, was surprised by the Alabama, a Confederate privateer that had destroyed nearly 70 Union vessels. To his delight, the Kukiang did not merely escape attack but steamed into port defiantly blowing its whistles and clanging its bells. Pictured here is the CSS Alabama in the Battle of Cherbourg.

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART



Ordained an Episcopal priest on May 24, 1880, Hong Neok demonstrated a unique combination of sensitivity, practicality, patience, and imagination in his ministry to great effect. A one-room medical dispensary that he helped start in Shanghai developed into one of the city's earliest hospitals, St. Luke's. He also built the Yin Tak Institute, a refuge for abused wives and widows regardless of religious affiliation.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD



Targeted For Exclusion

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

All persons seeking entry to the United States—whether immigrants, American-born, or naturalized citizens—had to have their papers checked. They also had to undergo a physical examination to ensure they were not ill or carriers of any contagious disease. Ascertaining an individual's papers and health usually took no more than three to five hours.

Under Exclusion, however, processing for Chinese—then Japanese, East Indians, Koreans, and Filipinos—was not so much for granting entry as denying it. The law's complex processing was lengthy, and immigration inspection stations became detention centers in which those seeking entry were commonly locked for days, often weeks and months—at the end of which even American-born, unable to provide acceptable documentation, were sometimes deported instead of allowed to land.



Of the seven immigration inspection stations located around the United States in the 1700s and 1800s, Angel Island processed the most Asians.

The restored structures are managed as a California State Park and have been designated a National Historic Landmark.

COURTESY CALIFORNIA STATE PARKS

“How was anyone to know that my dwelling place would be a prison?”

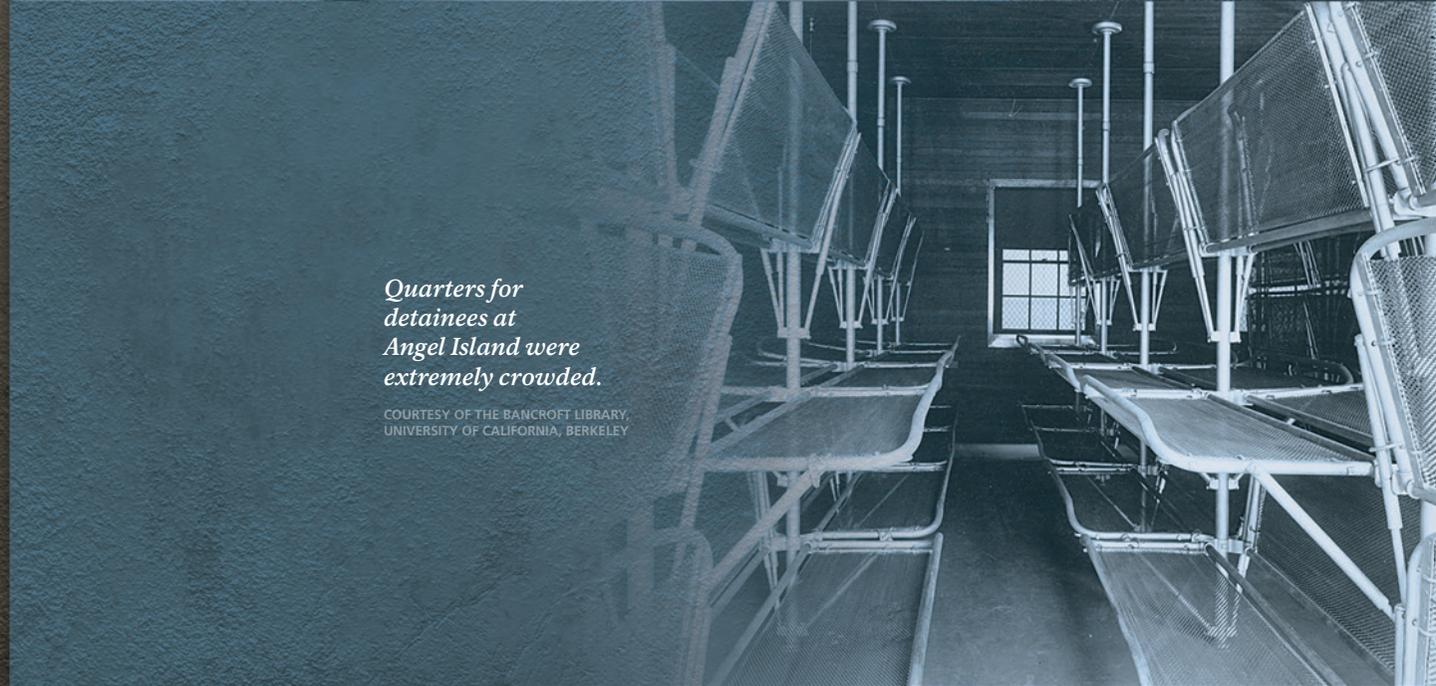
-from an anonymous poem carved into the wall at Angel Island

LAI, HIM MARK, GENNY LIM, AND JUDY YUNG,
EDS. ISLAND POETRY AND HISTORY
OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS ON ANGEL ISLAND,
1910-1940. © 1991. REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION
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A chaplain sits with Chinese women and children detained on Angel Island.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Quarters for detainees at Angel Island were extremely crowded.

COURTESY OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY,
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY



Young Asian men and boys await medical examinations.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

木屋拘留幾十天
 所因墨例致牽連
 可惜英雄無用武
 只聽音來策祖鞭
 從今遠別此樓中
 各位鄉君眾歡同
 莫道其間容西式
 護成玉砌變如籠

Asian immigrants were detained at Angel Island for days, weeks, months, and in some cases, years. They expressed their feelings in poetry on the walls of the barracks.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

LAI, HIM MARK, GENNY LIM, AND JUDY YUNG,
 EDS., ISLAND POETRY AND HISTORY
 OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS ON ANGEL ISLAND,
 1910-1940. © 1991. REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION
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*“From now on, I am departing far from this building.
 All of my fellow villagers are rejoicing with me.
 Don’t say that everything within is Western styled.
 Even if it is built of jade, it has turned into a cage.”*

—from an anonymous poem carved into the wall at Angel Island

Liberty for Whom?

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

To raise money for the pedestal on which to mount the Statue of Liberty, a fundraising campaign in 1880 made an appeal to citizens. In response, Chinese American businessman Saum Song Bo wrote the following letter:

Sir:

A paper was presented to me yesterday. . . drawn up for subscription among my countrymen toward the Pedestal Fund of the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty. Seeing that the heading is an appeal to American citizens, to their love of country and liberty, I feel that my countrymen and myself are honored in being thus appealed to as citizens in the cause of liberty.

But the word liberty makes me think of the fact that this country is the land of liberty for men of all nations except the Chinese. I consider it as an insult to us Chinese to call on us to contribute toward building in this land a pedestal for a statue of Liberty.

