

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

NOTE WELL!

EXODUS 21:1-11

LEVITICUS 25:39-46

DEUTERONOMY 15:12-18

JEREMIAH 34:13, 14:

“Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel; I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondmen, saying,

At the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother an Hebrew, which hath been

sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free.”

1 CORINTHIANS 7:21

Four thousand African Americans “emancipated themselves” from American servitude by virtue of services performed for the British Navy during the period of the “War of 1812,” from July 1813 to April 1815. This was arguably the largest emancipation between the revolution in Haiti in the 1790s and the Wilberforce colonial abolition in the British West Indies in the 1830s (though the emancipation in the state of New York on July 4, 1827 is a possible contender). Most of these freedom fighters settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and just under a thousand settled in Trinidad, with a score or so settling in the United Kingdom and a few settling in Bermuda.

But then – here are all these stacks of individual manumission documents, available on the record, in which purportedly some individual kind American white man had kindly allowed some individual black American slave his or her freedom! Background is needed, in order to be able to grasp what such a manumission document is **not**. These documents that we are now able to peruse among the real estate transaction records (because nobody thought they were dangerous enough to destroy) show individual nice white Rhode Islanders doing onesy-twosey nice things for individual black Rhode Islanders at their own convenience on certain select occasions of their own choosing. What is becoming clear is that one of the first reactions to this, by today’s white Rhode Islanders, is to think of these Town Hall manumissions as having been some sort of **cure** for slavery, or, alternatively, to think of them as having been some sort of **palliative** for slavery – neither of which they ever were, at all.

Manumission was not a cure as it amounted merely to swimming against the current – since on a given day on which one select person of color was being freed for being aged or for being ‘specially nice, a slaver was perhaps arriving in some port on the coast of Brazil bearing the 734 survivors of a Middle



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Passage, and shuffling these people off in coffles to a slave barracoon ashore. Also, manumission was not a palliative as it routinely involved the cooptation of persons who might become leaders in the community – cutting a special deal with them for which they needed to be specially grateful, and thus forever dividing their personal interest from the interest of the community as a whole. The timing of manumission indicates that it was something that was typically done at the convenience of the white massa, rather than in response to the need of the enslaved person. The most common reason for emancipation, I infer after perusing any number of these documents, was that the slave had grown old and bothersome, and so the relationship was no longer convenient for the white master.

In order to cope with this tendency I have observed among white Rhode Islanders, to fantasize pleasantries about such manumission documents which the general historical context simply will not support, I have added to the Kouroo Contexture all the statistical information that presently exists about the Middle Passage. We now have in the database, appearing alongside these manumission documents, the names of all the slave ships or “negreros” that were appearing in various ports in the New World during the indicated month, the name of the master of each ship for that particular voyage if that is available, the port on the coast of Africa from which that ship had sailed, the number of people in its cargo when it departed from African waters, the port in the Caribbean or South America at which it appeared, the number of people it was able to vend when it arrived, and the national flag of registration under which the ship was sailing. Having such information side by side with these manumission documents in the Kouroo Contexture now helps create an interesting perspective that was not previously evident.

I find these manumission records, which have been filed away for several centuries with the real estate transactions, to be fascinating. How do they relate to Henry Thoreau? Well, for one thing, while Henry was living out at the pond the local antislavery society used his shanty for their celebration of the anniversary of the mass manumission that had taken place in the British West Indies.

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



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1,300 BCE

At this point what we term the “Lion Gate” was being created at Mycenae.

The ancient site of Jericho was being abandoned, perhaps due to the prevalence of earthquakes there. Perhaps during this period occurred the first wave of the invasion of Canaan by Hebrews out of Kadesh-barnea, perhaps under a military leader named Joshua.



A clay tablet has been found in 1936, in the Ugarit acropolis of Ras Shamra, Syria, bearing an inscription in the Akkadian language from this century, which transliterates¹ as follows:

On this day, before witnesses, Gilben, chamberlain of the queen's palace, releases Eliawe, his slave, from among the women of his harem. And by pouring oil on her head, made her free. "Just as I am separated from her, so she is separated from me in perpetuity." Furthermore, Burian the laborer has taken her as his wife. And Burian her husband has delivered twenty pieces of silver into the hands of Gilben.

