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## From North to South: North Carolina's Black Union Veterans in the South Carolina Lowcountry

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FROM NORTH TO SOUTH: NORTH CAROLINA'S BLACK UNION VETERANS IN  
THE SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY

by

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## DEDICATION

To Daniel Sanderson and the men of Company K. 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Troops.

You are not forgotten.

## ABSTRACT

For the almost two thousand black Union veterans living in South Carolina following the end of the Civil War, the formation of robust social networks, particularly those composed of fellow veterans, would be the key to sustaining themselves and public memory of their service. This was especially true for the veterans of the 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Troops (USCT), formerly the 1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Colored Volunteers, who settled in rural communities throughout the South Carolina Lowcountry. Establishing social networks through marriage, forming local veteran support systems and initiating local celebrations were just some of the ways that out-of-state USCT veterans sought to integrate themselves into their new communities and establish a local legacy.

Black Union veterans in South Carolina increasingly found themselves in a losing battle with Confederate veterans over the war for public memory, such as in the case of veterans of Company K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT who settled in the small town of Walterboro, the county seat of Colleton County, in 1866. The inability of these veterans to establish lasting institutions to preserve their legacy, alongside the growing domination of Confederate veteran organizations and the triumph of the Lost Cause narrative, ultimately led to a loss of public memory of black Union veterans by the early twentieth century. Case studies such as this one are integral to understanding the regional and national importance of the South's black Union veterans, as well as helping to restore public memory of these veterans and their service to communities in the twenty-first century.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the midst of historic Live Oak African American Cemetery in Walterboro, South Carolina, a marble headstone sits in somewhat solitary splendor beneath ancient oaks and trailing moss. It is distinguished both by its isolation as well as the recessed shield engraved upon its surface. It is a memorial completely unexpected in a town where the physical landscape is still very much dominated by remembrances of the old Confederacy – the grave of a black Union veteran. Unlike other stones in the cemetery it has no vital information, just a simple inscription giving the rank, name, company and regiment of the deceased veteran - “CORP’L / DAN’L SANDERSON / CO. K / 35TH U.S.C.T.” Daniel Sanderson was only forty-nine years old when he passed away in 1894. Despite this, he had lived a full life - escaping from the enslavement of his early years in North Carolina to serve as a soldier in the United States Army during the Civil War, followed by almost thirty years of civil service in the town of Walterboro, South Carolina.<sup>1</sup> His tombstone remains today as one of the few public reminders of his life and those of a wider community of black Union veterans from North Carolina that made their home in the town in the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Sanderson was known locally by the surname Sanders but his federal service was served under the surname Sanderson. For a more extended overview of Daniel Sanderson’s life as a civil servant in Walterboro see Elizabeth Laney, “Reconciling Civil Service and Civic Memory for Minority Men in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Walterboro, SC,” *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 2017, pp. 47-49.

Daniel Sanderson was one of almost 200,000 black men who served with the United States Colored Troops (USCT) between 1862 and 1867.<sup>2</sup> The 35<sup>th</sup> USCT was originally formed as the 1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Colored Volunteers and was composed primarily of men like Sanderson who had been formerly enslaved in the eastern part of the state. The 35<sup>th</sup> USCT was the only one of four regiments raised in North Carolina to leave the state, spending most of its service in South Carolina and Florida. Historian Richard Reid wrote of the four regiments that “the more extensive their service outside the state, the less likely it is that one can locate the veterans living within North Carolina in their later years.”<sup>3</sup> This was certainly true of the soldiers in the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT who not only spent most of the war in neighboring South Carolina but, following the end of their service in 1866, often decided to remain in the state rather than returning home. By 1890 almost as many veterans of the regiment lived in South Carolina as lived in North Carolina.<sup>4</sup>

Daniel Sanderson and nineteen other members of the regiment, the majority from Company K, were among those who decided against returning to their native state. Instead, they made their new home in Walterboro, South Carolina, the county seat of Colleton District, where they had been stationed for eight months in late 1865 and early 1866. Located roughly fifty miles inland from coastal cities such as Charleston and Beaufort, Walterboro was a small but diverse community. Among its roughly eight

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<sup>2</sup> John Saucer, *An We Ob Jubilee: The First South Carolina Volunteers*, Arcadia Publishing, 2019, pp. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Reid, “USCT Veterans in Post-Civil War North Carolina,” *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader*, Larry M. Logue and Michael Barton, editors, New York: New York University Press, 2007, pp. 153.

<sup>4</sup> A survey of 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans in the 1890 US Veterans Schedule, a special schedule of the 1890 US Census, for all counties of North Carolina and South Carolina, reveals one hundred and seven 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans living in South Carolina and one hundred and twenty-five 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans living in North Carolina in 1890.



hundred inhabitants was a small Jewish population, immigrants from the East Indies, Russia, France and Germany, as well as many native South Carolinians (white and black), and a small pre-war community of freed people of color.<sup>5</sup> It was described in a regional newspaper as having “a courthouse, jail, two hotels, a number of law offices, a dozen stores, one academy, seven churches, and about ninety dwelling houses, besides the large complement of kitchens, negro cabins, barns, stables, and other outbuildings always found in an old Southern town.”<sup>6</sup>

This was the community where Daniel Sanderson, David King, Charles Brock, George Washington, Daniel Hill, Richard Hansley, Frank Mills, Merrick Sykes, Benjamin West, James Perkins and nine additional members of Company K of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT, along with Thomas Deal of Company B, returned in June of 1866 to make a new home. Local marriages helped these out-of-state veterans establish immediate familial ties which then gained them access to more extensive antebellum social networks that continued to govern interactions between the local black and white communities in the decades after the Civil War ended. USCT veterans also worked hard to maintain the wartime social networks they had created during the war and which would become critical to the support of themselves and their families in the increasingly hostile environment of the late nineteenth century South. It was not enough, however, to help sustain public memory of the veterans’ service in the twentieth century and beyond. The relatively small population

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<sup>5</sup> Walterboro’s freed black population according to the 1850 and 1860 US Census was usually under twenty individuals. 1850 and 1860 US Census, St. Bartholomew’s Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina, accessed through Ancestry.com; “1866 Survey,” *Walterboro, SC Town Council Meeting Minutes*, Walterboro Civic Records, Digital Reel: Colleton’s Online Historical Archive, Roll # 0676, 08 June 1866, pg. 5 [written], pg. 27 [microfilm], online, Available: [colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://colletonlibrary.org/e-content)

<sup>6</sup> “Walterboro in Ruins!” *The Orangeburg Times* (Orangeburg, SC), 25 April 1879, pg. 1, col. 3, online, Chronicling America: American’s Historic Newspapers, available: <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>.

of veterans that lived in Walterboro, their lack of connection with a formal veteran's association and the rising tide of the Lost Cause narrative in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries left them with little other than their gravestones as a public legacy, while memory of the Confederacy flourished with the support of hundreds of local veterans, veteran organizations and monuments.

In 1989 the movie *Glory* sparked a major national revival of interest in the United States Colored Troops and tied public history of that service to the State of South Carolina. Historians Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy and Leslie S. Rowland commented on the rising popularity of the history of the USCT following *Glory's* debut which, they pointed out, would culminate almost a decade later in the dedication of the African American Civil War Memorial in Washington, D.C. in 1998.<sup>7</sup> This interest, both on the part of the general public or historians, did not extend to studies of the South's black Union veterans in the aftermath of the war as University of Guelph Historian Richard Reid noted in the late 2000s. "An increasing amount of scholarship has been produced in recent years outlining the Reconstruction experiences of Southern African Americans, but less has been done on the postwar readjustments of the region's black Union veterans," Reid notes while expanding on the fact that few studies give more than "a few pages" to the experience of the black veteran in the South.<sup>8</sup>

Some of the first major studies of USCT veterans appeared at the end of the twentieth century with the publication of two significant dissertations – Donald R. Shaffer's "Marching On: African American Civil War Veterans in Postbellum American,

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<sup>7</sup> *Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War*, Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy and Leslie S. Rowland, editors, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. ix.

<sup>8</sup> Reid, "USCT Veterans in Post-Civil War North Carolina," 147.

1865 – 1951” in 1996 and Lisa Y. King’s “Wounds That Bind: A Comparative Study of the Role Played by Civil War Veterans of African Descent in Community Formation in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1865-1915” in 1999. Shaffer’s study was a broad overview of the impact military service had on veterans and how that impact separated black veterans’ experiences of the post-war period from those of the average African American. It made no differentiation between northern or southern veterans, but instead relied on a sampling of veterans and approached “the experiences of black veterans through collective biography” which were mostly informed by the pension records of individual veterans.<sup>9</sup> King’s dissertation began the process of drilling down from the broad experience of veterans to the local by utilizing a comparative study of USCT veterans in Boston, Massachusetts and Beaufort, South Carolina. While still relying on an overall sampling of veterans similar to Shaffer’s, by making a comparative study of a northern community and a southern community, she provides the first substantive view of black veteran experiences in the South.<sup>10</sup>

Richard Reid, known for an exhaustive monograph on North Carolina’s black Union regiments in 2008, preceded it in 2007 with a short but comprehensive essay on the post-war experiences of those veterans, including those of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT. Reid’s

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<sup>9</sup> Donald R. Shaffer, “Marching On: African American Civil War Veterans in Postbellum America, 1865-1951,” Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1996, iv.