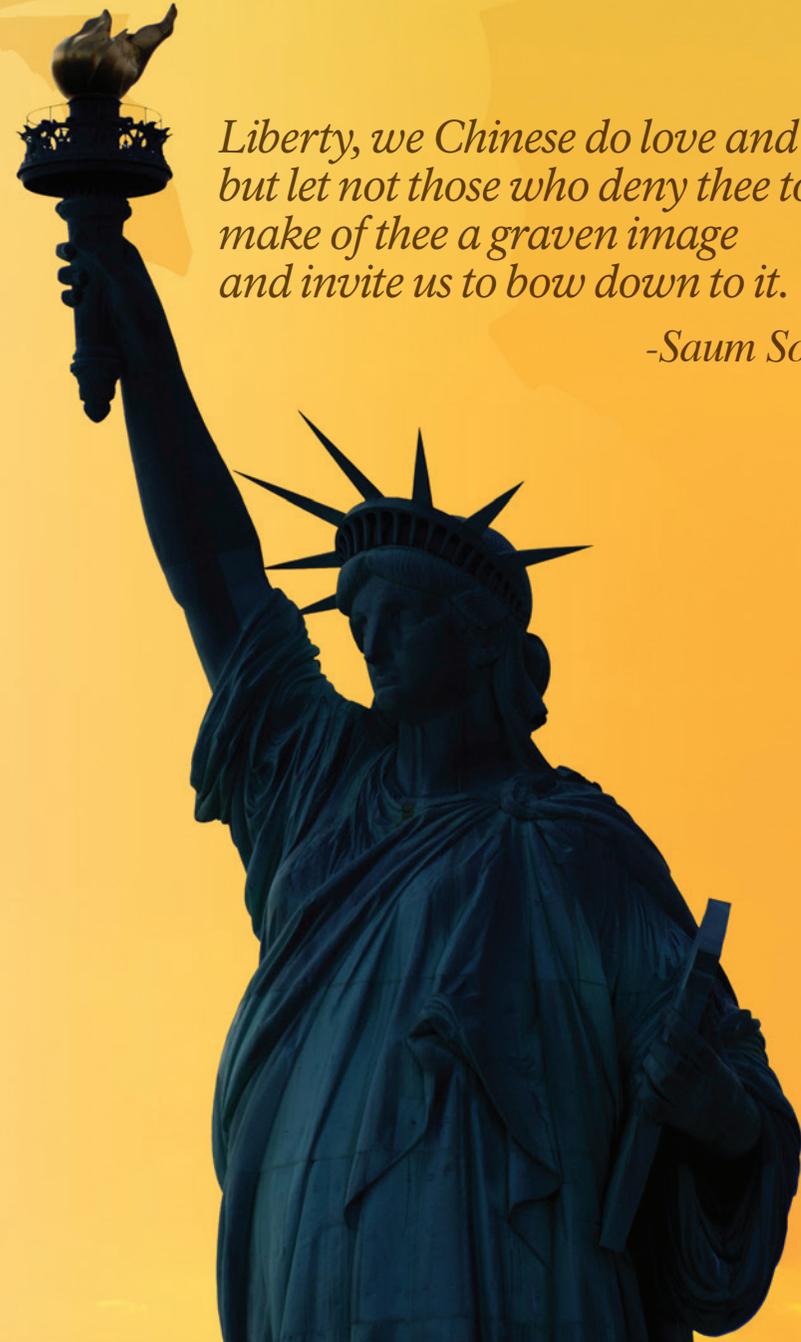
That statue represents Liberty holding a torch which lights the passage of those of all nations who come into this country. But are the Chinese allowed to come? As for the Chinese who are here, are they allowed to enjoy liberty as men of all other nationalities enjoy it? Are they allowed to go about everywhere free from the insults, abuses, assaults, wrongs and injuries from which men of other nationalities are free?

. . . By the law of this nation, (a Chinaman) cannot become a citizen. . . Whether this statute against the Chinese or the statue to Liberty will be the more lasting monument to tell future ages of the liberty and greatness of this country, will be known only to future generations . . .

-Saum Song Bo, published in American Missionary, October 1885

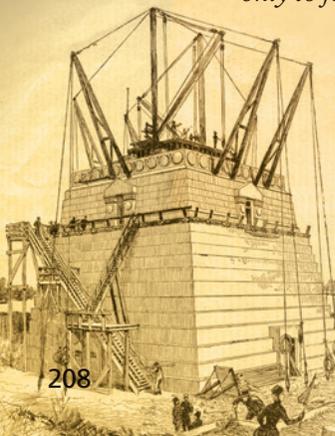
Building the pedestal for the Statue of Liberty.

HARPER'S WEEKLY



*Liberty, we Chinese do love and adore thee;
but let not those who deny thee to us,
make of thee a graven image
and invite us to bow down to it.*

-Saum Song Bo



From Civil War to Civil Rights

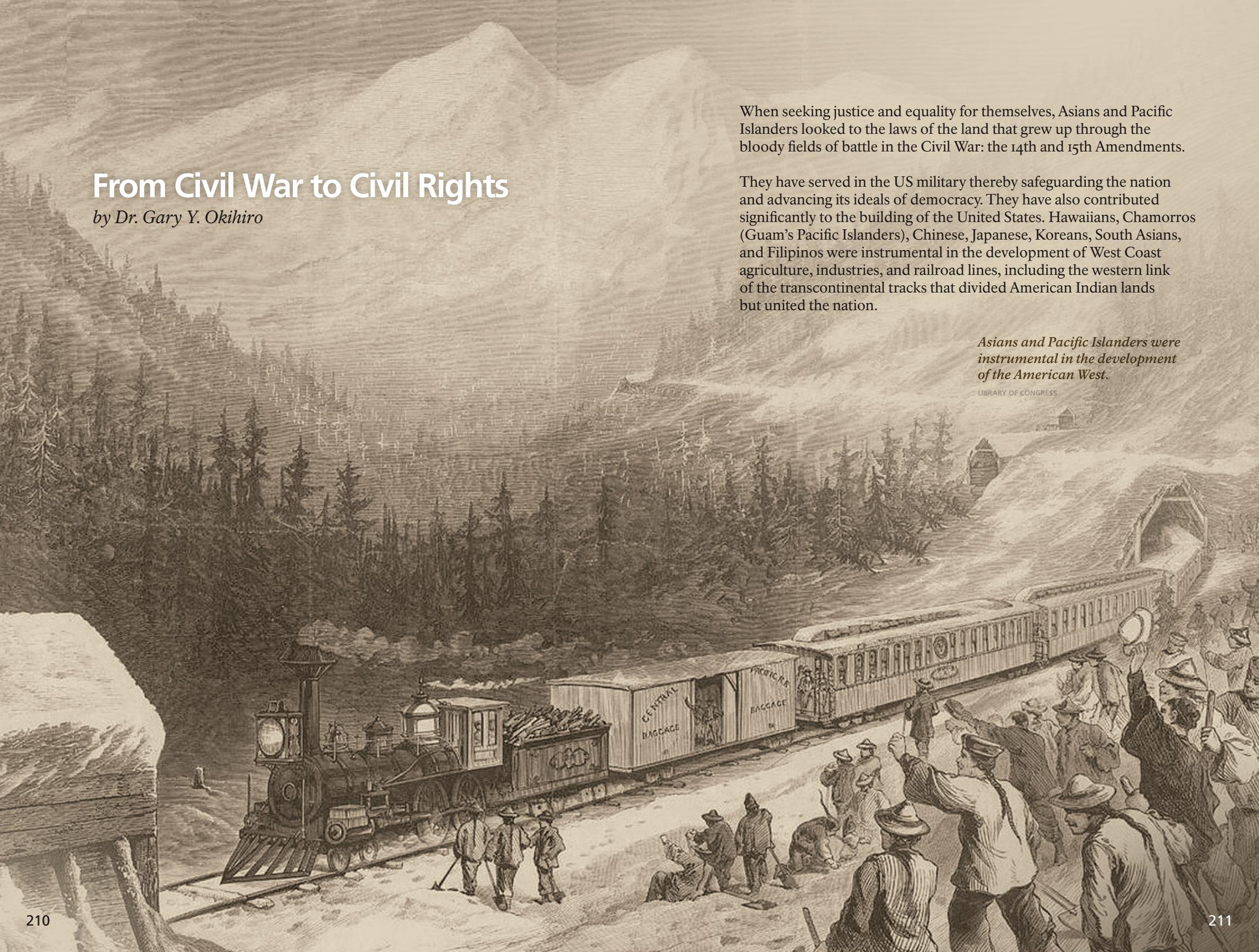
by Dr. Gary Y. Okihiro

When seeking justice and equality for themselves, Asians and Pacific Islanders looked to the laws of the land that grew up through the bloody fields of battle in the Civil War: the 14th and 15th Amendments.

They have served in the US military thereby safeguarding the nation and advancing its ideals of democracy. They have also contributed significantly to the building of the United States. Hawaiians, Chamorros (Guam's Pacific Islanders), Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, South Asians, and Filipinos were instrumental in the development of West Coast agriculture, industries, and railroad lines, including the western link of the transcontinental tracks that divided American Indian lands but united the nation.

Asians and Pacific Islanders were instrumental in the development of the American West.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Pacific Islanders hunted for furs in the Northwest, tanned hides in California, and steered ships along the treacherous waters of the Pacific Coast. In Hawaii and along the West Coast, Hawaiians and Asians toiled in sugar and pineapple plantations, mined gold, fished and worked in fish canneries, reclaimed land, planted and tended wheat fields, vineyards, and orchards, farmed vegetables, cut timber, and built railroads, waterways, and a system of dikes and levees.