Witness, Sindalu

Witness, Tubbianu

Witness, Zaluwanu

Witness, Shubammu

If tomorrow or the next day Burian refuses to "approach" Eliawe—
... [the next tablet of this set has not been located]

MANUMISSION

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



1. Finkelstein, J. J. "Documents from the Practice of Law," ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS RELATING TO THE OLD TESTAMENT, pages 542-547. Ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1969. The transliteration above is by K. C. Hanson.



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320 BCE

On a following screen appears one of a number of fragments from a temple wall of Athens, recording the names of slaves who were being manumitted during this decade. Thank you, gods!

Do I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

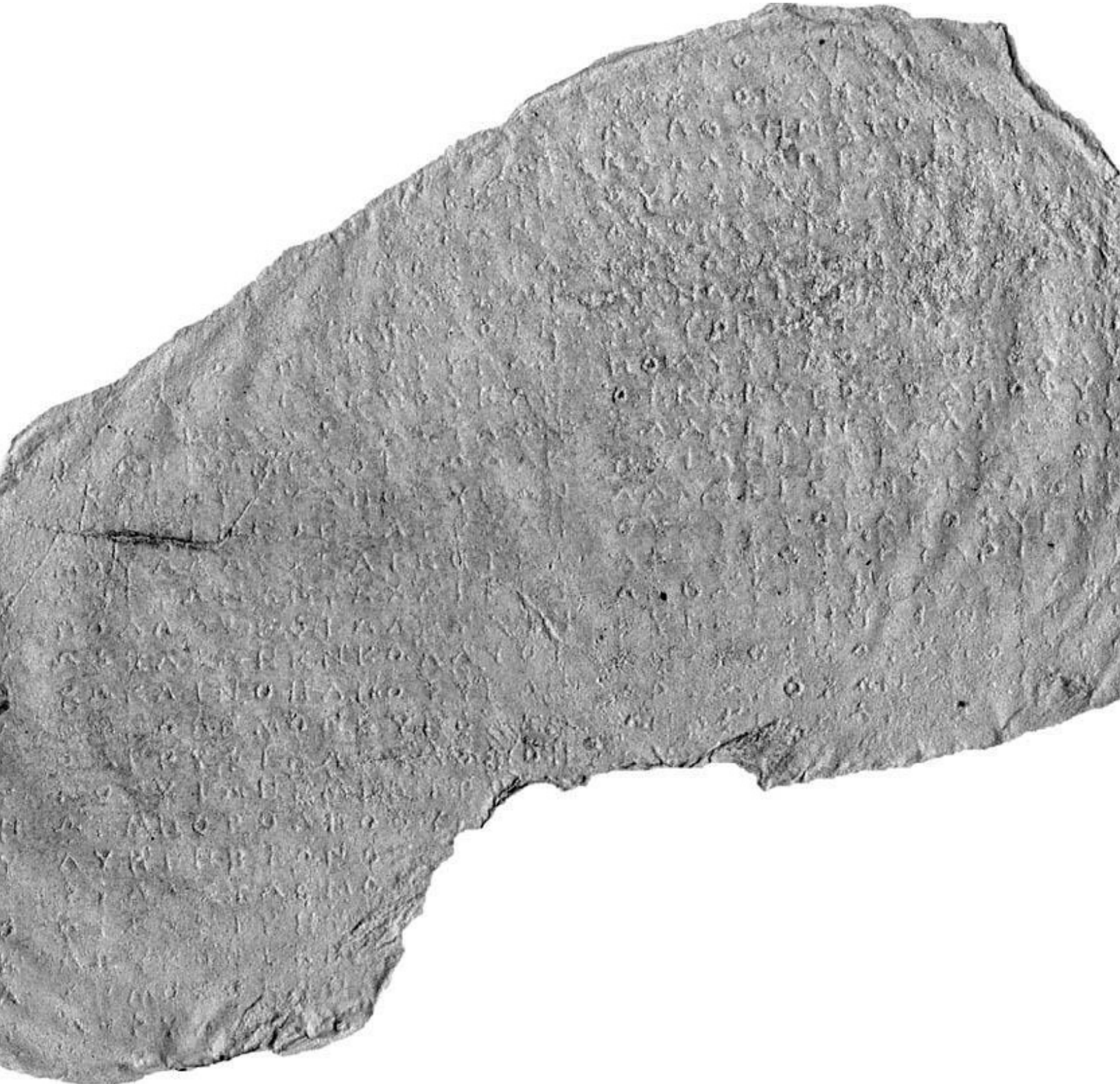
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65 BCE