<sup>10</sup> Studies on black Union veterans in the early twenty-first century would largely drawn on the US Civil War Pension Records, a major source for King that she declared were a largely “under-utilized source of information” about black veterans. Lisa Y. King, “Wounds That Bind: A Comparative Study of the Role Played by Civil War Veterans of African Descent in Community Formation in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1865-1915,” PhD diss. Howard University, 1999, pp. 8; For additional studies see Donald Shaffer, “‘I Do Not Suppose That Uncle Same Looks at the Skin’: African Americans and the Civil War Pension System, 1865-1934,” *Civil War History*, vol. 46, no. 2 (2000); Larry M. Logue and Peter Blanck, “‘Benefit of the Doubt’: African-American Civil War Veterans and Pensions,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2008), pp. 377-399; and Brandi C. Brimmer, “‘Her Claim for Pension is Lawful and Just’: Representing Black Union Widows in Late-Nineteenth Century North Carolina,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2011), pp. 207-236.

study used North Carolina's black Union veterans to examine the impact of their military service on their post-war lives. He was particularly interested in challenging the claims of other historians that military service had an overwhelmingly positive benefit on post-war livelihoods.<sup>11</sup> Although the later part of Reid's study focused mostly on veteran experiences in-state, the earlier part of the study is a broader regional study looking at the settlement patterns of the North Carolina's black Union veterans wherever they may have ended up in the late nineteenth century, including South Carolina. Conclusions reached by both Reid and King, that veterans were more likely to settle in places with those comrades with whom they had formed strong wartime bonds, are the subject of a recently published study by economist Boxiao Zhang. Zhang's 2023 study, "The long-term effect of wartime social networks: evidence from African American Civil War veterans, 1870-1900" furthers study of USCT settlement patterns by examining the economic benefits veterans gained by living near one another. Her conclusion, that a veteran's economic benefit rose by settling near another veteran whose literacy, social position and status would elevate their own, is an important supplement to earlier studies.

Only Lisa King's 1999 dissertation, however, explores the ways in which USCT veterans helped establish their own legacies and worked to preserve memory of black Union service within their own communities. For King veterans in Boston, Massachusetts and Beaufort, South Carolina established lasting legacies through their participation in national Union veteran organizations like the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and in the promotion of local celebrations such as Emancipation Day and Memorial Day. After the turn-of-the-century, when fewer and fewer veterans remained to tell their own story,

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<sup>11</sup> Reid, "USCT Veterans in Post-Civil War North Carolina," 148.

the celebrations, supported by the GAR and its successor organizations, became a way for the remaining families of veterans and their communities to preserve public memory of the veterans and their service.<sup>12</sup> Neither King, nor any of the other previously discussed studies, link the ways in which the efforts of USCT veterans to build communities and establish their own legacies were challenged by the Confederate dominated communities in which they lived. Richard Reid comes closest when he comments that “the world that [the veterans] carved out for themselves was in the midst of a larger society clinging to older values.”<sup>13</sup> Reid’s observation is related to the derision and sometimes violence that met black Union veterans in North Carolina, but it could equally apply to South Carolina communities like Walterboro, where, despite the efforts of local black Union veterans, the rising tide of Jim Crow and the Lost Cause narrative allowed the legacy of the Civil War and Reconstruction in Lowcountry communities to be dominated by the Confederate Monuments placed front and center at the local courthouse.

This study builds upon prior works such as Reid, King and Zhang’s which look at veteran social networks, while seeking to expand upon our knowledge of the innate differences within individual veteran communities with a microhistory of the community of 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans that settled in Walterboro, South Carolina in the later part of the nineteenth century. The subjects of this study, the roughly twenty veterans of Company K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT who settled in Walterboro, South Carolina following the Civil War, were chosen because of the relative isolation of the group. While communities throughout the South Carolina Lowcountry had populations of black Union veterans of varying size,

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<sup>12</sup> King, “Wounds That Bind” 168 -169, 262, 270-271, 273.

<sup>13</sup> Reid, “USCT Veterans in Post-Civil War North Carolina,” 147.

most included large numbers of veterans of local regiments like the 33<sup>rd</sup> and 34<sup>th</sup> USCT. Walterboro, however, was dominated by the out-of-state veterans of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT.<sup>14</sup> It is representative of several pocket communities of out-of-state veterans throughout southwestern South Carolina in the region known as the Lowcountry, reliant primarily on each other and local connections they had established in order to survive in the remnants of the Confederacy.

The Civil War Pension Records, so fundamental to the study of America's postbellum black veterans, are the foundation for this study. Local and regional wartime social networks are established through the pension records, but are expanded upon through genealogical studies, city and county level civic records and local church records. Analyses of these records help define the often-complex social networks established by veterans and how those networks functioned to sustain public memory of black union veterans. Additionally, local newspaper accounts will show how Confederate veteran organizations, their successors and their monuments came to dominate the landscape of public memory in communities like Walterboro, while the legacy of the town's USCT veterans was largely relegated to their own tombstones. The very existence of gravestones like Daniel Sanderson's challenge constructed local memory of both the Civil War and Reconstruction, and allow historians and modern communities to address these histories moving forward.

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<sup>14</sup> The 1890 Veterans Schedule for Verdier Township, Colleton County lists three non-35<sup>th</sup> USCT soldiers living in Walterboro including Samuel Frasier of the 21<sup>st</sup> USCT and William Frasier and Dally Frasier of the 104<sup>th</sup> USCT – all regiments formed in South Carolina. Despite their shared experiences as black Union soldiers, there are no documented interactions of these local veterans with the North Carolina USCT veterans who settled in the town and thus fall outside the confines of this study.

## CHAPTER 2: “A CITIZEN OF THE TOWN OF WALTERBORO, S.C.”

In the summer of 1891, an acquaintance of USCT veteran Daniel Sanderson testified in his pension claim that “after his discharge he [Sanderson] immediately became a citizen of the Town of Walterboro S.C. & has resided here ever since.”<sup>15</sup> At least twenty members of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT followed Sanderson to Walterboro shortly after the regiment mustered out in Charleston on June 01, 1866 – all of them from Eastern North Carolina and all but one from Company K.<sup>16</sup> Among them were two sergeants, four corporals and fourteen privates, one of whom, James Perkins, later described his own arrival in the town after the end of the Civil War. “After muster out of service [sic] I went to Walterboro and located and have lived about Walterboro ever since,” Perkins related in a comrade’s pension application in 1902.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, David King and Henry Chapman, being interviewed in 1889, stated “that immediately after their discharge they all settled in the same place and been living there ever since.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Deposition of William Pierson, 04 Jun 1891, Pension of Daniel Sanderson (Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 483,940, certificate no. 543,290, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>16</sup> Thoms Deal was a former private with Company B, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT. Company B was briefly stationed in Walterboro, but not for as long as Company K. According to the 1890 Veteran’s Schedule, veterans of Company B were mainly concentrated in Berkeley and Charleston counties, while Company K veterans were concentrated in Colleton.

<sup>17</sup> Deposition of James Perkins, 14 Feb 1902, Richard E. Hansley (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 714,199, certificate no. 1050,928, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>18</sup> Affidavit of David King and Henry Chapman, 16 Sep 1889, “Proof of Disability,” Filing Date 12 Oct 1889, Pension of Merrick Sykes (Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 725,455, certificate no. 602,835, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

The use of the word “immediately” when Company K veterans described their return to Walterboro may not have been a coincidence. At least ten of the twenty veterans are documented in the 1870 US Census as living in or near Walterboro just four years after their discharge, while thirteen give the town as their residence when witnessing paperwork for each other’s enlistment bounties a few years earlier in 1867 and 1868.<sup>19</sup> The earliest definitive record of the veterans’ return to the town is from the same year in which they were discharged from the army – 1866, when the marriages of Daniel King and Daniel Sanderson were recorded on December 09 and December 26 respectively.<sup>20</sup> An entry in the minutes of the Walterboro Town Council from earlier in 1866, however, may give a more accurate idea of just how quickly members of Company K made their return to the place that would become their adopted home. In an entry from June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1866: “The Intendent called the attention of Council to several negroes making their appearance in this Town armed and in the US uniforms; they appeared to be stragglers

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<sup>19</sup> 1870 US Census for Walterboro, Verdier Township, Colleton County, South Carolina, *Ancestry.com*; Charles Brock Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Leroy Gibbes Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Green Griese Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Allen Hughbanks Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Frank Mills Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Alex Mitchell Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; James Perkins Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; John Sutton Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Merrick Sykes Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Isaiah Tadtton Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; George Washington Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Benjamin West Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Isaac Wilkins Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>20</sup> “Marriages (Colored),” Records from Bethel Presbyterian Church (Walterboro, SC), *South Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, Fall 2002, pp. 193.



from the army.”<sup>21</sup> Dated just eleven days after the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT mustered out in nearby Charleston, this report of black soldiers in US uniform is likely a reference not to actual stragglers, but the first appearance of Company K veterans reappearing in the town to make it their home.