More important, however, were their strivings for equality and civil liberties that changed the face of the nation and made it more inclusive and democratic. In 1882, after the Civil War that led to African American citizenship and inclusion in the nation, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act that denied Chinese workers the right of entry into the United States. In response, Chinese writer Yan Phou Lee pointedly noted the Act's denial of a fundamental tenet of US democracy. "No nation can afford to let go its high ideals," warned Lee. "The founders of the American Republic asserted the principle that all men are created equal, and made this fair land a refuge for the whole world." Chinese exclusion, Lee asserted, mocked that self-evident truth.

Two years after the Chinese Exclusion Act, the principal of California's Spring Valley Primary School denied admission to eight-year-old Mamie Tape. A US citizen by birth as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment (1868), Mamie was the daughter of Chinese immigrants Joseph and Mary McGladery Tape. The Tapes challenged their daughter's exclusion, citing the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment, which granted citizenship to formerly enslaved African Americans after the Civil War. The court agreed with the Tapes. "To deny a child, born of Chinese parents in this State, entrance to the public schools," the court reasoned, is "a violation of the law of the state and the Constitution of the United States."

To close that opening, California passed legislation to provide segregated Oriental schools for Asian children, which satisfied the equal protection clause. Mary Tape disagreed. In her letter dated April 8, 1885, Tape assured the board of education that her demand for equality was "more American" than the "race prejudice" of school segregation. A decade later in 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the US Supreme Court would rule on the same issue, principally as it pertained to African Americans. *Plessy* upheld the constitutionality of state laws mandating racial segregation in public facilities, considering those accommodations "separate but equal." Racial segregation was the law of the land until 1954. Still, it is notable that those denied their rights challenged the rule of inequality.

The founders of the American Republic asserted the principle that all men are created equal, and made this fair land a refuge for the whole world . . . No nation can afford to let go its high ideals. . . .

-Yan Phou Lee

In 1896, the Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson reinforced double standards by considering segregated schools and other public facilities "separate but equal."

WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/DADEROT



The Asian American civil rights movement mainly sought to ensure the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law. Between 1873 and 1884, San Francisco enacted 14 "laundry ordinances" that employed race-neutral language for regulating the city's laundries while targeting Chinese-owned businesses. On a challenge brought by Chinese laundrymen, the US Supreme Court in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (1886) found that although the language of the laws appeared race neutral, their intent and application discriminated against only one group, the Chinese. They thus violated the equal protection clause. That principle became one of the most cited decisions in constitutional cases involving civil rights and equality under the law.

US citizenship was a basic right denied all Asian immigrants by the 1790 Naturalization Act, which restricted naturalization to "free white persons." Even their citizenship by birth, as provided by the 14th Amendment, fell under question. In 1895, Wong Kim Ark, an American citizen by birth, was refused entry into the US on the grounds that he was not a citizen, having been born to parents who were "aliens ineligible to citizenship," and was subject to the Chinese Exclusion Act. On appeal to the US Supreme Court, in 1898, Wong's citizenship was upheld together with "all persons" born in the US, affirming a crucial right and provision of the 14th Amendment.

In Oxnard, California, Japanese and Mexican sugar beet workers joined in a historic union, the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA) in 1903. Under its president, Kozaburo Baba, the JMLA struck for higher wages and an end to grower monopolies. On March 23, a Mexican striker was shot and killed, and two Mexicans and a Japanese were wounded. After negotiations a few days later, the union won all of its demands. When the JMLA petitioned the American Federation of Labor for membership, AFL president Samuel Gompers offered membership for the JMLA's Mexican workers but not its Japanese. J. M. Lizarras, the JMLA Mexican secretary, replied, "We would be false [to the Japanese] and to ourselves and to the cause of Unionism, if we . . . accepted privileges for ourselves which are not accorded to them [Asians]." Workers should unite, Lizarras told Gompers, "without regard to their color or race."

During the 1920 sugar strike in Hawaii, Filipino and Japanese men, women, and children marched through the streets of Honolulu carrying portraits of President Abraham Lincoln, the liberator of other plantation workers—enslaved African Americans.

JAPANESE CULTURAL CENTER OF HAWAII

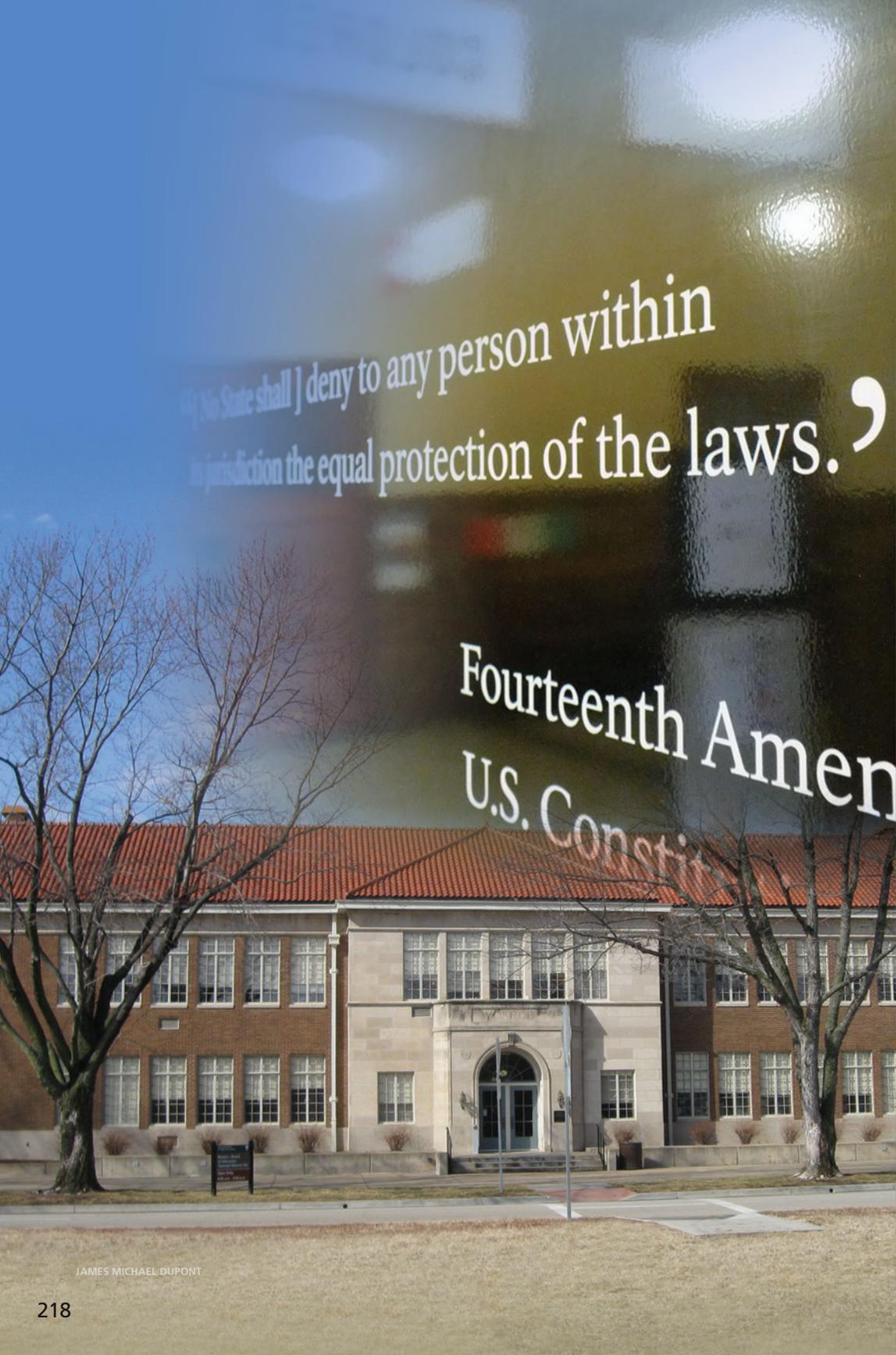


During the 1909 sugar plantation strike on the island of Oahu, involving about 7,000 workers, Japanese strikers opposed the racial and wage inequalities created by the planters. “Is it not a matter of simple justice, and moral duty to give [the] same wages and same treatment to laborers of equal efficiency, irrespective of race, color, creed, nationality, or previous condition of servitude?” they declared in the language of the 15th Amendment (1870). Eleven years later, during the 1920 sugar strike, Filipino and Japanese men, women, and children marched through the streets of downtown Honolulu carrying portraits of President Abraham Lincoln, who symbolized to them the liberator of other plantation workers. Their cause of equality, they believed, aligned them with the African American freedom movement.

