Archer Alexander & The Faces of Freedom:
From Rockbridge Slavery to The Emancipation Memorials

Eric Wilson, Rockbridge Historical Society
Local Black Histories: Virtual Access, Lasting Archive

As our e-Newsletters roll out this series in the coming months, please check back in to see what new materials we've added. You can click hotlinks to access sites, or download full articles. Please Contact Us with your Questions, or suggestions for additions, or to add join the email list for latest releases, additions, and notice of relevant events.

Note: Resources with an * have been produced in conjunction with RHS Programs or Publications.

Series Overview:
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Free Blacks & Slavery in Rockbridge, Virginia:
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*Turk McCluskey, The Road to Black Ned's Forge: A Story of Race, Sex, and Trade on the Colonial American Frontier (*video lecture)
*Ted DeLaney, John Chavis, Soldier, Minister, Educator & America's First African American College Student at Washington College (*3 min audio profile)
*Melvin Patrick Ely, Israel on the Argonauton: A Southern Experiment in Freedom from 1700 to the Civil War (*video interviews)
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*Charles Deve, Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge
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*Eric Wilson, Re-Visting a Rockbridge Icon: Archer Alexander's Journey as a Local Slave, a Self-Emancipated War Hero, as a National Monument

*Journeys to Juneteenth:
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*Henry Louis Gates, Jr. & PBS, What is Juneteenth?
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*Juneteenth Art Show 2020: Project Horizons and Nelson Gallery

Re-Visting Virginia’s Frontier Icon:
Black Lives at Natural Bridge, from Patrick Henry & Thomas Jefferson to The Green Book

Eric Wilson, Rockbridge Historical Society

Aspects of Black Religious and Educational Development in Lexington, Virginia, 1840–1928

Theodore C. DeLaney, Jr.

"Writing in the Negro History Bulletin in 1936, Carter G. Woodson, a noted black educator, stated, "A definitive history of the Negro Church... would leave practically no phase of the history of the Negro in America untouched." This quote provided great inspiration for me as I sought for a place to begin the task of compiling a history of black people in the Lexington area. The history which follows is by no means complete but represents a mere scratch of the surface.

The churches in Lexington which date from ante-bellum days all have histories which included attempts at slave evangelization. While such evan-
The Faces of Archer Alexander
# Names Matter

**People, Priorities, Proprieties**

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<th>Archer Alexander</th>
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<td>Muhammad Ali’s Third-Great Grandfather</td>
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<td>“Archer Was My Third-Great Grandfather”</td>
<td>(1860s Rockbridge ↔ 2021 U.S. Capitol)</td>
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Emancipation Memorial(s): Sculptor, Thomas Ball

‘Freedom’s Memorial:’ Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., 1876
‘Emancipation Group’: South of Boston Common, 1879
Memorial Names: Variously Attributed
People, Principles, Priorities

**Freedom’s Memorial (DC Plaque)
**Emancipation Group (Boston)

Freedmen’s Memorial
Freedmen’s Monument
Freedman’s Monument
Emancipation Memorial
Lincoln Monument

“Emancipation Statue Removal Act”
Stalled in Subcommittee on National Parks, Forest, Public Lands (NPS Land, not DC)
Lincoln Park ➔ US Capitol ➔ White House and Ford’s Theater
Archer Alexander was actually born in 1806, in Rockbridge County, Virginia, the son of the enslaved Alec and Chloe. Alec's owner was Archibald Alexander whose wife was the former Jane Margaret McClure. The Alexander land was along the South River in Irish Crossing. Archibald Alexander had come from Manor Cunningham, in the Taghoyne Parish near Donegal in Ireland; to Augusta County, Virginia where he would serve as Captain for the Sandy Creek Expedition against the Indians in 1756, and then Administrator for the Benjamin Borden Grant for the British Crown. Archibald Alexander is buried at Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church, near Lexington, Virginia. Alec was then inherited by John Alexander, who was sixteen when his father Archibald died.

Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church
Photo by Dorris Keeven-Franke

John Alexander would sell Alec, Archer’s father when Archer was about 16, because he was considered “too uppity, and had somehow acquired the skill of being able to read, and talked about being free.” The neighbors had encouraged John Alexander to do “what was right so as not to lead to trouble.” Alec was sold south and Archer would never see his father again. John Alexander would die soon after, leaving his enslaved property to his son James Harvey Alexander. The family’s financial problems soon led James to decide to join his close friend William M. Campbell who was moving to Missouri in 1829, with his cousins the McClure family. On August 20, 1829 they would begin their journey from Virginia to Missouri leaving behind Archer’s mother Chloe. She would pass away six months later and is buried in Virginia.
Some Key Dates & Names: see [ArcherAlexander.blog](ArcherAlexander.blog)

Archer Alexander (1806-1880)
Born near South River, Rockbridge County

Born to enslaved parents Aleck & Chloe
Aleck Alexander owned by Archibald Alexander: Noted Preacher; 4th President, Hampden-Sydney; Founder Princeton Theological Seminary

Aleck Alexander and son Archer are among the human property inherited by John Alexander.
Negroes For Hire.

WILL be hired out for the ensuing year, on Saturday the 30th instant, before the Court House door, in Lexington,

Twenty Likely Negroes belonging to WASHINGTON COLEGE: consisting of

Men, Women, Boys and Girls,

many of them very valuable. Bond with good security will be required, to bear interest from the date if not punctually paid. Terms more particularly made known on the day.

Sam’l M’D. Reid,

John Alexander,

December 19th, 1826.

Committe.

Washington College Markets 20 Slaves for Hire, 1826
Several Alexanders served as early Washington College Trustees
Archer’s father sold South, said to have been:

“too uppish... and had somehow acquired the skill of being able to read, and talked about being free.”

*Archer would never again see his father, Aleck.
*Mother Chloe died 6 months after Archer is taken west in 1829.
James Harvey Alexander inherits Archer Alexander, 1828

1829: first year of Andrew Jackson’s Presidency:

*The growing settlement of the American middle West;
*The acceleration of America’s internal slave trade;
*The transformations of what variously came to count as ‘Jacksonian Democracy.’
From Rockbridge to Missouri, 1829

55 Virginians, 25 of them enslaved, variously mixed and related, of various ages, undertook the trek on Aug. 20 1829: aiming to reach the Mississippi River, and its promise beyond.

Families were joined in the enterprise, but also broken.

Several white Alexander children would be returned to Rockbridge County, after the death of their father in 1835.

One enslaved child was left en route, near Louisville…
Archer Alexander Moves West, 3-Family Caravan: Lexington → Missouri, 1829
Enslaved, b. 1806, Virginia → Self-Emancipated, 1863, Missouri → Memorialized, 1876, D.C.
In the caravan: Archer Alexander & future wife Louisa

In 1822, Louisa is inherited by James Alexander’s wife, Nancy McCluer.

On the journey, Louisa serves as wet nurse to one of their white infants...

.... as well as Wesley, her own infant son with Archer.
In Missouri, Archer & Louisa are enslaved to different families nearby. They’re said to have 10 children.

But they remained in closely tied, and in close communication (their literacy, an important testament).

After Archer’s 1863 escape, Louisa writes him an extraordinary letter, asking him to help purchase or smuggle her to freedom.

She also comments on local politics & hatred for Lincoln.
If I can get away I will but the people here are all afraid to take me away.

He [her enslaver] is always abusing Lincoln and calls him an old Rascall.

He is the greatest Rebel under heaven. It is a sin to have him loose.

He says if he had hold of Lincoln he would chop him up into Mincemeat.
All Missouri slaves are emancipated by law in January 1865; Archer and Louisa re-unite briefly.

But she soon dies under mysterious circumstances, after returning to retrieve belongings from her former enslaver. Her grave is unknown.