By June of 1866, Sanderson, Perkins and other Company K veterans would have been quite familiar with the town, having been stationed in Walterboro from October 1865 through May 1865 working to support the efforts of the Freedman’s Bureau throughout Colleton District.<sup>22</sup> Seven months’ occupation by a black Union company most likely had a profound effect upon Walterboro – both its white and black residents. The town council was reestablished with the approval of the army in April of 1866, about a month before Company K left to muster out. On May 18, 1866 the newly elected Intendent Campbell G. Henderson, a former officer in the Confederate Army, applied to Captain James Armstrong “Commanding U.S. Forces Walterboro, So. Car.” and commanding officer of Company K, informing Armstrong that the council had reorganized and asking for money the army had collected on liquor licenses from town merchants to be returned so that they could resume fiscal operations.<sup>23</sup> Although only fifty miles (roughly) from Beaufort, South Carolina, which had been occupied for almost the entire course of the Civil War, Walterboro had remained in Confederate hands throughout the war itself. The reorganization of its town council in April of 1866 and

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<sup>21</sup> “Minutes of the Town/City Council, 20 April 1866 – 05 April 1960,” Walterboro, South Carolina Records, 1866 – 1969, *Digital Reel: Colleton’s Online Digital Archive*, [colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://colletonlibrary.org/e-content), 12 Jun 1866, pp. 31 (microfilm), pp. 9 (written)

<sup>22</sup> *Monthly Returns, Department of South Carolina, July 1865 – Dec 1865 & Jan 1866 to May 1866*, RG 94, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Richard Reid, *Freedom for Themselves: North Carolina’s Black Soldiers in the Civil War Era*, Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008, pp. 256-257.

<sup>23</sup> “Minutes of the Town/City Council [Walterboro, SC]” 18 May 1866, pp. 23 (microfilm), pp. 1 (written)

Company K's subsequent removal the following month, must have been a profound relief to the white citizenry of the town for whom the very presence of black soldiers would have been a stark reminder of Confederate defeat.<sup>24</sup> The return of these self-same soldiers, now veterans, armed and still in their federal uniforms in the town in June of 1866 would certainly be concerning enough to merit a mention in the town meeting minutes.<sup>25</sup>

While unwelcome to the local white population, the presence of twenty or so black Union veterans was wholeheartedly embraced by the local black community. Of the town's roughly eight hundred citizens in 1866, more than half were black.<sup>26</sup> Prior to emancipation many of these new freedmen had been enslaved locally, although, according to the 1850 and 1860 US Census, the town did harbor a small population of free black residents – under twenty individuals.<sup>27</sup> Many residents became acquainted with the soldiers when Company K was first stationed in Walterboro in October of 1865. Jackson WG Grant was a lifelong resident of the town and stated in 1896 that he had known former Company K private Charles Brock “since the later part of 1865 when he came here as a soldier.” Grant was a prominent figure in the local black community, a

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<sup>24</sup> Reid, *Freedom for Themselves*, 255.

<sup>25</sup> There is a continuing tension in the town meeting minutes throughout the summer of 1866 as several incidents were noted regarding attempts by the local black population to arm itself. Several local freedmen, including Joseph Dorman, a leading black citizen at the time, were noted in the minutes for August 27, 1866 for “drilling and forming a company in the Town.” The Council resolved to admonish the leaders of the nascent militia with the “unlawfulness of their proceedings,” styled the leaders as nuisances and disturbers of the peace who would be arrested if they made further attempts to form a local militia.

<sup>26</sup> “Minutes of the Town/City Council [Walterboro, SC]” 08 Jun 1866, pp. 27 (microfilm), pp. 5 (written)

<sup>27</sup> 1850 US Census, Schedule 1 – Free Inhabitants, for St. Bartholomew's Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina, available through *Ancestry.com*; 1860 US Census, Schedule 1 – Free Inhabitants, for St. Bartholomew's Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina, available through *Ancestry.com*.

carpenter and preacher, who would work cutting timber with Brock in the late 1860's and be his neighbor for seventeen years.<sup>28</sup>

Friendships like the one established between Grant and Brock during the veteran's posting in the town helped Company K veterans integrate and establish lives within their new community when they mustered out. John Lewis was another Walterboro native who would become intimately associated with the veterans, particularly the Sanderson family. Interviewed in 1894 for the pension application of Daniel Sanderson's widow Sophia, Lewis related that he was living in Walterboro when "James Armstrong quartered his Co K 35 Reg at Walterboro," that he had been acquainted with Sanderson since that time, been a witness at his wedding to Sophia and was present at Sanderson's death. His son John Lewis, Jr., born in 1870, later testified in the invalid pension claim of Charles Brock and said that he had known Brock "all of my life," showing the depth of the local friendships formed during the veterans' prior service in Walterboro.<sup>29</sup>

One of the surest ways for members of Company K to establish ties to the local community was through marriage. Twenty USCT veterans returned to Walterboro in 1866 and by 1870 at least fourteen of the veterans were married. Five veterans – Daniel Sanderson, David King, Benjamin Powell, George Washington and Daniel Hill were married by the end of 1866 and another four were married before the end of their first full

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<sup>28</sup> Affidavit of Jackson William George (JWG) Grant, 24 Oct 1896, Pension of Charles Brock (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran's pension application no. 696,691, certificate no. 632,630, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>29</sup> Affidavit of John Lewis, 14 Oct 1894, Pension of Sophia Sanderson (Widow of Daniel Sanderson, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 600,692, certificate no. 410,534, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Affidavit of John J. Lewis, 24 Oct 1896, Pension of Charles Brock (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran's pension application no. 696,691, certificate no. 632,630, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

year in Walterboro - all to local women.<sup>30</sup> In many cases, the veterans had been actively courting their future spouses during their seven-month posting in the town as Celia King revealed in an interview for her widow's pension in 1906: "I met David when he was a soldier. His company was here during the war. He was courting me then. He went to Charleston & was mustered out, & came right back here."<sup>31</sup> Private George Washington even began a common law marriage with Sarah Singleton, a first cousin of Jackson WG Grant, during that time and, as she recalled in 1901, the two "began living together as husband and wife about a month or two... after his [company] reached Walterboro."<sup>32</sup> Richard Reid noticed the same pattern with 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans living in nearby Summerville, South Carolina where several soldiers courted and married local women while in the service and then returned to live in the area when they mustered out.<sup>33</sup>

Their marriages to local women gave these out-of-state veterans an instant support network within the local community and linked them, not only to extended familial networks, but to larger antebellum associative networks as well. When Daniel

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<sup>30</sup> According to the town survey conducted in April of 1866, women, both black and white, outnumbered men in the town by almost two-to-one. Deposition of Sarah Youngblood, 05 December 1901, Pension of Bella Washington (Widow of George Washington, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 460,062, certificate no. 445,001, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; 1870 US Census for Daniel Hill Family, Walterboro, Verdier Township, Colleton County, South Carolina, *Ancestry.com*; Family Circular, Filing Date 15 April 1915, Pension of Benjamin Powell (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), pension application no. 524,243, certificate no. 838,038, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; General Affidavit of Charles H. Farmer and David King, 10 Nov 1898, Pension of Celia Sykes (Widow of Merrick Sykes, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 683,037, certificate no. 484,839, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Family Circular, 19 Sept 1898, Richard Hansley (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran's pension application no. 714,199, certificate no. 1050, 928, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; "Marriages (Colored)," Records from Bethel Presbyterian Church (Walterboro, SC), pp. 193. "Minutes of the Town/City Council, 20 April 1866 – 05 April 1960," Walterboro, South Carolina Records, 1866 – 1969, 12 Jun 1866, pp. 31 (microfilm), pp. 9 (written)

<sup>31</sup> Deposition of Claimant, 10 Mar 1906, Pension of Celia King (Widow of David King, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran's pension application no. 822,583, certificate no. 606,939, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>32</sup> Deposition of Sarah Youngblood, 05 December 1901, Pension of Bella Washington (Widow of George Washington, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT)

<sup>33</sup> Reid, "USCT Veterans in Post-Civil War North Carolina," 154-155.