December 8: Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born in a small town in the border region between Apulia and Lucania (his home town was called at that time Venusia but now is known as Venosa). He was a born-free son of a [manumitted](#) slave. His father had a small farm, although later the family would relocate to Rome and the father would find work as a coactor (a middleman at auctions, who paid off the seller and then collected from the buyer, typically receiving in compensation for this service 1% of the price from each of them). [Horace](#), as we now know him, would during the reign of the Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#) be obtaining recognition as the leading Roman lyric poet. The freedman father would be able to invest considerably in education for his son, in Rome during childhood, and then by sending the young man to Athens for the study of the Greek language, and philosophy. The son would, in one of his surviving satires (1.6.65-92), express great appreciation for this:

If my character is flawed by a few minor faults, but is otherwise decent and moral, if you can point out only a few scattered blemishes on an otherwise immaculate surface, if no one can accuse me of greed, or of prurience, or of profligacy, if I live a virtuous life, free of defilement (pardon, for a moment, my self-praise), and if I am to my friends a good friend, it is my father who deserves all the credit for this ... he deserves from me unstinting gratitude and praise. I could never be ashamed of such a father nor do I feel any need, as many people do, to apologize for being a freedman's son.

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE DECEMBER 8TH, 65 BCE AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

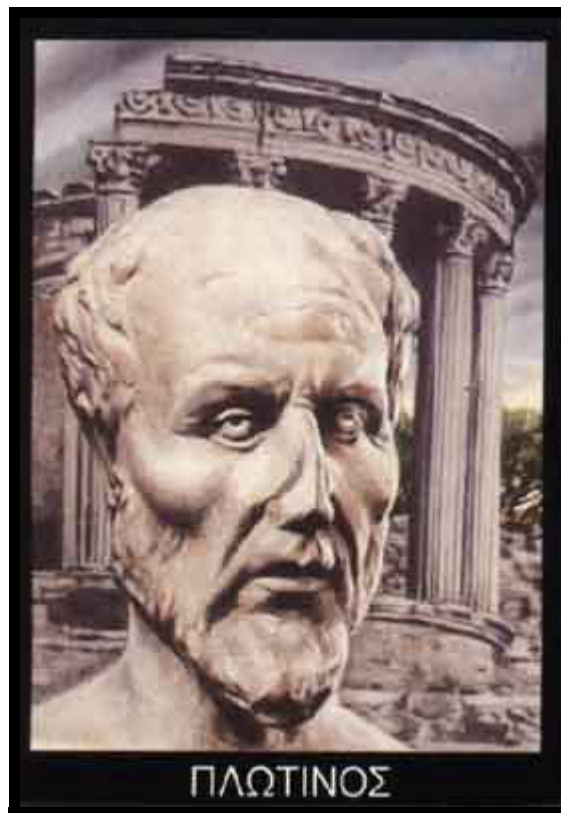
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244 CE