Archer remarries; his second wife Julia dies in 1879.
Archer dies in 1880, buried in St. Peter’s Cemetery, St. Louis, near Washington University, which was founded by Archer’s fugitive protector and postwar friend, mentor, and ‘biographer’: William Greenleaf Eliot.

Importantly, Eliot was also the postwar administrator heading the Western Sanitary Commission, providing support for wounded soldiers, refugees, freedmen.

In that capacity, Eliot would propose Archer as the Sculpted Face of the Freedmen’s Memorial honoring Lincoln, and would write his posthumous ‘biography.’
William Greenleaf Eliot: Unitarian Minister, Abolitionist, Educator
Founder, Washington University, St. Louis
Beaumont Place (Eliot Home): Refuge for Archer, under 1850 Fugitive Slave Act
Importantly, to the newly emancipated Alexander family, the infant left in Louisville would play his own part in the quilt of American history.

In the arc of generational time, Wesley Alexander would become Great-Great Grandfather to these two men, both from Louisville...
Archer Alexander: 3rd Great Grandfather
Muhammad Ali & Keith Winstead (pictured at RHS Museum)
Feb. 1863: Archer Alexander warns Krekel’s Deutsch (Union Home Guard)
He overhears & foils a pro-Confederate plot to destroy Peruque Bridge (above)
Timbers sawn through, to collapse under the next Union train
Missouri, 1863: Slaves Enlisted as Colored Troops
Loyal Unionists Paid for Enlisted Slaves: to be Freed, Post-War
Disloyal Pro-Confederates: Slave Property not Compensated

Buena Vista Furnace, Rockbridge, 1863
Sandi, Bryant, and Jerry … free themselves.
Charlotte Scott

b. enslaved, Lynchburg, VA, c.1803 ➔ Ohio Freedwoman ➔ d. Lynchburg, 1891

“Mother” of the Lincoln~Emancipation~Freedmen’s~“Freedom’s Memorial”
Who Funded “Freedom’s Memorial”? 

On the Day of Lincoln’s Death, April 15, 1865, Charlotte Scott (freed and employed by her former owner, Dr. Rucker, now in Marietta, Ohio) gives him her first $5.00 saved wages to seed a memorial to Lincoln.

All funds for the memorial are given by freed women & men, and by veterans of the U.S. Colored Troops, totaling over $20,000.
Who Shaped the Events?

April 14, 1876: approx. 25,000 mostly Black citizens attend the dedication ceremony on the 11th Anniversary of Lincoln’s Assassination, 3 miles from Ford’s Theater.

Frederick Douglass gives the Dedicatory Address, praising the occasion, while balancing credit and criticism of Lincoln. President Grant attends.

John Mercer Langston, co-organizer & first Black Congressman from VA, describes a parade of over 100,000.
Early Themes and Variations:
1867 Proposal, *Lincoln Monument, with ‘Four Stages of the Negro’* (Harriet Hosmer)
Shackled Slave → Field Laborer → Contraband Aiding Union → United States Soldier
1868 Model for Proposed National Lincoln Monument, D.C. (Clark Mills)

Tiered Structure with Lincoln Signing Emancipation Proclamation at Top

Civilian Politicians (Chase, Beecher) → Statue Cycle from Slaves to Citizens
Initial Allegory of Freedman Kneeling at Liberty’s Feet → Replaced with Realistic Statue of Frederick Douglass
Thomas Ball: Studies for Emancipation Memorial
Re-visioned Models: Different Poses, Features, after Commission from Eliot
Ball’s First Study: Pose drawn from Classical Antiquity – Rituals for freeing Slaves
Note Classical Phrygian Cap/ ‘Liberty Cap’ / French Revolution Marianne
WHY did the facial features and hair change? Did Lincoln’s?

W.G. Eliot recommended Archer Alexander: in respect for his earned freedom.
Signals of Force:

**Musculature**: Newly Flexed Arms, Legs, Neck … Not Lithe, but **Poised**

**Snapped Manacles** required more Strength than Fetters; Head is Older, **Raised**.

**The Self-Emancipated Figure** is Re-Worked here: Lincoln and Washington … **Not**.
In 1868, the 14th Amendment brought birthright citizenship and Equal Protection to all Americans, regardless of color. In 1870, the 15th Amendment in 1870 guaranteed Black and white men the right to vote. But new state laws & constitutions would soon chip away at those new freedoms.