Sanderson and Sophia Williams married on December 28, 1866, Daniel gained access to her personal network of family, friends and neighbors, as well as her relationship with her former slave owner, businesses frequented by the Williams family in town, church affiliations and more.<sup>34</sup> David King married Celia Williams, a cousin of Sanderson's wife Sophia, while Frank Mills and Henry Chapman married sisters Amelia and Judy Mitchell. Interviews with Sophia Sanderson and Celia King reveal the intricacies of the social networks that veterans had access to after their marriages. "I was born the slave of Rev. Edward Palmer. I think I was born in Walterboro, and I was raised here... I married Daniel Sanders whose soldier name was Sanderson... My owner Rev. Edward Palmer married us," Sophia Sanderson related in 1901. Her cousin Celia expanded upon these relationships with her testimony that "I was born & raised in this town, was owned by Mr. Joe Perry – he was related to Rev. Edward Palmer who married me to David King. Sophia Sanders, my cousin, was present & also Judy Mills."<sup>35</sup>

Reverend Edward Palmer was a prominent member of the local community both before and after the Civil War. He was a minister with the Presbyterian Church and was heavily involved in converting and preaching to enslaved populations. According to the 1860 US Census, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants) Palmer had \$1,000 in real estate and \$17,000 in personal estate. Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants) shows eight enslaved laborers owned by Edward Palmer including four children under twelve who match the ages of Sophia Williams Sanderson and her siblings. Five years after emancipation Sophia's

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<sup>34</sup> "Marriages (Colored)," Records from Bethel Presbyterian Church (Walterboro, SC), pp. 193

<sup>35</sup> Deposition of Claimant, 18 Apr 1901, Pension of Sophia Sanderson (Widow of Daniel Sanderson, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 600,692, certificate no. 410,534, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Deposition of Claimant, 10 Mar 1906, Pension of Celia King (Widow of David King, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT).

family was still living on land owned by Rev. Palmer.<sup>36</sup> He was the minister at Bethel Presbyterian Church in Walterboro in the 1820s, 1840s and, crucially, from 1862 – 1874.<sup>37</sup> When Daniel Sanderson and David King married Sophia and Celia Williams, they immediately gained a connection to one of the most well-known and influential residents of the town who continued to minister to local black congregations after emancipation.<sup>38</sup> Rev. Palmer married seven of the twenty USCT veterans who settled in Walterboro between 1866 to 1868 including Daniel Sanderson, David King, Benjamin West, Frank Mills, Richard Hansley, Charles Brock and Henry Chapman, all of whose wives may have been a part of Palmer's antebellum congregation.<sup>39</sup>

Through their association with Rev. Edward Palmer and Bethel Presbyterian Church, Company K veterans also became connected to the founding of one of the town's earliest black churches – Hopewell Presbyterian Church. Several of modern Walterboro's historic black churches were founded during Reconstruction including St. Peter's African Methodist Episcopal Church (1867), Hopewell Presbyterian Church (1870) and St. Augustine's Episcopal Church (1878).<sup>40</sup> Hopewell, however, is the only church with

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<sup>36</sup> 1860 US Census, Schedule 1 – Free Inhabitants & Schedule 2 – Slave Inhabitants, St. Bartholomew's Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina; Edward Palmer & Frank Williams Households, 1870 US Census for Walterboro, Verdier Township, Colleton County, South Carolina, available through *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>37</sup> Susan Markey Fickling, *Slave-Conversion in South Carolina, 1830-1860*, University of South Carolina, 1924, pp. 25; Thomas Cary Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer*, Nashville, TN: The Cumberland Press, 1906, pp. 13-15, 1870 US Census for Rev. Edward Palmer and Frank Williams households, Walterboro, Verdier Township, Colleton County, South Carolina.

<sup>38</sup> "Resignation of the Rev. Edward Palmer." *The Walterboro News* (Walterboro, SC), 11 Apr 1874, pp. 1, col. 3

<sup>39</sup> "Marriages (Colored)," Records from Bethel Presbyterian Church (Walterboro, SC), pp. 193.

<sup>40</sup> Although St. Peter's is well documented historically, Hopewell and St. Augustine's are not. The earliest date accorded to either church comes from county records showing the purchase of land with the intent to construct permanent houses of worship. "Conveyance in Trust – James S. Glover et al to Trustees African Methodist Episcopal Church," Colleton County Register of Deeds, Deed Book B, pp. 40, 22 Nov 1867; "Title – Campbell G. Henderson Treasurer to Trustees Hopewell Presbyterian," Colleton County Register of Deeds, Deed Book D, pp. 35, 16 Mar 1870; "Title – C.E. Miller et al Wardens to Trustees St. Augustine's Episcopal Church," Colleton County Register of Deeds, Deed Book J, pp. 517, 18 Sep 1878.

whom any USCT veterans are known to have been associated and much of the original congregation seems to be have been formed of black families who had a connection with Bethel Presbyterian during slavery. On March 16, 1870 a representative of Bethel Presbyterian sold one and a half acres of land known as the “parsonage lot” to the newly formed Hopewell Presbyterian Church.<sup>41</sup>

Several of the veterans who were married by Rev. Palmer can be tied to the church after its founding, Daniel Sanderson among them. Among the new churches trustees was John Lewis who had been a witness at Daniel and Sophia Sanderson’s marriage and whose son testified in Charles Brock’s pension application. Sophia Sanderson’s pension application includes testimony from Adam Frayer, a pastor of Hopewell Presbyterian in the 1880’s and 1890’s, that at least one of the Sanderson children had been baptized in the church.<sup>42</sup> Jackson W.G. Grant had also been married at Bethel Presbyterian and more than likely became a member of Hopewell when it splintered off from Bethel in 1870. In his 1896 testimony for the pension of his friend Charles Brock, not only does Grant disclose that he and Brock attended the same church but that he was a preacher of said church.<sup>43</sup> Although none of the veterans seem to have been among the church’s known leadership, it is evident that they and their families were a substantial part of the original congregation.

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<sup>41</sup> “Title – Campbell G. Henderson Treasurer to Trustees Hopewell Presbyterian,” Colleton County Register of Deeds, 16 Mar 1870, Deed Book D, pp. 35.

<sup>42</sup> General Affidavit of Rev. Adam Frayer, 26 Nov 1894, Pension of Sophia Sanderson (Widow of Daniel Sanderson, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 600,692, certificate no. 410,534, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA

<sup>43</sup> Affidavit of Jackson William George (JWG) Grant, 24 Oct 1896, Pension of Charles Brock; “Marriages (Colored),” Records from Bethel Presbyterian Church (Walterboro, SC), pp. 194.

The bonds of slavery which were the foundation for the formation of Hopewell Presbyterian Church were also the underpinning of many of the networks and relationships Company K veterans formed in Walterboro in the early days of Reconstruction. Jackson W.G. Grant, who testified in many pension applications of USCT veterans and their widows, was enslaved by local landowner James S. Glover alongside Judy Mitchell and her sister Amelia who married former Company K private Frank Mills and former company sergeant Henry Chapman respectively. Because of this relationship Grant was a witness at Judy's marriage to Mills in 1867 and was "present when [Mills] died and assisted in making his coffin and assisted in placing the body in the grave."<sup>44</sup> Despite the severing of the master/slave bond at the end of the Civil War, Judy Mills' former owner James S. Glover would serve as a character witness for her almost twenty years later when she applied for her widow's pension after the death of her husband in 1884.<sup>45</sup>

Relationships such as these helped ease the veterans' entry into Walterboro society, helping them to establish critical relationships which could help sustain and support themselves and their families, even after their own deaths. Although they had spent seven months quartered in Walterboro before returning to make it their permanent home, these North Carolina veterans were still faced with all the difficulties inherent in settling in a new place and with all the stigma that came from being a black Union veteran in a town and region deeply divided by the recent conflict. Forging familial

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<sup>44</sup> Deposition of Jackson G. Grant, 27 Apr 1889, Pension of Judy Mills (Widow of Frank Mills, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 361,091, certificate no. 255,565, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>45</sup> Affidavit of James S. Glover, 15 Aug 1901, Pension of Judy Mills (Widow of Frank Mills, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 361,091, certificate no. 255,565, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.



networks and related social networks as quickly as possible helped smooth their way as they became citizens of Walterboro, but, perhaps even more crucial to sustaining themselves and their families long-term were the mutual networks of support that they formed with each other and other USCT veterans throughout the region.

### CHAPTER 3: “ALL MEMBERS OF THE SAME COMPANY”

For Daniel Sanderson and other members of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT who chose to settle in South Carolina rather than returning to North Carolina, settling with or near other veterans was a priority. Forming mutual networks of support was even more important for the men of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT who did not have the pre-war familial and social networks that native South Carolina USCT veterans had.<sup>46</sup> Although they were quick to establish those connections through marriage, their first and strongest network of support came from the men who had been their comrades-in-arms. While these networks could exist among fellow Union veterans (army and navy, black and white) all together or among fellow veterans of the same regiment, Economist Boxiao Zhang in a recent study has defined a much smaller cohort, defining USCT wartime social networks as those formed among veterans from the same company living in the same county, such as Walterboro’s Company K.<sup>47</sup>

The importance of the wartime social networks formed among the veterans of Company K is apparent in the testimony veterans gave on each other’s behalf during the process of applying for Federal pensions in the late nineteenth century. When veterans

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<sup>46</sup> Lisa King’s “Wounds that Bind” goes into detail about the communities formed by native South Carolina veterans of African descent in Beaufort, SC for whom the ties of antebellum kinship and social networks were as important as the networks established among veterans.