At about this point [Plotinus](#) established a school in Rome at which he might deliver his lectures on Pythagorean and Platonic wisdom, and on asceticism. Among his adherents would be the Emperor Gallienus who would rule from 260 into 268, and his wife Salonina. His stock in trade was a doctrine of emanation (obtained from the Stoics and from Philo) founded upon the concept of a transmission of powers from Absolute Being through a series of mediating agencies, the last of which was inert matter, according to which the object of self-development is to escape the merely material and therefore deceptive world of the senses. Through a process of purification his students might gradually lift themselves into ecstatic union with the overflowing active agency of Absolute Being. Confronted by his prompting and example, some Romans would dispose of their fortunes to the poor, [manumitting](#) their slaves and devoting themselves henceforward to lives of study and ascetic piety.²



Perhaps, therefore, here is the proper place to insert some undated material about the general law of manumission in Latin society. Although a Roman slave could remain a slave his or her entire life, the opportunity for manumission (literally “releasing the hand”) allowed for the possibility for a slave to become a free citizens. Whereas a master possessed absolute control over his slaves he may choose to set any number of his slaves free at any point. This act could take place during the master’s lifetime or might occur after his death. A slave might be released from his duties by a simple statement of freedom from the master, but the lack of evidence troubled Roman lawyers and jurists. There were three common methods by which a Roman



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master could formally manumit his slaves:

- The manumission could be by means of the census that was taken every five years. In this census the father of a Roman household was required to list all of his possessions. There were two columns — a column for persons and a column for property. The names of the family's slaves were of course registered in the "property" column. To manumit a slave a master needed only to record the name of that slave in the "person" column. The slave would then be noted in the Roman census as a free person, and nothing more was needed.
- The manumission could be by means of the ceremony known as "*Vindicta*." (Think, "I have been vindicated.") In this peculiar court procedure a master formally released his slaves by publicly denying that they were in his possession. If no person objected to this denial, the slave became free.
- The manumission could be by means of a "*Testamentum*." This would correspond to our "Last will and Testament." A Roman father could leave in his will a request that upon his demise any or all of his slaves be set free. This was of course the most common type of manumission.

The legal status of a Roman slave was in many ways no different from that of livestock. Both in law and in treatment, slaves were pieces of property. They were denied the majority of the fundamental rights which the law bestowed upon all Roman citizens. For example, with the exception of the *villicus*, slaves were not permitted to marry or form families. Moreover, the children of two slaves were, by law, slaves as well. They were a living and breathing tool for the purpose of performing labor. Through Roman law, the body of a slave belongs to his master. One of the only rights given to slaves was the *peculium* or allowance. Although the owner also owned the *peculium*, slaves had the possibility to purchase their freedom with this sum of money. After

2. *Manumittio* was the Roman ceremony by which a lad went out into the world. The *paterfamilias* (father) would seize his grown son's *manu* (hand), and then *mittio* (drop it), three times in succession. Get the picture?

If a Roman master and his or her slave were on good terms and the slave had earned enough money to purchase his or her freedom (i.e. the slave's *peculium* were greater than or equal to the slave's worth) or had become too old or ill to render further service, the master might free the slave through one or another recognized process of manumission. There seem to have been three forms such a manumission might take:

Manumissio vindicta, the most commonly practiced form of manumission. The master, the slave, a third party, and a praetor gather to manumit the slave. The third party member lays a freedom rod (*vindicta*), on the slave pronouncing the slave free. The master then follows suit by placing his or her own *vindicta* rod upon the slave while the praetor witnesses both performing this action to the slave.

Manumissio testamento. In this form one of two things might happen: In the first condition, a slave is set free by a proclamation to do so in the master's will. In the second condition, the master entrusts his slave to another freeperson on the grounds that upon doing so, the slave be set free by the new master. In the second condition, the slave may not be immediately set free because the slave will only be freed when the new master frees him or her, and, until the slave is freed, the slave is classified as a *statuliber*.

Manumissio censu. In this form the slave appeared before a *censor* and was announced as a freedperson, at which time, if the censor agreed, the censor recorded the slave's name as a freedperson.