Federal Reconstruction ended just months after unveiling the “Freedom Memorial” in 1876. A brokered deal resolving a deadlocked Presidential election gave Republicans the White House, in exchange for removing federal troops & agents from the South.
warmly congratulate you upon the highly interesting object which has caused you to assemble in such numbers and spirit as you have to-day. This occasion is in some respects remarkable. Wise and thoughtful men of our race, who shall come after us, and study the lesson of our history in the United States; who shall survey the long and dreary spaces over which we have travelled; who shall count the links in the great chain of events by which we have reached our present position, will make a note of this occasion; they will think of it and speak of it with a sense of manly pride and complacency.

I congratulate you, also, upon the very favorable circumstances in which we meet to-day. They are high, inspiring, and uncommon. They lend grace, glory, and significance to the object for which we have met. Nowhere else in this great country, with its uncounted towns and cities, unlimited wealth, and immeasurable territory extending from sea to sea, could conditions be found more

A Tale of Two Douglasses:
1876 Dedicatory Speech → Re-Visioning 1876 Letter to The National Republican
What does He Suggest? Whom does he Suggest? Reasons Why?
Who rightly stands? Who is “pre- eminent”?

Emancipating Lincoln? Enfranchising Grant? (not for Appomattox, but 15th Amendment)

The Negro? *A* man?

Couchant or Nude? A four-legged Animal?
Who rightly stands? Who is “pre-eminent”?

**A Runaway?** (like Douglass, himself)

**A U.S.C.T. Soldier?** (like Douglass’ sons)

**Archer Alexander?** Specifically Marked rather than **Archetypally Figured??**
The Monumental Model

Archer is a **Modeled American Citizen** who **Freed Himself**, in **Wartime Service**.

Archer is not just **any** well-connected Black citizen. Not just **any** former slave.

His specific histories, though not visible in bronze, are crucial to the intended narrative.
“The Emancipation Group,” Park Square, Boston
Replica of Thomas Ball’s D.C. Original, Installed 1879
Donated by Moses Kimball, Museum & Entertainment Entrepreneur
Boston: Complements or Counterpoints?

‘Emancipation Group’ stands SW of Boston Common (1879)
Col. Shaw & 54th Regiment Memorial (Glory) NE of Boston Common (1884)
Liberty’s Landscapes?
Robert Lowell’s 1964 Poem
“For the Union Dead”

“their monument sticks like a fishbone in the city’s throat…”

he is out of bounds now

there are no monuments to the last war here.”
RECENT DISCUSSIONS

“Emancipation Group” has been criticized since its installation in 1879 for deficiencies in its design. Over time, there have been many calls for removal or re-contextualization of the statue. A 2018 study of the City’s art collection by the Boston Art Commission recommended its removal and relocation to a museum or educational setting. The commission initiated a public review in June 2020. The process included:

- public testimonials across two hearings
- comments made in more than 160 letters, and
- 645 survey responses.

The vast majority of input from the public favored removal and the commissioning of a new artwork. A petition by Boston artist Tory Bullock garnered more than 12,000 signatures to remove the statue.

CURRENT ACTIONS

The City of Boston and the Boston Art Commission recognize the significant cultural influence of public art. Boston’s art collection needs to accurately and responsibly reflect the:

- City’s residents
- values of its communities, and
- history of the City and its people.

On June 30, 2020, after five hours of verbal testimony and discussion, the Boston Art Commission voted unanimously to document and remove “Emancipation Group.” The City began a process to relocate it to a new location where it could be better explained. The decision acknowledged the statue’s role in perpetuating harmful prejudices and obscuring the role of Black Americans in shaping the nation’s freedoms.