<sup>47</sup> Boxiao Zhang, “The long-term effect of wartime social networks: evidence from African American Civil War veterans, 1870-1900,” *Journal of Popular Economics* (2023), pp. 2111.

described settling in Walterboro after mustering out, many specifically mentioned settling in groups. David King and Henry Chapman, both of Company K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT, told a pension agent that they and another comrade Merrick Sykes were “all members of the same company, and that immediately after their discharge they all settled in the same place.”<sup>48</sup> James Perkins stated something similar when being interviewed for his comrade Richard E. Hansley’s pension application in 1902, “Richard E. Hansley and twelve others of us when mustered out of service went to Walterboro and located.”<sup>49</sup>

This did not just apply to the veterans in Walterboro. The 1890 Veterans Schedule indicates several other pockets of 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans throughout Colleton County, formerly Colleton District. Like Company K, Company G was stationed in the small community of George’s Station throughout late 1865 and early 1866. About twelve Company G veterans may have initially settled in the town, although only nine were listed in the 1890 Veterans Schedule.<sup>50</sup> Summerville, where Companies H and I were posted, had thirteen 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans in 1890 – eight veterans from I, two from H and three from Company F.<sup>51</sup> Adams Run, an unincorporated community in modern Charleston County (formerly part of Colleton District), had eleven 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans,

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<sup>48</sup> Deposition of David King and Henry Chapman, 16 Sept 1889, Merrick Sykes (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 725,455, certificate no. 602,835, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>49</sup> Deposition of James Perkins, 14 February 1902, Richard Hansley (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 714,199, certificate no. 1050,928, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>50</sup> The town of George’s Station, renamed St. George in the 1880’s was a part of Colleton District/Colleton County until the formation of Dorchester County in 1897. It is located roughly twenty miles from Walterboro. *Monthly Returns, Department of South Carolina, July 1865 – Dec 1865 & Jan 1866 to May 1866*, RG 94, NARA; 1890 Veterans Schedule, Colleton County, South Carolina, Supervisor’s District #3, Enumeration District #107, [no page number].

<sup>51</sup> Summerville is roughly thirty miles from Walterboro. 1890 Veterans Schedule, Summerville, Colleton County, South Carolina & Dorchester Township, Colleton County, South Carolina, Supervisor’s District #3, Enumeration Districts #104 & 105, [no page number].

mainly from Company A who had been formerly stationed in that community.

Walterboro, Summerville and St. George, all roughly fifty miles inland, had relatively small populations of USCT veterans, usually twenty or less and dominated by the out-of-state veterans of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT. Adams Run was a much more expansive community with almost fifty documented USCT veterans, many from native South Carolina regiments such as the 33<sup>rd</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> and 104<sup>th</sup> USCT, along with a scattering of out-of-state veterans.<sup>52</sup>

These pocket veteran communities were incredibly insular, relying in large part on wartime social networks in the same town or township, but also relied upon comrades from further afield when the need arose. Nowhere is this more evident than in the records documenting USCT veteran bounty claims in late 1867, 1868 and 1869. As part of the process of claiming their enlistment bounty, veterans had to travel to Charleston, South Carolina and complete a form known as the “Oath of Identity.” Each veteran had to have at least two witnesses to support their identity and service. Among Walterboro veterans, Isaiah Tadton served as a witness for fellow Company K member John Sutton, while Green Grise served as witness for Alex Mitchell. Charles Brock and James Perkins witnessed for each other, as did Allen Highbanks and George Washington. Benjamin West, a former sergeant of Company K, served as a witness for four of his fellow comrades – all of whom were residents of Walterboro. A comparison of the dates on each

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<sup>52</sup> 1890 Veterans Schedule, Adams Run Township, Colleton County, South Carolina, Supervisor’s District #3, Enumeration Districts #96, 97 & 154, [no page numbers]

form show patterns indicating that groups of veterans traveled together to Charleston to testify for each other.<sup>53</sup>

Although veterans who settled in the same municipality tended to serve as witnesses for each other, the “Oath of Identity” forms also show them connecting with other veterans who lived throughout the South Carolina Lowcountry. Walterboro veterans called on former comrades from both Summerville and Charleston to support their bounty claims. Henry Chapman, another former sergeant in Company K, initially settled in nearby Summerville, South Carolina. He served as witness to five comrades, all from Walterboro, before moving to that town a year later. Lewis Sutton of Company I also settled in Summerville and served as witness for Alex Mitchell and Green Grise of Walterboro, while Green Grise served as a witness for Company I’s Simon Scott of Charleston.<sup>54</sup> The information contained in the “Oath of Identity” forms reveal the tightly knit mutual support network that 35<sup>th</sup> USCT veterans were able to call upon immediately after settling in South Carolina.

If the “Oath of Identity” forms provide evidence for the early development of wartime social networks in the Lowcountry in the late 1860s, it is the US Civil War

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<sup>53</sup> Benjamin West, Merrick Sykes and LeRoy Gibbes all traveled to Charleston on 26 Oct 1867 and all witnessed on each other’s behalf, while Richard Hansley, George Washington and Allen Hughbanks all travel to Charleston and met fellow Company K member Henry Chapman there on 29 Nov 1867 and witnessed each other’s Oaths of Identity. Charles Brock Oath of Identity; Leroy Gibbes Oath of Identity; Daniel Hill Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Allen Hughbanks Oath of Identity; Frank Mills Oath of Identity; Alex Mitchell Oath of Identity; James Perkins Oath of Identity; John Sutton Oath of Identity; Merrick Sykes Oath of Identity; George Washington Oath of Identity.

<sup>54</sup> Richard Hansley Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Allen Hughbanks Oath of Identity; John Sutton Oath of Identity; David King Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Alex Mitchell Oath of Identity; Green Grise Oath of Identity; Simon Scott Oath of Identity, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry, *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; George Washington Oath of Identity.

Pension files that testify to how those networks sustained and supported USCT veterans in the succeeding decades. Although the process of applying for a pension could be enormously intrusive, involving dozens of interviews with veterans, widows, family and friends about intimate personal and familial details throughout a decade or more, Howard University's Lisa King points out that it helped "channel much needed monetary resources to families and communities struggling under the oppressive economic conditions of the late nineteenth century." Thus, veterans were motivated to support each other in their claims not just because of the bonds they formed in war but as mutual support for their family and their community. King furthermore points out that pensions "illuminate the process of community building" among individuals whose lives previously had very little voice.<sup>55</sup>

Altogether Walterboro veterans and, after their deaths, their widows, submitted at least fifteen different invalid or widow pension applications throughout a forty-year period between 1883 and 1923.<sup>56</sup> Every pension application that was filed contained the testimony of at least three other local veterans, if not more, in support of the pension claim of one veteran or widow. For invalid pension applications, veterans were often had to corroborate details about wounds or chronic conditions received during service. Daniel Sanderson, Daniel Hill and Charles Brock were interviewed in 1892 and 1893 as to the origins of their comrade Richard Hansley's chronic illness. Sanderson and Brock testified that they were in the same camp hospital as Hansley in 1864 and they he was "suffering from a protracted case of Diarrhea and that since their discharge they have been in the

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<sup>55</sup> King, "Wounds that Bind," 7-8.