Hawaii’s territorial legislature passed a 1920 law to limit the freedoms of Japanese language schools, which operated after the public schools closed. On December 1922, 87 language schools joined in a suit. In its

unanimous 1927 ruling, the US Supreme Court held that parents had the right to decide on their children’s education, and the state had to observe limits in curtailing those rights. At a victory rally, Kinzaburo Makino, a Japanese leader, advised, “. . . we must never forget that we have to stand up for our rights as guaranteed under the Constitution.” That campaign and decision permitted language schools for Asian children, and also for European children in the US.

Nine-year-old Martha Lum tried to enroll in the white school in Bolivar County, Mississippi in 1924. The Rosedale district school superintendent called the child to his office to inform her that she was not white and thus not entitled to attend the school for white children. As a person of color, he told her, she had to enroll in the colored school. Martha’s father, Gong Lum, resolved to fight for his daughter’s education, recognizing the advantages of the white over the colored school.



No State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Fourteenth Amendment
U.S. Constitution

In *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927), the US Supreme Court decided unanimously against Lum. Chief Justice William Howard Taft wrote racial segregation fell within the powers of the state in that, since *Plessy*, separate facilities and treatment fulfilled the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. Eventually, Asian and African Americans would succeed in overturning *Plessy*'s "separate but equal" doctrine. In 1954, the US Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*, found that separate was indeed unequal, and Congress affirmed the end of racial segregation and legal inequality by passing a series of civil rights acts during the 1960s.

The ideals of American freedom and democracy inspired the anti-colonial movements in Asia and America. From the early 1900s, Korea suffered under Japanese colonialism. On March 1, 1919, citing President Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points that included the right of national self-determination, Korean leaders issued a Declaration of Independence and an estimated two million Koreans marched and were brutally met by Japan's police and military. Korean Americans such as the Korean Women's Patriotic Society of California and Korean Women's Relief Society of Hawaii organized financial and medical aid for Korea.

In 1954, the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board reversed the 60-yr.-old decision, Plessy, ruling that separate facilities were not equal. Pictured here is Monroe Elementary School, now Brown v. Board National Historic Site, Topeka, Kansas.

WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/SHUTTERBUGSPAGE

Taraknath Das left college in 1905 to join the resistance movement against British colonial rule in India. Fearing arrest, Das fled to Japan and then to the US and Canada. He worked in California's agricultural fields and attended classes at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1907, Das moved to Vancouver to become secretary of the newly formed Hindustani Association that published *Free Hindusthan*. In that capacity, Das fought against racism and promoted South Asian civil rights in Canada and the US, and worked for India's freedom from colonial rule.

Asians and Pacific Islanders, although ineligible for citizenship since 1790, fought for their inclusion within the nation and for their civil rights. These included US citizenship, equal protection under the law, school desegregation, an end to wage and racial discrimination in the workplace, and language rights. When they gained the right to naturalize and become citizens in the 1940s and 1950s, Asian Americans changed the face of the nation.

In 2010, Asian Americans numbered 17.3 million or 6 percent of the US total, while Pacific Islanders totaled 1.2 million. Together, Asians and Pacific Islanders made the land bountiful and their achievements in civil rights made America more democratic by encouraging the nation to abide by its declaration that "all men are created equal."

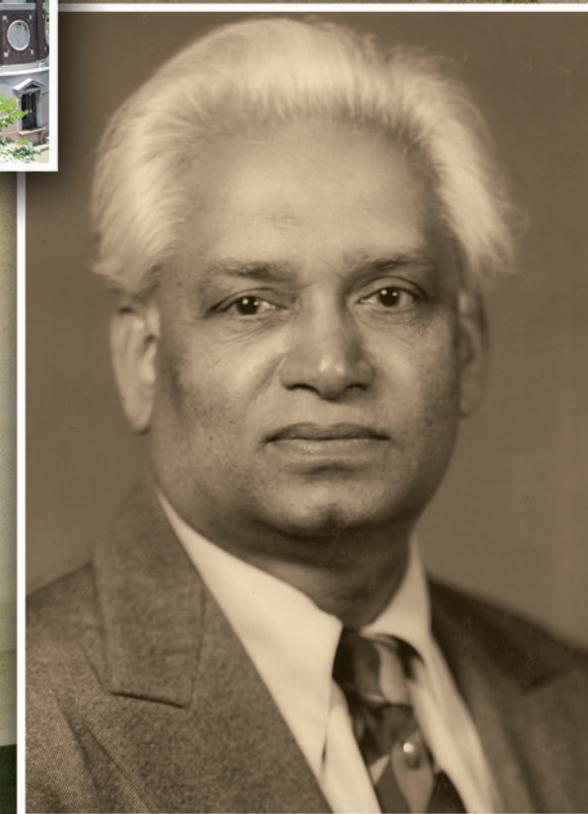
Together, Asians and Pacific Islanders made the land bountiful and their achievements in civil rights made America more democratic ...



Columbia University
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/ANOTHER BELIEVER

Though once imprisoned for his civil rights activism, Taraknath Das went on to serve as a professor at Columbia University where he continued to advocate for human rights.

TARAKNATH DAS PORTRAIT COURTESY OF UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK





Manzanar War Relocation Center,
Owens Valley, California

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

寺時義那在滿
二年九十和日

Hideo Kobashigawa's friends signed
this woodblock print he created while
[confined] in Manzanar.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



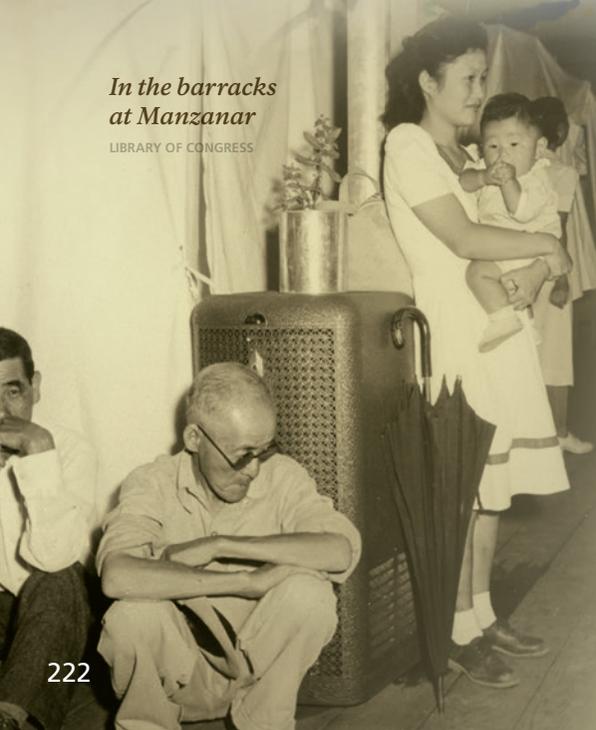
Within a stone's throw from the US capitol rises the National Japanese American Memorial commemorating patriotism, perseverance, and posterity. At its center are two cranes, symbols of happiness and promise, entangled in barbed wire but still reaching for the boundless freedom of the skies. That spirit of determined struggle is the only assurance that the violation of Japanese American civil rights during World War II will never happen again. Following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the US government forcibly removed and detained some 120,000 Japanese Americans in Hawaii and on the West Coast. They were not accused of any crime; they were racially profiled—a drop of "Japanese blood"—and confined in detention camps for the war's duration.

Mary Asaba Ventura, Minoru Yasui, Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu, and Mitsuye Endo challenged the legality of their government's action as contrary to the Constitutional guarantee of equality under the law. During the war, two cases, *Hirabayashi* and *Korematsu*, reached the US Supreme Court which ruled in the government's favor. But in the 1980s, lower courts reversed those convictions upon discovery that the government had deliberately falsified its evidence for "military necessity," the alleged reason for the mass removal and detention. Additionally, Japanese Americans petitioned for redress and reparations, resulting in the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which issued an apology for the wrong and paid reparations to survivors of the violation.