The manumitted Roman slave became a freedperson (*libertus*) who, although he or she possessed more rights than a slave, still had fewer rights than a Roman freeperson (*ingenuus*). Such a *libertus* might vote in the city assemblies but not otherwise, was ineligible for the *cursus honorum*, and would not be acceptable as a Roman legionnaire. However, children born to a *libertus* would classify from birth as *ingenui* and thereby possess the privileges of full citizenship. Freedpersons entered a new relationship with their former masters, and typically this amounted to a client/patron relationship. (The former master might also take on the role of the *paterfamilias* to a new *libertus*.) The old masters as their patrons needed to respect their rights to pass on an inheritance and their rights to no longer be treated as slaves, and restrict his or her work demands to a reasonable number of days per work period at not overly strenuous or arduous labors. Upon this person's death without male heirs, the patron inherited half the estate.



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manumission, although a slave was no longer property, he or she needed to continue two obligations: *obsequium* and *operae*.

Freedmen typically were not fully integrated into society. The act of *obsequium* required freedmen and women to openly grovel in the presence of their former masters. Whether in public or in the privacy of the household, freedmen were required to remove their headcoverings, drop to their knees, etc. in front of their masters. *Operae*, on the other hand, was the custom whereby an ex-slave was required to return to their slave professions for a certain number of days annually for their masters. The number of days varied depending on the conditions of the manumission.

Because of the immense scope of the slave institution, there were many regulations:

- In 326 BCE the *Lex Poetelia* abolished the acquisition of labor from within Rome's citizens, otherwise known as debt-bondage. This law opened the door for the arrival of chattel slavery.
- In 4 CE the *Lex Aelia Sentia* consular law of Augustus restricted the manumission of slaves by age. No slave under the age of 30 could be manumitted, and no master under the age of 20 could emancipate a slave.
- In 2 CE the *Lex Fufia Caninia* limited the number of slaves which a Roman master could manumit over a lifetime.
- The *Lex Iunia Sorbana* of Caesar Augustus put a check upon the informal manumission of slaves; slaves who were not formally emancipated were not offered citizenship but were instead offered a 2d-class "Latin Status" which gave them some rights but not the privileges of voting, holding office, or conducting commerce.

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.
LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**



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530 CE

The anti-Pope Dioscorus.

From this year until 568 CE, beginning with Belisarius's conquest of the North African kingdom of the Vandals and its transformation into a Byzantine province, the generals of Justinian, Emperor in Constantinople, would be conquering areas of North Africa and [Italy](#) and tacking these areas onto the Roman Empire of the East, in the process creating hordes of new slaves. Thus in the *CODEX JUSTINIANUS*,³ for marriages between those of unfree status, when within that category the parents were of different social classes, children were to follow the condition of the mother with slaves and *adscripticii* to all intents and purposes equal before the law:

xl.48.xxi. Lest there be any further doubt, if any one is descended from a bondwoman and a slave or *adscripticius* and a female slave, who is (and this might be worse fortune) either of bond or of servile rank, we decree that those things which were provided in former laws for such offspring, born of bondwoman and freeman, shall be left in their present state, and the offspring procreated from such connection shall be of bond status. But if any one were born either of a slave and a bondwoman or of a female slave and a bondman, he should follow the condition of his mother and be of such condition as she was, either slave or bondwoman; which rule has hitherto been observed only in cases of marriage between free and servile. For what difference is evident between slaves and *adscripticii* when both are placed in the *potestas* of a lord and he is able to [manumit](#) a slave with his goods and to expel from his dominion an *adscripticius* with land?

3. P. Krueger, ed., *CODEX JUSTINIANUS*, (Berlin, 1877), page 988; reprinted in Roy C. Cave & Herbert H. Coulson, eds. *A SOURCE BOOK FOR MEDIEVAL ECONOMIC HISTORY*. Milwaukee WI: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1936; reprint edition NY: Biblo & Tannen, 1965, pages 268-269. (The text has been modernized by Prof. Arkenberg.)



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632 CE

June 8: In Aisha's apartment, [Mohammed](#) suddenly died after sending forces off to attack Syria.