<sup>56</sup> Pension Index Cards for Charles Brock, Richard Hansley, Daniell Hill, David King, Frank Mills, James Perkins, Benjamin Powell, Daniel Sanderson, Merrick Sykes and George Washington, *US, Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934*, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

same town... and have heard him frequently complain of being a constant sufferer of Diarrhea.”<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile Charles Brock, Henry Chapman, David King and Daniel Hill testified to the origins of the rheumatism and dysentery suffered by comrade Merrick Sykes for his pension claim in 1889.<sup>58</sup>

Veterans often directly supported each other during their final illnesses. These stories are usually revealed as veterans were interviewed about the death of their former comrade in support of the pension application of the veteran’s widow. Following Merrick Sykes’s death in April of 1898, fellow Company K veteran David King testified as having been present at Sykes’ death. Another fellow veteran Charles Brock served as undertaker and took responsibility for the burial of his friend, a service he also provided for Daniel Sanderson.<sup>59</sup> Near the end of his life George Washington was cared for by fellow veteran Daniel Hill and Hill’s family. “I well remember Geo. Washington who died in my father’s house. I was a small boy and waited on him in his last illness... I think he lived at my father’s about a year before he died,” Eddie Hill remembered about a decade later when interviewed for as a part of the pension application of Washington’s widow.<sup>60</sup> Frank Mills and Daniel Sanderson were both corporals in Company K. When Mills died in 1884, Sanderson did his best to support a pension claim for Mills’ widow Judy and the five

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<sup>57</sup> General Affidavit of Charles Bruck and Daniel Sanderson, 11 April 1893, Richard Hansley (Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 714,199, certificate no. 1050, 928, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA

<sup>58</sup> General Index, 1889 Claim, Pension of Merrick Sykes (Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 725,455, certificate no. 602,835, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA

<sup>59</sup> General Affidavit of David King and P. Galliard, 04 Feb 1899, Pension of Celia Sykes (Widow of Merrick Sykes, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 683,037, certificate no. 484,839, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Invoice for Burial Expenses, Filing Date 18 Oct 1898, Pension of Merrick Sykes (Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), veteran’s pension application no. 725,455, certificate no. 602,835, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>60</sup> Deposition of Edward S. Hill, 05 December 1901, Pension of Bella Washington (Widow of George Washington, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 460,062, certificate no. 445,001, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA

minor children still living at home. Sanderson testified that he had “been a fellow soldier & friend of the deceased and was at his house often... In other words I have been on the most intimate terms with the family and know the children as well as my own.”<sup>61</sup>

Many USCT veteran support networks began to transcend the bonds of service and shared wartime experience, and became familial associations as well. Veterans lived in the same neighborhoods, worked alongside each other, testified and witnessed for each other for official paperwork, married sisters and/or cousins in the same communities and, as Daniel Sanderson said above “were on the most intimate terms” with each other’s families. It should be no surprise then to see that eventually familial networks and veteran support networks began to merge in succeeding generations. David King’s son, David Jr., married Daniel Sanderson’s daughter Rebecca, while another son, William married Caroline Mills, a daughter of veteran Frank Mills.<sup>62</sup> This created a new bond between the Sanderson, King and Mills families that would carry well into the new century.

USCT veterans in smaller communities often had to deal with the reality of civil infrastructures and businesses dominated by Confederate veterans or Confederate sympathizers. Campbell G. Henderson, intendant of Walterboro in 1866, and Charles H. Farmer were local lawyers who played a substantial role in helping local veterans claim and expedite their pensions. As Celia Sykes, widow of Merrick Sykes, recounted in 1901 “Mr. Henderson and Mr. Farmer, both white, living in Walterboro, got my pension for

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<sup>61</sup> General Affidavit of Amelia Chapman and Daniel Sanderson, 17 Nov 1887, Pension of Judy Mills (Widow of Frank Mills, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 361,091, certificate no. 255,565, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA

<sup>62</sup> Rebecca King household, 1900 US Census, Walterboro Town, Verdier Township, Colleton County, South Carolina, available through *Ancestry.com*; Alonzo King, SC, US, Delayed Birth Certificates, 08 May 1943, available through *Ancestry.com*.



me.”<sup>63</sup> Henderson and Farmer, however, were more known for attempts to defraud local pensioners than for helping them. A special examiner of the pension bureau, Reed Hanna, accused Henderson of forgery, charging illegal fees and other illicit acts in at least three separate pension cases – two of which were for USCT widows, claiming that Henderson was “the most unscrupulous witness I have ever examined, without any exception... he is wholly devoid of conscience or moral sense.” He would often refer to Henderson and Farmer together as the “two crooks of Walterboro.”<sup>64</sup>

Luckily Company K veterans and their families did not have to rely solely on former Confederates such as Henderson and Farmer for assistance with their pensions. Many turned to Alexander C. Shaffer, or “Capt. Shaffer” as he was often referred to, one of three local white Union veterans. Only six hundred white Union veterans were recorded in the 1890 Veterans Schedule for South Carolina, as opposed to the fifteen hundred or so black Union veterans recorded for the state.<sup>65</sup> Most were New Englanders who had either served as white officers with US Colored Troop regiments like James W. Grace, a former captain who came south with the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts and then settled in Walterboro, or former Union soldiers who came South as agents of the Freedmen’s

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<sup>63</sup> Deposition of Celia Sykes, 20 April 1901, Pension of Celia Sykes (Widow of Merrick Sykes, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 683,037, certificate no. 484,839, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>64</sup> Letter of Law Division to Pensions Bureau, 29 Oct 1901, Pension of Bella Washington (Widow of George Washington, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 460,062, certificate no. 445,001, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Summary of Special Examiner, 04 Oct 1901, Pension of Bella Washington (Widow of George Washington, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 460,062, certificate no. 445,001, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Summary of Special Examiner, 28 May 1902, Pension of Judy Mills (Widow of Frank Mills, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 361,091, certificate no. 255,565, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>65</sup> “Soldiers and Widows,” *Eleventh Decennial Census, 1890*, United States Census Bureau, pp. 803, available: [https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a\\_v1p2-14.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1p2-14.pdf).

Bureau after the end of the Civil War like Alexander C. Shaffer.<sup>66</sup> Company K veterans likely first met Shaffer during their own service assisting the Freedmen's Bureau in Colleton District in late 1865 and early 1866.

In many ways it was easier for white Union veterans like Shaffer to integrate into the local community. Shaffer quickly became a leading member of the community despite his origins (New Jersey) and his politics (Republican). Despite the suspicion and antipathy with which Southern communities viewed Northern transplants after the Civil War, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Alexander C. Shaffer was accepted by the local community in the way that local black Union veterans were not. It was evident by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that white Southern communities were becoming increasingly homogenized – ignoring immigrant status, birthplace and even politics in favor of assuming a shared common identity based on race. A biographer of Shaffer in 1908 wrote that he was “a fair type of the American from the North who identifies himself heartily and sympathetically with the life of his fellow-citizens of a Southern state and becomes ‘one of them’ in the best sense of the word.”<sup>67</sup>

Shaffer's acceptance by the local white community, his status as a successful businessman and his position as a fellow Union veteran, made him a critical part of the informal support network formed by Walterboro's USCT veterans. “Capt. Shaffer has my certificate. He has an iron safe and I feel that my certificate is not liable to get lost... He

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<sup>66</sup> James Calvin Hemphill, “Alexander Casner Shaffer,” *Men of Mark in South Carolina: Ideals of American Life: A Collection of Biographies of Leading Men of the State, Vol. 2*, Washington, DC: Men of Mark Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 361-362; Service Record of James W. Grace, 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry Regiment (Colored), *US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865*, online, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>67</sup> Hemphill, “Alexander Casner Shaffer,” 361-362.

owns a store and I get groceries of him and pay him when my pension comes,” Judy Mitchell declared in an interview for her pension on Apr 18, 1901.<sup>68</sup> Interviewed on the same date but for a different pension, Sophia Sanderson gives a better idea of the extent to which Shaffer assisted his fellow veterans: “Nearly all the pensioners leave their certificate with him. He is very good to all us pensioners. He keeps our certificates in his own safe.”<sup>69</sup> Shaffer is mentioned throughout the pension files of Walterboro’s USCT veterans and their families. He was a critical extension of the informal veteran network established by Company K veterans locally as they sought not only to support each other in their new home but establish a lasting legacy.

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<sup>68</sup> Deposition of Claimant, 18 Apr 1901, Pension of Judy Mills (Widow of Frank Mills, Cpl. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 361,091, certificate no. 255,565, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>69</sup> Deposition of Claimant, 18 Apr 1901, Pension of Sophia Sanderson (Widow of Daniel Sanderson, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow’s pension application no. 600,692, certificate no. 410,534, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

## CHAPTER 4: THE WAR OVER PUBLIC MEMORY

Even as North Carolina USCT veterans successfully integrated themselves into communities throughout the South Carolina Lowcountry, they were still largely living in a society dominated by Confederate institutions, bureaucracies and ideals. The way that USCT veteran networks functioned in relation to the networks Confederate veterans formed in these communities would determine the development, or lack thereof, of public memory regarding the USCT as the Reconstruction Era transitioned into the Jim Crow Era. In cities such as Beaufort and Charleston, USCT veterans were more numerous and were able to establish and maintain local posts of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a national Union veterans organization, that paved the way for legacy-based organizations to be created in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century such as the Sons of Union Veterans and the Daughters of Union Veterans.<sup>70</sup> Walterboro, on the other hand, with its small, insular community of out-of-state veterans was never able to establish any kind of permanent veteran organization in the town and was thus unable to build a sustainable way for the black community to compete for a space within local public memory. Confederate veteran groups and memorial associations dominated the narrative in Walterboro from the very beginning.