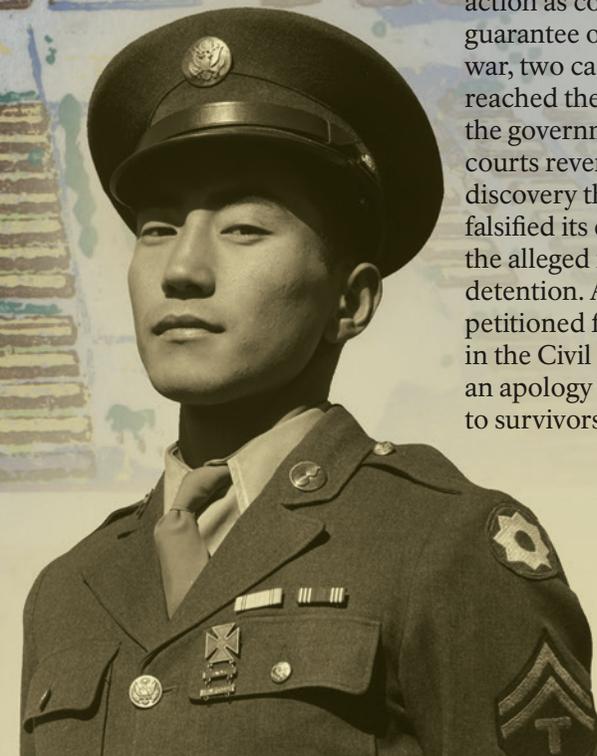
原
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三

In the barracks
at Manzanar

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



深澤在袋



While on furlough from the war,
Cpl. Jimmie Shohara visited his
parents incarcerated at Manzanar.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



The National Japanese American Memorial serves as a powerful reminder for the nation and future generations to never forget. Our democracy depends upon that remembrance and resolve.

Following the attacks on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent racial profiling, jailing, and expulsion of mainly Muslims, a coalition of Arab and Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos, Whites, and women met at the Memorial to pledge their opposition to the mass hysteria and violation of civil liberties. Indeed, the dreams, sweat, and blood of countless Americans throughout this nation's history have ensured liberty and justice for all.

On the National Japanese American Memorial, the two cranes symbolize happiness and promise, entangled in barbed wire, but reaching for freedom.

BOB ROWAN
ROGER ANDERSON



This Lantern Floating Ceremony at Ala Moana Beach Park on Oahu, Hawaii, allows for reflections of loved ones and dedicates prayers for a peaceful and harmonious future.

Just as the waters of the Pacific merge with each ocean, the wish for peace and happiness extends from Hawaii across the globe.

BOYD BROOKS

Steve Phan portrays Asian soldier Joseph Pierce of the 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry at the place where Pierce fought at the Battle of Gettysburg.

KAREN PURRONE



Another Civil War

by Steve Phan

My ancestral homeland, Vietnam, was involved in a civil war from 1956 through 1975. My father served in the South Vietnamese Navy and fled for his life just weeks before the capital, Saigon—and eventually the rest of the country—fell to the North Vietnamese. My mother’s brother, who served in the Army Airborne, was killed in the conflict. That sums up the knowledge I have of this war. My parents never speak of it. To better understand the history of the country in which I was born, I have applied myself to learning about America’s Civil War.

When I was in third grade, Civil War reenactors came to my school and trained the older students to participate in an upcoming battle reenactment. This fascinated me. My interest grew through the years and it became the focus of my academics. I graduated with a history degree from the University of Northern Colorado in 2012. Prior to graduation, I spent a semester at Gettysburg College as a participant in their Civil War program. This was life-changing for me.

At first, I had heard comments from friends and fellow students at UNC that an Asian being interested in the conflict was crazy. But my professor at Gettysburg, Dr. Guelzo, encouraged me not to be disheartened and to follow my passion. He pointed to a book on his shelf by a historian of Asian descent and said, “Steve, you could be the next Asian Civil War historian.” This motivated me to continue my journey to fulfill these aspirations.

That semester also provided my first introduction to a battlefield. Walking the grounds, often alone, transported me to the 1800s. All the books, films, shows, papers written and read, now flowed through my body. Here, I learned that an Asian soldier, Joseph Pierce, fought in the war. I walked on the battlefield where he fought in Pickett’s Charge.

I participated in my first reenactment—the 150th Anniversary of Antietam—in 2013. My preconceived notions on acceptance by the Civil War community have been replaced with gratitude for the openness and friendly support I have encountered. The discovery of Asians participating in the war provided an opportunity to represent people of color during that period. I later interned in the Special Collections at Gettysburg National Military Park and then at Richmond National Battlefield. I hope to find a position as a park ranger in the future to add my perspective and interpretation of OUR history.

Toward a More Perfect Union

by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

In 1943, the Magnuson Act repealed the Chinese Exclusion Acts. Although the law allowed only 105 Chinese immigrants each year (compared to 65,700 for England), Chinese could become naturalized citizens. Three years later, South Asians and Filipinos, too, could become naturalized citizens and were each allotted quotas of 100 through the Luce-Cellar Act.

In 1952, the Walter-McCarran Act granted Japanese and Koreans naturalization rights and immigration quotas of 185 and 100, respectively. But not until the Immigration Act of October 3, 1965 (effective July 1, 1968) was America's race-based quota system finally abolished, bringing it a little closer towards the more perfect Union promised in the Constitution.

The wrongs committed under Exclusion could not be righted, and the lives blighted or lost could not be restored. Even in seeking passage of a resolution to honor Asian American and Pacific Islander Civil War veterans, Rep. Mike Honda found himself in an uphill battle. With the support of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance and colleagues in Congress, however, he stayed the course for five long years.

Finally, on July 30, 2008, the House passed Resolution 415, "a long overdue expression of appreciation for the loyal service of the Civil War veterans of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage" that acknowledged:

Instead of honoring and recognizing their service, our country denied these veterans the ability to naturalize through the bigoted laws enacted during this period. The U.S. House of Representatives stands to recognize their contributions to our Nation's history and to speak against the injustices done to them despite their patriotism and honorable service.

Whereas many of the soldiers of Asian and Pacific Islander descent who fought in the Civil War . . . were denied rightful recognition of their service:

Now, therefore, be it Resolved,

That the House of Representatives—

recognizes and expresses its appreciation for the courageous and loyal contributions made by [these] soldiers . . .

House Resolution 415 July 30, 2008

U.S. CONGRESS

Congressman Mike Honda

ARCHITECT OF CONGRESS

Serving Still

by Carol Shively



Born in Hawaii and of Japanese descent, Daniel Inouye fought with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team in WWII. When pinned down by enemy fire, he charged and blew up three machine gun emplacements. Though losing an arm, he saved his squad. Inouye later represented Hawaii in the US Congress.

US ARMY

The Army's "Philippine Scouts" fought the first major battle after the attack on Pearl Harbor. After their fierce defense of the Bataan Peninsula, many suffered the subsequent Death March. The first three Medals of Honor in WWII went to soldiers from their ranks, including Capt. Jose Calugas, pictured here.

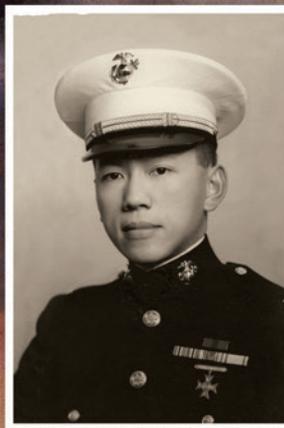
WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Soldiers of the Japanese American unit, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, received more Medals of Honor than any other in history (21), while many of their families were incarcerated in Relocation Camps at home in the US during WWII.

US ARMY SIGNAL CORPS

Maggie Lee was one of two female Chinese American pilots in the Women Airforce Service Pilots in WWII. She trained men to fly and co-piloted B-17 bombers in simulated dogfights. Lee received the Congressional Gold Medal, the nation's highest civilian honor.

THE CHUNG FAMILY AND XIAOJIAN ZHAO



Chinese American Maj. Kurt Chew-Een Lee was the first Asian American regular officer in the Marines Corp. During the Korean War, he led his company through the mountains at night in a blizzard to help save the lives of 8,000 American troops who were surrounded by the enemy at Chosin Reservoir.

THE LEE FAMILY

Maj. Tammy Duckworth lost both legs when her Black Hawk helicopter was shot down over Baghdad, Iraq. After rehabilitation, she was appointed Assistant Secretary of the US Department of Veterans Affairs. She was later elected to Congress, the first member born in Thailand.