Abu Bekr, the 1st Islamic Caliph, would take his seat at Medina. His injunction against the consumption of ethanol was having an immediate impact such that within a decade this practice would be totally banned not only in Arabia but also in much of the new Islamic empire, for instance in the region that has become [Egypt](#), Libya, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia.

From this point until 651 CE, the Mohammedan Arabs would be conquering Persia.

From this point until 709 CE, the Mohammedan Arabs would be attacking the Roman Empire of the East, and conquering Syria, [Egypt](#), and Africa.

A process of recollecting began. Reports of the sayings of [Mohammed](#) would be termed "*ahadith*" and collections of these *ahadith* would be termed "*sunnah*." The *SAHIH BUKHARI* is one of these preserved *sunnah* comprised of *ahadith*, that is to say, it is a collection of sayings and deeds of Muhammad. It was made by Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail bin Ibrahim bin al-Mughira al-Ja'fai, who was born in 194 AH and died in 256 AH. His compilation was the result of 16 years of analysis of various reports by various persons, of things that the Prophet of Islam had said during his life.

A number of these *ahadith* had to do with the [manumission](#) of slaves and are collected into what is now Volume III, Book 46:

Number 693 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Whoever frees a Muslim slave, Allah will save all the parts of his body from the (Hell) Fire as he has freed the body-parts of the slave." Said bin Marjana said that he narrated that Hadith to 'Ali bin Al-Husain and he freed his slave for whom 'Abdullah bin Ja'far had offered him ten thousand Dirhams or one-thousand Dinars.

Number 694 as narrated by Abu Dhar:

I asked the Prophet, "What is the best deed?" He replied, "To believe in Allah and to fight for His Cause." I then asked, "What is the best kind of manumission (of slaves)?" He replied, "The manumission of the most expensive slave and the most beloved by his master." I said, "If I cannot afford to do that?" He said, "Help the weak or do good for a person who cannot work for himself." I said, "If I cannot do that?" He said, "Refrain from harming others for this will be regarded as a charitable deed for your own good."

Number 695 as narrated by Asma' bint Abu Bakr:

The Prophet ordered us to free slaves at the time of solar



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eclipses.

Number 696 as narrated by Asma' bint Abu Bakr:

We were ordered to free slaves at the time of lunar eclipses.

Number 697 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet said, "Whoever manumits a slave owned by two masters, should manumit him completely (not partially) if he is rich after having its price evaluated."

Number 698 as narrated by 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever frees his share of a common slave and he has sufficient money to free him completely, should let its price be estimated by a just man and give his partners the price of their shares and manumit the slave; otherwise (i.e. if he has not sufficient money) he manumits the slave partially."

Number 699 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "Whoever manumits his share of a slave, then it is essential for him to get that slave manumitted' completely as long as he has the money to do so. If he has not sufficient money to pay the price of the other shares (after the price of the slave is evaluated justly), the manumitted manumits the slave partially in proportion to his share.

Number 700 as narrated by 'Ubaidullah:

as above BRIEFLY.

Number 701 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet said, "He who manumits his share of a slave and has money sufficient to free the remaining portion of that slave's price (justly estimated) then he should manumit him (by giving the rest of his price to the other co-owners)." Nafi' added, "Otherwise the slave is partially free." Aiyub is not sure whether the last statement was said by Nafi' or it was a part of the Hadith.

Number 702 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

That he used to give his verdict regarding the male or female slaves owned by more than one master, one of whom may manumit his share of the slave. Ibn 'Umar used to say in such a case, "The manumitted should manumit the slave completely if he has sufficient money to pay the rest of the price of that slave (which is to be justly estimated) and the other share-holders are to take the price of their shares and the slave is freed (released from slavery)." Ibn 'Umar narrated this verdict from the Prophet.

Number 703 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

that the Prophet said, "Whoever frees his portion of a (common) slave."

Number 704 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Whoever frees his portion of a common slave should free the slave completely by paying the rest of his price from his money if he has enough money; otherwise the price of the slave is to be estimated and the slave is to be helped to



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work without hardship till he pays the rest of his price."