Although Walterboro's Company K veterans were able to build strong familial and veteran networks both locally and regionally, these were, by-and-large, informal

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<sup>70</sup> King, "Wounds that Bind," 168, 174 & 270.

networks that relied on relationships rather than infrastructure and legal standing. Of the twenty USCT veterans who first settled in Walterboro, the number fluctuated over time as a few veterans died or moved away, but finally settled near a dozen permanent residents who still lived in or near the town in the 1880s and early 1890s.<sup>71</sup> Despite drawing upon each other or their expanded regional wartime social network frequently for mutual aid, they never organized a permanent veterans association in the town as veterans in the nearby cities of Charleston and Beaufort did when they established local posts of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) in the late 1880s.<sup>72</sup>

Founded in Illinois in 1866, the GAR was the Union's largest veterans association, and would eventually have posts in states throughout the nation, including South Carolina.<sup>73</sup> The GAR functioned on a level the local, informal veteran networks could not, supporting veterans and veteran families with pension assistance, legal services, financial support, burial services, and more. Although the David Hunter Post No. 9 in Beaufort served as a "benevolent and burial society" in much the same way that Walterboro veterans informally helped each other with burial services, it was on a much larger scale.<sup>74</sup> The formation of GAR posts was just not viable in smaller communities such as Walterboro or neighboring communities like Summerville and George's Station. In fact, whereas the pension files of Charleston and Beaufort USCT veterans are rife with

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<sup>71</sup> See Appendix A for a complete list of Walterboro veterans, including those who moved away from Walterboro and those who were listed as still living in the community in the 1890 Veterans Schedule.

<sup>72</sup> Beaufort veterans formed the David Hunter Post No. 9 in 1888 and Charleston veterans formed the William N. Reed Post in 1894, named for the highest-ranking black officer in the entire USCT – William N. Reed of the 35<sup>th</sup> USCT. Veterans on Hilton Head Island also formed a post, but although this community was not a city at this point in its history, it had a higher concentration of Union veterans than Walterboro. See King, "Wounds that Bind," 168 & 174 for GAR formation in the Lowcountry.

<sup>73</sup> Mary A. Dearing, "Veterans in Politics," *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader*; Larry M. Logue and Michael Barton, editors, New York: New York University Press, 2007, pp. 286 & 289; King, "Wounds That Bind," 147.

<sup>74</sup> King, "Wounds That Bind," 171.

references to the GAR, there are no mentions of the GAR or any other formal veteran organization in the pensions of Walterboro USCT veterans.<sup>75</sup>

Establishment of a local GAR post was also a path for veterans to create and sustain public memory of black Union service through annual events such as Emancipation Day (Jan 1) and Decoration Day (May 30). These two events were mainstays in many black communities throughout South Carolina, but particularly in Beaufort County and other locations with large numbers of black Union veterans, well into the early twentieth century. While Decoration Day, however, was recognized nationally and celebrated, albeit on different days, by both Union and Confederate memorial associations, Emancipation Day was a uniquely South Carolina holiday established with one of the first public readings of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 at Camp Saxton in Port Royal, South Carolina.<sup>76</sup> Writing about the persistence of these celebrations in Beaufort in the 1890s as the South was transitioning into the Jim Crow Era, Historian Alexia Helsley notes that “celebrations born in the early years of emancipation” were a continuing source of pride to the local black community well into the twentieth century.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Digital collections held by the Family History Center of Charleston’s International African American Museum (CFH – IAAM) and USC – Beaufort’s Institute for the Study of the Reconstruction Era (IRSE) contain numerous examples of pension for Beaufort and Charleston USCT veterans. Four pension files were surveyed from the CFH-IAAM collection (Charleston veterans) and six files from ISRE’s collection (Beaufort veterans); Lisa King also writes extensively about this in *Wounds That Bind*, especially in relation to the Beaufort community.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen R. Wise and Lawrence Rowland with Gerhard Spieler, *Rebellion, Reconstruction and Redemption, 1861-1893: The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, Vol. 2*, Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2015, pp. 165-170, 488-489.

<sup>77</sup> Alexia Jones Helsley, *Beaufort, South Carolina: A History*, Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2005, pp. 153.

Glimpses of such celebrations are tantalizingly few in Walterboro and, indeed, throughout Colleton County as a whole, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Decoration Day, or Memorial Day, was largely celebrated on May 10<sup>th</sup> in remembrance of Confederate dead rather than on the national day of remembrance on May 30<sup>th</sup> and was predominantly an event for the white community. Emancipation Day, however, is another story. Walterboro's Republican newspaper, *The Walterboro News*, published a note in their December 20, 1873 issue that "we are glad to see that our colored citizens propose celebrating the anniversary of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Both at Walterboro and Blue House arrangements are being made to celebrate the day in an appropriate manner." A further notice in the paper gives more details about the celebration in Blue House, a small community in southern Colleton County, including the names of the organizing committee. There is no such record for the Walterboro event, which makes it difficult to know how involved USCT veterans in the town may have been in the proposed commemoration.<sup>78</sup>

There is no other record of an Emancipation Day celebration in Walterboro until January of 1922 when a later Walterboro newspaper, *The Press & Standard*, observed that "the largest event of the season for the colored folk of Walterboro, was the banquet on Emancipation Day at the K. of P. [Knights of Pythias] hall."<sup>79</sup> The Colored Knights of Pythias was a national fraternal organization that was quite popular in Walterboro, and indeed throughout the nation, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the

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<sup>78</sup> "We are glad to see that our citizens..." *The Walterboro News* (Walterboro, SC), 20 Dec 1873, pp. 1, col. 4, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content); "Emancipation Celebration in Colleton," *The Walterboro News* (Walterboro, SC), 20 Dec 1873, pp. 1, col. 5, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

<sup>79</sup> "Negroes Observe Emancipation Day," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 11 Jan 1922, pp. 4, col. 5, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

time that this local branch of the Colored Knights of Pythias hosted their Emancipation Day celebration, however, only two local USCT veterans were still alive, and James Perkins would pass away the following year and Benjamin Powell only three years later.<sup>80</sup> Although there is, yet again, no evidence that USCT veterans or their families were involved with this local celebration, at least one veteran, Daniel Sanderson had been a member of several fraternal organizations including the Colleton Tournament Club in the 1870s and a local order of Freemasons in the 1890s.<sup>81</sup> Without a local GAR post to help organize these types of celebrations in Walterboro, it may have been through local fraternal organizations and veteran participation in these groups that USCT associated celebrations such as Emancipation Day were sustained.

With smaller numbers, no organized veterans association and few local celebrations to help sustain their public memory, it is no surprise that in a town dominated by the Confederacy during the recent war, that Walterboro's Union veterans should be largely overshadowed by Confederate associations and memorials. The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century in Walterboro saw the rise of local memorial associations associated with the Confederacy, such as the local Confederate Survivor's Association and the Micah Jenkins Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Although in many Southern

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<sup>80</sup> Declaration for Widow's Pension (Act of May 1, 1920), 22 Jan 1923, Pension of Martha Powell (Widow of Benjamin Powell, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 1,199,887, certificate no. 934,725, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA; Declaration for Widow's Pension (Act of May 1, 1920), 04 Jun 1925, Pension of Betsy Perkins (Widow of James Perkins, Pvt. Co. K, 35<sup>th</sup> USCT), widow's pension application no. 1,233,810, certificate no. 965,371, Civil War Pension Files, Record Group 15, NARA.

<sup>81</sup> "Christmas was the wettest..." *The Walterboro News* (Walterboro, SC), 03 Jan 1874, pp. 1, col. 2, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content); "Conveyance – Daniel Robertson to Jackson WG Grant et al Trustees," Colleton County Register of Deeds, 07 May 1890, Deed Book 8, pp. 468-469.



communities the primary driving force behind the preservation of Confederate public memory was vested in the hands of the UDC, in Walterboro the local survivor's association initially drove public commemoration in the town. In many cases, a survivor's association was the precursor to a local camp of the United Confederate Veterans, the preeminent Confederate veterans association in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the direct corollary to Union veterans' Grand Army of the Republic.<sup>82</sup> Although Walterboro's group was originally called the Colleton County Survivors Association, or simply the Survivor's Association, as early as 1908 references to the group began transitioning to the United Confederate Veterans (UCV).<sup>83</sup>

The earliest mention of the local Confederate Survivor's Association is a note in the local newspaper regarding a meeting the group held in October of 1898. The tenor of the article makes it evident that the association was already well-established at that point with many leading members of the community listed among its membership including Campbell G. Henderson, the local lawyer accused of defrauding local USCT pensioners. The main object of the October 1898 meeting was to make a motion "that the [planned] Confederate monument be placed on Court House Square and not at the cemetery." Previously, the board for the town's Live Oak Cemetery, not to be confused with Live Oak African American Cemetery, had offered a section of land to the survivor's association for a proposed monument but a space near the county court house was

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<sup>82</sup> Thomas J. Brown, *Civil War Canon: Sites of Confederate Memory in South Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, 2015, pp. 94 & 103.