DEPT OF VET AFFAIRS



On December 1, 2003 during Operation Iraqi Freedom, India-born and raised Sikh Sgt. Uday Singh was the lead gunner when his platoon came under fire. He returned fire, pinning the enemy down and saving others, but was fatally wounded in the ensuing fight. His awards include the Bronze Star Medal, Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

THE TAUNQUE FAMILY

Finding the Forgotten Warriors

by Terry Foemaker

As a career soldier in the Australian army, I have long been interested in the American Civil War. After studying it for many years, I wanted to learn more than just the often-told stories of battles, leaders, and politicians. In the 1986 publication, *On this Bloodstained Field II*, I saw a reference to the fatal wounding of Chinese-born soldier John Tomney at Gettysburg. This piqued my interest.

I have family connections to Asia. I was born in Singapore. My mother is of Eurasian descent. My father, though Dutch, was born in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). This further spurred me on to research Asians and Pacific Islanders who had served during the war.

Originally, I made notes of all references I discovered in books and journals, whether named or unnamed, on any such participants in the conflict. I began keeping a list of these servicemen. At a later stage, I advised a number of correspondents of my interest in this area, including Barry Crompton in Melbourne, Australia, and Tom Brooks in Ontario, Canada. Soon, they sent me details of others they had seen references to. Tom put me in contact with Edward Milligan in the United States who had been combing the muster rolls of Union Naval vessels for the names and details about Asian and other servicemen.



I was able to personally search the microfilmed copies of Civil War-era American newspapers at several locations in Australia, including the University of Queensland library. Through the years, I have also purchased copies of pension files of these servicemen from the US National Archives, but because of the distance and time factors, these were limited.

I scoured a number of other sources, as well, such as regimental histories, the National Park Service's Civil War Soldiers and Sailors Database, Compiled Military Service Records, Census records, ships' deck logs and medical journals, personal diaries, legal cases, the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, and other such references.

Sometime in late 1999 or early 2000, I came across the website of Gordon Kwok, who had referenced my research, and I was able to contact him to exchange information. Gordon had done a marvelous job in researching the Chinese who served during the Civil War. Due to his tireless efforts, and those of Ruthanne Lum McCunn and others, more stories were being recovered.

Since then, there has been an explosion of technology and resources available to aid in this effort. Many of the sources I'd used manually are now available online in databases such as nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm, [Fold3.com](https://www.fold3.com/), [Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com/), and the *Family Search* website of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at familysearch.org. These have allowed me and others to look for—and discover—more forgotten warriors. The list of those who served has grown enormously from when I began, and as more resources are added and more researchers join the search, it will continue to grow.

Antietam National Battlefield

NPS/ANTIETAM

Research Challenges

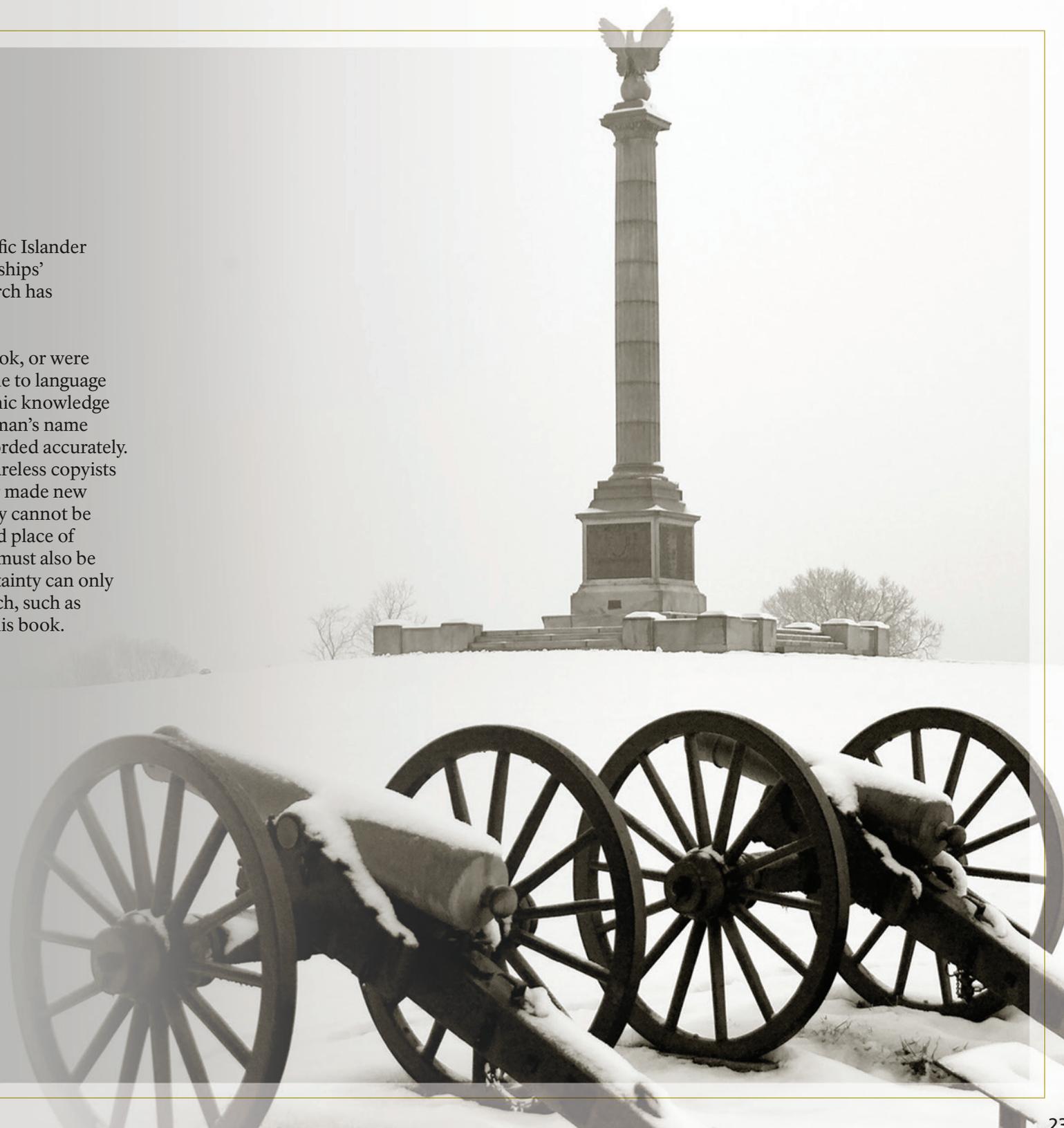
by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

To date, hundreds of Asian and Pacific Islander servicemen have been identified on ships' crews and regimental rolls. This search has many challenges.

Asians and Pacific Islanders often took, or were given, Anglicized names. Further, due to language differences and the limited geographic knowledge of some enrolling officers, a serviceman's name or place of birth weren't always recorded accurately. All records were handwritten and careless copyists sometimes compounded an error or made new ones. Also, a serviceman's nationality cannot be determined on the basis of name and place of birth alone. Physical characteristics must also be considered. Even then, absolute certainty can only be gained through additional research, such as that undertaken for the profiles in this book.

*Antietam National
Battlefield, Maryland*

NPS/ANTIETAM



Those Who Served

Researched and compiled by Terry Foenander with Barry Crompton, Tom Brooks, Ed Milligan, Gordon Kwok, Ruthanne Lum McCunn, and others

This honor roll includes all the Asian and Pacific Islander Civil War servicemen identified to date by this research.

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Virginia

NPS/FREDERICKSBURG & SPOTSYLVANIA

AUSTRALIA

NAVY

Jackson, John

CHINA

ARMY

Acow, Pedro
Ahsou, John
Ahusoo, John
Ahwoo, John
Ashwoo, John
Bobson, John
Bulah, Joseph
Chon, Ah Pon
Cohota, Edward Day
Dardelle, Antonio
Dola, Al
Dzau, Tsz-Zeh
Fow, Adam
Francis, John
Fung, Henry C.
Hong, Neok Woo
Hussey, John
Johnson, James
Kim, John
Kubser, L.

Kwan, William Henry
Labord, James
Lodigo, Juan
McCloclan, William
Moor, A.
Phillips, John
Pierce, Joseph
Sylvanus, Thomas
Tomney, John
Wong, Alfred
Wylee, John

NAVY

Acoaw, Tannroi
Afoo, John
Ah Chee,
Ah Poa,
Ah Shoen, John
Ah Sin,
Ah Soo,
Ah Wo,
Ah Wong,
Ahoy, John
Ahoy, Thomas
Akee, John
Ali, John
Arnang, John
Ase, John

Ase, John
Assough, John
A-Ti,
Comfort, John
Cross, Joseph
Daily, Joseph
Foote, John R.
Hang, John
Harry, John
Hitchings, George
How, John
Irwin, Charles
Ki-Ying
Lee, Kwong
Lofes, Antonio
Montez, Marcella
Mullen, Peter
Owen, John
Russell, Lester L.
Shin, John
Smith, John
Smith, Thomas
Spicer, Robert
Thompson, John
Thompson, Samuel
Thompson, Samuel
Towell, Charles
Wing, John A.