As Frederick Douglass noted in his 1878 letter criticizing the statue, the figure of Alexander “though rising is still on his knees and mute.” The statue was removed on December 29, 2020, and will be held in

THE FUTURE

You can learn more about the Boston Art Commission’s process to re-examine the City’s public art collection online. Join the conversation by making suggestions for the relocation of “Emancipation Group,” and the future of this site.

Starting this winter, the City of Boston and Boston Art Commission will begin a series of virtual panel discussions and short-term art installations. We will examine and re-frame our cultural symbols, public art, and histories.

“Public art is storytelling at the street level. As such, the imagery should strike the heart and engage the mind. What I heard today is that it hurts to look at this piece, and in the Boston landscape we should not have works that bring shame to any group of people, not only in Boston but across the entire United States.”

— Elise Holmes, Boston artist and Vice Chair of the Boston Arts Commission.
Parallel Moves? Counter Moves?

VMI Removes Parade Ground Statue of CSA Gen. Thomas ‘Stonewall’ Jackson, Dec. 7, 2020
City of Boston Removes its Replica of ‘The Emancipation Group,’ Dec. 29, 2020
Lincoln Park, DC: June, 2020

During nationwide protests against racial injustice, death of George Floyd, Congressional Bill HR 7466 is proposed for “Removal of Emancipation Monument”
Who is She – Who are the Children – and How do they Matter?

Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial:  Lincoln Park, Washington DC, 1974
Educator, Suffragist, Founder of the National Council for Negro Women, 1935
Freedmen’s Memorial turned East to face these 3: both named & unnamed.
“Rumors of War”: Kehinde Wiley

Installed outside Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, December 2019
Re-Visioning Frederick Moynihan’s Statue of CSA Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, Monument Ave, 1907
Children Compose ‘Human Confederate Battle Flag’

Postcard of crowd gathered below statue to C.S.A. Gen. R.E. Lee, Memorial Day 1907
United Confederate Veterans Reunion, Unveiling that Statue to Stuart, one block away.
Equestrian Statue and Memorial to CSA Gen. Robert E. Lee
First Sculpture on Richmond’s Monument Ave. (Antonin Mercie, Memorial Day, 1890)
Pedestal Graffiti, with Richmond Graduate, Diploma & Salute (June 2020)
NYTimes: “Most influential protest artworks since WWII” (Oct. 2020)
R.E. Lee Statue Re-Visioned

New Angles on Lee → 1951, from Richmond’s Tallest Fire Ladder → 2020, from Drone Photograph

Memorials: Various Re-Placed, Adapted, Defaced, Destroyed, Elaborated, Re-Painted … Re-Visioned
Proposed National Emancipation Monument, 1889 (not built)
Topped with Black USCT Soldier, other Political and Military Leaders at Bottom
“A Negro with Chains Broken, But Not Off” sculpted by W.C. Hill, 1895
Atlanta Negro Building, Cotton States and International Exposition
(Occasion of Booker T. Washington’s ‘Atlanta Compromise’ Speech)
“Defiling or displacing statues *reflexively* – instead of *reflectively* – eradicates not only the original impulse for commemoration but knowledge of the events themselves.

Is memory really worth obliterating – rather than *comprehending* and, where necessary, *countering*?
So … **Where** do we stand?

How do we see from **Where** we stand?

**Who** can we stand **With**, in **Communities**?

Where do we **Want** to stand … **Ahead**?
“Freedom’s Memorial,” Lincoln Park, D.C. 2020

President Lincoln Faces East, Archer Alexander Faces South
Citizens & Security Ring the National Monument, one Mile from U.S. Capitol
Amanda Gorman, First Youth Poet Laureate

Inauguration Poem for President Biden: Jan. 20, 2021

‘Lyric Memorial’ delivered on the Capitol Steps, Response to National Vision, ‘Insurrection’
Exactly One Mile West from Archer Alexander, President Lincoln, ‘Freedom’s Memorial’
Eric Wilson, RHS Executive Director
Director for History, VA Association of Museums

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