<sup>83</sup> A great example of this are two articles published back-to-back in Walterboro's *The Press & Standard* on June 21 and June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1911. In the first issue the group is referred to as the "local camp, U.C.V." while in the very next issue the group is the "Colleton County Survivor's Association." "Unveil Monument," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 21 Jun 1911, pp. 1, col. 1, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content); "Handsome Confederate Monument Adorns the Court House Square," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 28 Jun 1911, pp. 1, cols. 3-5, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

deemed a more suitable location.<sup>84</sup> The monument's dedication on June 22, 1911 was the result of at least twelve years of planning by the Colleton County Survivor's Association and coincided with the peak of Confederate monument placement across the South. Over fifty Confederate veterans attended the Walterboro dedication alongside "fully five hundred people from all over the county."<sup>85</sup> Originally placed on the eastern side of the court house, the monument was moved to its current location on the south lawn of the structure a few decades later and remains a prominent and visible part of the local landscape today.

The Micah Jenkins Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) picked up the reigns for the Confederate Survivors Association, continuing the work to preserve memory of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause after the monument's dedication. Interest in a local chapter of the UDC was expressed as early as 1910 by local teacher and newspaper correspondent Helen E. Malone when she wrote that "I confess I should very much like to see a Chapter of the 'United Daughters of the Confederacy' organized here."<sup>86</sup> The chapter was organized in 1914 and Malone would later serve as President, becoming heavily involved in promoting the celebration of Confederate Memorial Day (May 10) in Walterboro. A headline in *The Press & Standard* the very next year read "Memorial Day Exercises Were Grand Success, Appropriate Exercises

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<sup>84</sup> "Monument to Soldiers," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 22 Dec 1909, pp. 1, col. 1, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content); "Live Oak Cemetery One of Beauty Spots of Community," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 18 Mar 1931, pp. 6, col. 1, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

<sup>85</sup> A timeline graphic created for the Southern Poverty Law Center's 2019 report "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy" shows a major period of Confederate monument building in the South from around 1900 to 1920, with the peak in 1910 just a year before the Colleton County monument was erected. "Handsome Confederate Monument Adorns the Court House Square."

<sup>86</sup> "Woman's Department," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 10 Aug 1910, pp. 5, cols. 2&3, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

Arranged by Local U.D.C. Chapter.”<sup>87</sup> The local white cemetery was at the heart of Confederate Memorial Day celebrations as the UDC transported local veterans to the cemetery “for the purpose of placing wreaths on the graves of their comrades.”<sup>88</sup> Established in 1874, Live Oak Cemetery became the main burial ground for Walterboro’s white elite, including many of the Confederate veterans who were members of the Colleton County Survivor’s Association and the women who led the Micah Jenkins Chapter of the UDC, as well as that of white Union veterans Alexander C. Shaffer and James W. Grace.<sup>89</sup>

Only two of Walterboro’s black Union veterans were still alive just prior to World War I when the Colleton County Survivor’s Association and the United Daughters of the Confederacy held so much sway in Walterboro – Benjamin Powell and James Perkins.<sup>90</sup> The two men lived in smaller communities about ten miles outside of Walterboro (Iron Crossroads and Cottageville) and, while they had interacted frequently with their fellow Company K veterans in Walterboro, they were not as socially involved in the town as veterans like Daniel Sanderson and Charles Brock. Powell and Perkins would pass away in 1923 and 1925 respectively and by 1930 the final USCT widows would have passed away as well.<sup>91</sup> Thus, while Confederate memory was alive and well in Walterboro with

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<sup>87</sup> “Memorial Day Exercises Were Grand Success,” *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 12 May 1915, pp. 5, col. 6, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton’s Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

<sup>88</sup> “Veterans Enjoy Day with Local Chapter,” *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 10 May 1922, pp. 1, col. 7, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton’s Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

<sup>89</sup> “Live Oak Cemetery One of Beauty Spots of Community,” *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 18 May 1931, pp. 6, col. 1-2, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton’s Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content).

<sup>90</sup> Declaration for Widow’s Pension (Act of May 1, 1920), 22 Jan 1923, Pension of Martha Powell; Declaration for Widow’s Pension (Act of May 1, 1920), 04 Jun 1925, Pension of Betsy Perkins.

<sup>91</sup> Martha Powell, South Carolina Death Certificate, 05 Jul 1927, accessed through *Ancestry.com*; Betsy Perkins, South Carolina Death Certificate, 20 Jun 1928, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

the lingering presence of both local veterans and a new monument, memory of Union service was slowly fading.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Ironically the Live Oak Cemetery where so many Confederate veterans are buried sits directly across the road from Live Oak African American Cemetery where at least four black Union veterans are known to be buried. Live Oak African American Cemetery was founded in 1890 by the congregation of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church but seems to have very quickly become the burial ground for most of Walterboro's black families.<sup>92</sup> USCT veteran Daniel Sanderson would be laid to rest in this segregated cemetery with little fanfare upon his death on July 22, 1894. By November of that year his family had applied to the federal government for a veteran's tombstone for the grave.<sup>93</sup> Hidden in the brambles in a nearby plot, half buried in the ground, is another USCT veteran tombstone – that of Sanderson's fellow Company K veteran David King. At least four other Company K veterans – Merrick Sykes, Charles Brock, Daniel Hill and Richard Hansley, are likely buried in the cemetery, although their graves are unlikely to ever be known. While the gravestones of Sanderson and King are testaments to the only memorials afforded to Walterboro's USCT veterans, their neglect speaks to the circumstances which allowed memory of these Union soldiers to be forgotten within a community where Confederate graves and Confederate monuments still have pride of placement over African American memorials.

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<sup>92</sup> "Live Oak Cemetery One of Beauty Spots of Community."

<sup>93</sup> Tombstone Order for Daniel Sanderson, *Headstones Provided for Deceased Union Civil War Veterans, 1879-1903*, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

In 2007 former Walterboro City Councilman and veteran Johnnie Thompson spoke to this disparity when he was interviewed regarding Walterboro's, at that time, ninety-six-year-old Confederate monument and its placement on the grounds of the Colleton County Courthouse. Thompson expressed his disappointment that there was "no monument honoring African Americans who struggled to realize the freedoms and rights accorded to all American citizens." He believed that the addition of such a monument to the courthouse grounds would help balance the perspective of the Confederate monument and groups such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a successor group to Walterboro's Confederate Survivor's Group, that was still active locally.<sup>94</sup> What is more interesting is that Thompson does not mention Walterboro's Union veterans as, perhaps, one of the most compelling arguments for addressing the lack of African American memorial on the courthouse grounds. The memory of Walterboro's USCT veterans had truly been lost.

Despite arriving as outsiders in 1866, Daniel Sanderson, David King, Charles Brock, George Washington, Merrick Sykes, Frank Mills, Daniel Hill, Richard Hansley and other local members of Company K, 35<sup>th</sup> US Colored Troops, made Walterboro their home. They created new opportunities, forged new familial and social networks, supported each other and, by their very presence alone, stood as challenge to the rise of the South's Lost Cause narrative. The very fact that their contributions were lost is why more focus needs to be drawn to communities where USCT veterans were not able to establish their own enduring connection to public memory. Walterboro, South Carolina is only one example. There are hundreds of these communities throughout the South with

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<sup>94</sup> "Another Monument Needed," *The Press & Standard* (Walterboro, SC), 02 Sept 2007, Special Insert – Colleton County Courthouse 1822-2007, pp. 10, cols. 1&2, accessed through *Digital Reel: Colleton's Online Historical Archive*, [www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content](http://www.colletonlibrary.org/e-content)

forgotten black Union veterans buried in local cemeteries. All of them waiting for a new voice, in a new century, to bring them back into the public awareness.

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APPENDIX A:  
WALTERBORO'S NORTH CAROLINA USCT VETERANS

Sgt. Henry Chapman (Amelia) – Moves to Summerville, SC

Sgt. Benjamin West (Sarah) – Disappears from records before 1870

**Cpl. Daniel Hill (Rosana)**

**Cpl. Frank Mills (Judy)**

**Cpl. Daniel Sanderson (Sophia)**

**Cpl. Merrick Syles (Hannah/Celia)**

**Pvt. Charles B. Brock (Jane)**

**Pvt. Thomas Deal (Elsie)** – From Company B

Pvt. Leroy Gibbes – Moves to Beaufort County, SC

Pvt. Green Griese – Moves to Augusta, GA

**Pvt. Richard Hansley (Sarah)**

Pvt. Allen Hughbanks (Julia) – Moves to Charleston, SC

**Pvt. David King (Celia)**

Pvt. Alex Mitchell – Disappears from records before 1870

**Pvt. James Perkins (Betsy)** – Settled right outside of Walterboro in Iron X Roads

**Pvt. Benjamin Powell (Mary/Martha)** – Settled outside of Walterboro in Cottageville

Pvt. John Sutton – Disappears from records before 1870

Pvt. Isaiah Tadton (Laura)

**Pvt. George Washington (Sarah/Jeanette/Bella)**

Pvt. Isaac Wilkins (Caty)

Highlighted names are those of soldiers or their widows who appear in the 1890 Veterans Schedule for Walterboro or a nearby community.