The Chinese language does not use the alphabet and the transliterations of a Chinese serviceman's name varied depending on the enrolling officer. Cantonese speakers use the vocative "Ah" as a prefix to a name. Some enrolling officers, like many census takers, mistook the "Ah" or "A" as a name. Furthermore, few officers knew that according to Chinese custom, the surname comes first. Some officers foisted an English name on the man. As a result, the same mariner serving on several vessels could be listed on each under a different name. Variant spellings in names are not included here.

For more information on the men on this list, visit www.nps.gov/civilwar.

GUAM

ARMY

Lucas, John
Ogden, Henry

NAVY

Aglur, Jose
Andrews, Thomas
Antonio, Francis
Brown, Joseph
Button, Benjamin
Carter, Joseph
Cepeda, Leon
De La Cruz, Mario
De La Cuse, Philip
Douty, John
Garido, Joseph
Gomez, Marino
Henry, Antone
Leon, Vincente
Mindola, Peter
Nicholas, John C.
Nicholas, Joseph
Peres, Antonio
Perez, Joseph
Rodgers, Andrew

HAWAII

ARMY

Adams, John
Albert, George
Aram, John
Brown, John
Davis, Peter
Everson, Howard
Franks, John
Heatley, Charles
Kealoha, J.R.
Pitman, Henry
Hoolulu, (Timothy)
Watt, Samuel M.

ARMY & NAVY

Romerson, Prince

NAVY

Adams, Jack
Adams, Peter
Bill, William
Boy, John
Boy, Johnny
Brown, William
Bush, James
California, James
Conant, James
David, Henry
Flores, Mariano

French, James
Givens, Henry
Haley, Elien
Hall, John
Hastings, John
High, George
Holland, George
Kanaca, Joseph
Kanaka, Joseph
Kelekai, Peter
Lee, Thomas
Lewis, Henry
Lobson, Henry
Long, Joseph
Mahoe, John
Manuel, John
Ourai, John
Perez, Antonio
Rain, Frederick
Rodoma, William
Sailer, John
Smith, Harry
Smith, Henry
Smith, John
Smith, Peter
Stone, Julius
Thompson, Isaac
Warren, Peter
Williams, Henry
Williams, William



*Fort Donelson National
Battlefield, Tennessee*

CONNIE WILSON

*Kennesaw Mountain National
Battlefield Park, Georgia*

NPS/KENNESAW MOUNTAIN

INDIA

ARMY

Baboo, Sudah
Brown, John
Brown, Thomas M.
Burton, George
Buttery, George
Craig, John W.
Crammer, William
Finn, John J.
Flinn, Edward
Haig, William
Henderson, Samuel
Huson, George W.
Johnson, John
Johnson, John
King, William
Lamb, Younger
McHalley, George
Scott, Charles D.
Shawn, William
Simons, Charles
Van Husen, N.K.

NAVY

Adams, John
Allan, William

Asgur, Sake
Bell, Henry
Bradshaw, James
Brown, John
Burnes, John
Clements, John
Gomez, Antonio Frank
Hancock, J.W.
Higgins, George
Howard, William R.
Jones, William John
Joseph, John
Lascon, George, H.
Lawrence, William
McCarty, Thomas
Mendola, Peter
Mitchell, Alfred G.
Morgan, George
Murray, Alex
Preira, Isaac B.
Raimen, Joseph
Scarman, William
Smith, William
Sortee, Joseph
Sutter, C. William
Xavier, Filepe

***THE EAST INDIES**

ARMY

Banks, John
Bird, Morris H.
Brown, Andrew
Brown, James
Dubel, Alexander
Dupree, Alexander
Fernandez, Joseph
Godfrey, James
Moliere, Peter
Newport, Daniel
Pasco, Joseph
Smith, Robert
Voglesang, John
Williams, George

NAVY

Lamb, Thomas
Matthew, Thomas
Moore, John
Packingham, William
Reid, Lewis
Scannan, William
Scott, John
Terry, John
Voglesang, George

**Due to European imperialism, much of South and Southeast Asia was known as "the East Indies" at the time of the Civil War. As a result, it is now impossible to determine the specific countries from which some of these servicemen came.*

INDONESIA

ARMY

Brown, John
Moliere, Pierre

NAVY

Anderson, John
Lemons, John
Reid, James

JAPAN

ARMY

Dunn, Simon
Williams, John

MALAYSIA

NAVY

Bruce, William
Duff, Jack
Simmons, Duke

MAURITIUS

NAVY

Alexander, John
Baker, Daniel W.
Onferme, Emile

MYANMAR

ARMY

Judson, Henry

NAVY

Lutter, William C.

NEW ZEALAND

ARMY

Hazel, William
Croft, Richard
Lyman, Charles
Morris, John
Parange, William

NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

ARMY

Alden, John

NAVY

Corsman, Joseph
Cruze, Joseph
Gruse, William

PAKISTAN

ARMY

Dennis, Joshua

PHILIPPINES

ARMY

Balderry, Felix
Cornelius
Raini, Manuel

NAVY

Aelio, Pedro
Alvarez, Henry
Amos, Stephen
Angler, Joseph

Arullas, Henry

Augustine, Leon

Baker, Felix

Baltazar, Caystana L.

Bartholomew, Francis

Bernard, Jose

Bernard, Joseph

Bernardo, Joseph

Boguer, John

Brown, James

Brown, John

Brown, John

Castor, Joseph

Costor, Joseph

Cross, Martin

Cross, Valentine

Cruise, William G.

Cruze, Martin

Davis, Antonio

Domingo, Ignatius

Domingo, John

Ducasten, Antonio

Enphire, Emilio

Fernandes, Andreas

Fernando, John

Flores, Benjamin

Francis, John

Francis, Peter

Francisco, Mathieu

Gannamore,

Gannamore

Gudermo, Pedro

Henry, John

Hernandez, Alonzo

Ignases, Raphael

Joseph, Martin

(cont.)



*Andersonville National
Historic Site, Georgia*

NPS/ANDERSONVILLE

*Richmond National
Battlefield Park, Virginia*

NPS/RICHMOND



PHILIPPINES

NAVY (continued)
La Cruz, Peter
Mendiza, Anton
Pilisardo, Sabas
Rigaldo, Peter
Romalus, Mananea
Roymanus, Manuel
Sabarino, Francisco
Santos, Manuel
Thomas, Domingo
Thompson, John
Thompson, John
Willamore, Martin
Wilson, Peter
Zapanto, Leon

POLYNESIA

ARMY
Foster, Charles

NAVY
Andrews, Robert
Brown, John M.
Newton, Charles

SAMOA

NAVY
Smart, Benjamin

SINGAPORE

NAVY
Anderson, John
Earl, John
Mine, Charles

SRI LANKA

ARMY
Boulton, Charles Lane
Palmon, Thomas
Pierce, Arnold

NAVY
Beling, Charles H.
Blake, Peter
McMillan, George

TAHITI

NAVY
Banyan, Jacob
Beeb, Charles
Foster, John
Kanaka, Joseph
Rontongo, James
Rontongo, Joseph
Tahiti, Robert
Williams, James

THAILAND

ARMY
Dupont, George

TONGA

NAVY
Boy, John
Brown, John
Crow, James
Smith, John

**UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

ARMY
Bunker, Christopher
Bunker, Stephen

**UNIDENTIFIED
SOUTH PACIFIC
ISLANDS**

NAVY
Brosl, Jose
Cogswell, John
Handy, Joseph
Macator, Bob

**UNIDENTIFIED
ISLANDS**

NAVY
Harper, Sandy

**UNIDENTIFIED
ASIAN COUNTRY**

NAVY
Williams, Thomas

Unknown Soldiers

by Carol Shively

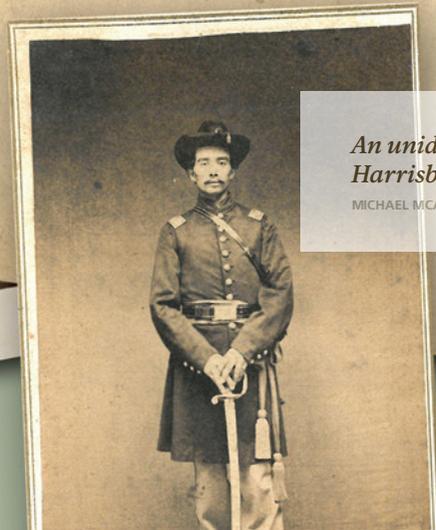
The hard work of researchers has recovered the identities of many Asian and Pacific Islanders who served in the Civil War. Others, however, such as those pictured here, remain unknown or unconfirmed.

The Search Continues

by Alex Jay

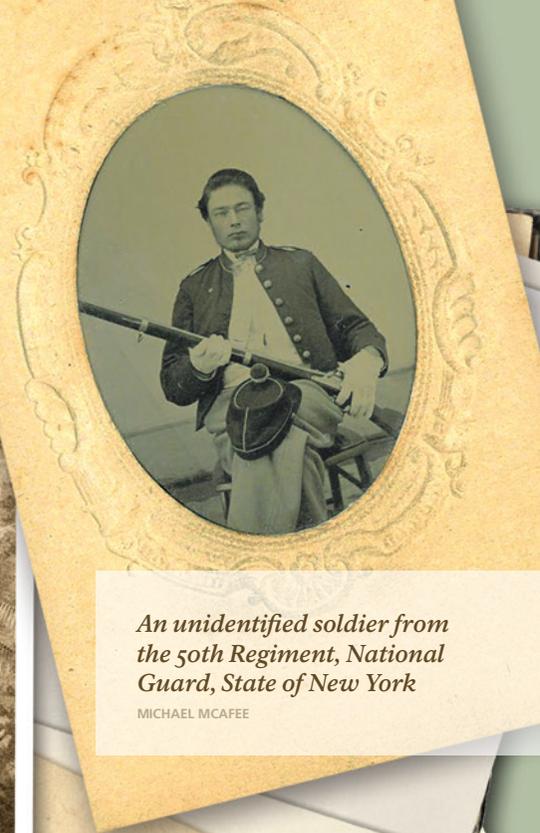
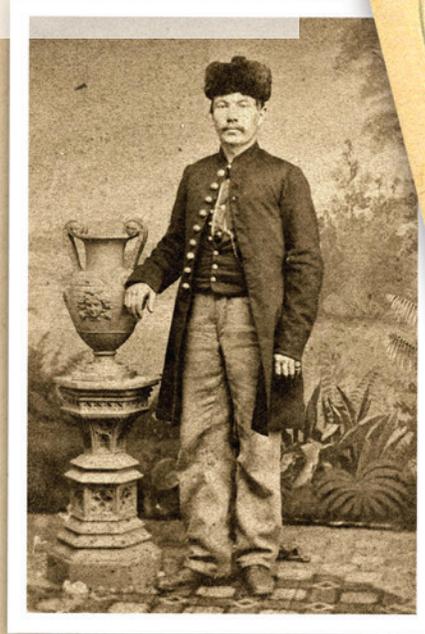
Born and raised in Arizona, I lived not far from the site of a Civil War skirmish: the Battle of Picacho Pass. But my interest in the Chinese who participated in the Civil War did not start until I moved to New York City in the late 1970s to pursue a career as a freelance graphic designer. In the 1980s, I became a member of the Chinatown History Museum, whose staff included master storyteller and folk singer Charlie Chin. He told stories of museum visitors, some of whom said things like, "You know, my great great grandfather fought in the Civil War." My interest was piqued.

In 2005, I was immersed in my family's genealogy. I subscribed to Ancestry.com and had received Chinese Exclusion Act case files from the National Archives branches in Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. I saw my paternal grandfather's file at the New York branch.



An unidentified officer from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
MICHAEL MCAFFEE

An unidentified soldier from Coatesville, Pennsylvania
MICHAEL MCAFFEE



An unidentified soldier from the 50th Regiment, National Guard, State of New York
MICHAEL MCAFFEE

A few years later, I thought more about the Chinese in the Civil War and did a Google search. At the top of the list was Gordon Kwok's site, the Association to Commemorate the Chinese Serving in the American Civil War. Here was the mother lode—practically everything you wanted to know about the Chinese and Asians who served in that war.

Using the names on the site, I began my own research, going into several newspaper and magazine archives. My Ancestry.com subscription was enlisted too. I also found items on eBay, scanned them, and added them to the growing folders. The kilobytes rapidly grew into megabytes. In early March 2014, I decided to share my findings and developed a blog. These 1.1 gigabytes of data also include several Asian and Pacific Islanders so the blog could be expanded to include them, as well, as more and more servicemen are discovered.

<http://bluegraychinese.blogspot.com/>

About the Authors

Dr. Gary Y. Okihiro is a professor of international and public affairs and the founding director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race at Columbia University. He is author of ten books, including his latest two, *Island World: A History of Hawaii and the United States* (2008) and *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (2009). Dr. Okihiro is the recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Studies Association and the Association for Asian American Studies. He received an honorary doctorate from the University of Ryukyus in Okinawa, Japan.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn's award-winning work has been translated into 11 languages, published in 22 countries, and adapted for stage and film. Her research on the Civil War was first published in the 1995 seminal essay "Chinese in the Civil War: Ten Who Served." Some of her subsequent findings are included in *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, and Political Change* (2014). Her most recent book is *Chinese Yankee*, the true story of enslaved orphan Thomas Sylvanus (Ah Yee Way) who fought for freedom in the Civil War and for family and justice his entire life.

Ted Alexander is Senior Staff Historian at Antietam National Battlefield. He is author or contributing author to 12 books on the Civil War and other aspects of American history. Mr. Alexander has written more than 200 articles and book reviews for major publications and encyclopedias. His work includes another book in this series, *Hispanics and the Civil War*. Mr. Alexander is a commentator in the Emmy Award winning documentary "Heart of the Civil War" produced by Maryland Public Television. He is a frequent lecturer for academic and professional organizations on Civil War topics.

Dr. Justin W. Vance is Associate Professor of History and Interim Dean for Hawaii Pacific University's Military Campus Programs. He is the author of several publications on the effects of the American Civil War on Hawaii and the Second World War in the Pacific. Dr. Vance was the 2010 winner of the Golden Apple Award for Distinguished Undergraduate Teaching and, in the past, has brought history to life at the Battleship Missouri Memorial and Bishop Museum. He is currently serving as President of the Hawaii Civil War Round Table.

Anita Manning is an historian and educator who has researched and written extensively on Hawaiian history and the history of science, speaking frequently on these topics at professional conferences. Ms. Manning previously served as a Vice President and an Assistant Director of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaii, and continues to be an Associate in Cultural Resources there. As the Education Specialist at the Museum, she serves as a judge and mentor for Hawaii History Day students, authoring how-to research guides to assist students.

Terry Foenander has conducted much of the primary research identifying Asian and Pacific Islander servicemen in the Civil War. A career soldier in the Australian army with family ties to Asia and the Pacific Islands, he developed a keen interest in the participation of these men in the American conflict. With the collaboration of other researchers over the past several decades, Mr. Foenander's database is the most complete reference and repository on the topic in existence. He is currently retired and living in Australia.

Places to Learn More

Andersonville National Historic Site, Georgia
Antietam National Battlefield, Maryland
Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Virginia
Fort Donelson National Battlefield, Tennessee
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Virginia
Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania
Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, Louisiana
Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Georgia
Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia
Manzanar National Historic Site, California
New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, Massachusetts
Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia
Richmond National Battlefield Park, Virginia

Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania

Asia



EAST ASIA

SOUTH ASIA

SOUTHEAST ASIA

- East Asia
- South Asia
- Southeast Asia

Italicized names denote what Europeans and Americans called these nations at the time of the Civil War.

The Pacific Islands



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www.nps.gov/civilwar

Back Cover: Confederate cavalryman
Christopher Wren Bunker
37th Battalion, Virginia Cavalry
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Gettysburg National Military Park
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Asians and Pacific Islanders and the Civil War



*The enduring legacy of
Asians and Pacific
Islanders in the Civil War
is their battle for civil rights.
Here are their stories.....*

*Jonathan Jarvis
Director, National
Park Service*