Number 705 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Allah has accepted my invocation to forgive what whispers in the hearts of my followers, unless they put it to action or utter it." (See Hadith Number 657 in Volume 8)

Number 706 as narrated by 'Umar bin Al-Khattab:

The Prophet said, "The (reward of) deeds depend on intentions, and every person will get the reward according to what he intends. So, whoever migrated for Allah and His Apostle, then his migration will be for Allah and His Apostle, and whoever migrated for worldly benefits or for marrying a woman, then his migration will be for what he migrated for." (See Hadith Number 1 in Volume 1)

Number 707 as narrated by Qais:

When Abu Huraira accompanied by his slave set out intending to embrace Islam they lost each other on the way. The slave then came while Abu Huraira was sitting with the Prophet. The Prophet said, "O Abu Huraira! Your slave has come back." Abu Huraira said, "Indeed, I would like you to witness that I have manumitted him." That happened at the time when Abu Huraira recited (the following poetic verse):-- 'What a long tedious tiresome night! Nevertheless, it has delivered us From the land of Kufr (disbelief).

Number 708 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

On my way to the Prophet I was reciting:-- 'What a long tedious tiresome night! Nevertheless, it has saved us From the land of Kufr (disbelief).' I had a slave who ran away from me on the way. When I went to the Prophet and gave the pledge of allegiance for embracing Islam, the slave showed up while I was still with the Prophet who remarked, "O Abu Huraira! Here is your slave!" I said, "I manumit him for Allah's Sake," and so I freed him.

Number 709 as narrated by Qais:

When Abu Huraira accompanied by his slave came intending to embrace Islam, they lost each other on the way. (When the slave showed up) Abu Huraira said (to the Prophet), "I make you witness that the slave is free for Allah's Cause."

Number 710 as narrated by 'Aisha:

Utba bin Abi Waqqas authorized his brother Sad bin Abi Waqqas to take the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a into his custody, telling him that the boy was his own (illegal) son. When Allah's Apostle went (to Mecca) at the time of the Conquest, Sad took the son of the slavegirl of Zam'a to Allah's Apostle and also brought 'Abu bin Zam'a with him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is the son of my brother 'Utba who authorized me to take him into my custody." 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is my brother, the son of Zam'a's slave-girl and he was born on his bed." Allah's Apostle looked at the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and noticed much resemblance (to 'Utba). Allah's Apostle said, "It is for you, O 'Abu bin Zam'a as he was born on the bed of your father." Allah's Apostle then told Sauda bint



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Zam'a to observe veil in the presence of the boy as he noticed the boy's resemblance to 'Utba and Sauda was the wife of the Prophet.

Number 711 as narrated by Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

A man amongst us declared that his slave would be freed after his death. The Prophet called for that slave and sold him. The slave died the same year.

Number 712 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle forbade the selling or donating the Wala' of a freed slave.

Number 713 as narrated by 'Aisha:

I bought Buraira but her masters put the condition that her Wala' would be for them. I told the Prophet about it. He said (to me), "Manumit her as her Wala' will be for the one who pays the price." So, I manumitted her. The Prophet called Buraira and gave her the option of either staying with her husband or leaving him. She said, "Even if he gave me so much money, I would not stay with him," and so she preferred her freedom to her husband.

Number 714 as narrated by Anas:

Some men of the Ansar asked for the permission of Allah's Apostle and said, "Allow us to give up the ransom from our nephew Al-'Abbas. The Prophet said (to them), "Do not leave (even) a Dirham (of his ransom)."

Number 715 as narrated by Hisham:

My father told me that Hakim bin Hizam manumitted one-hundred slaves in the pre-Islamic period of ignorance and slaughtered one-hundred camels (and distributed them in charity). When he embraced Islam he again slaughtered one-hundred camels and manumitted one-hundred slaves. Hakim said, "I asked Allah's Apostle, 'O Allah's Apostle! What do you think about some good deeds I used to practice in the pre-Islamic period of ignorance regarding them as deeds of righteousness?' Allah's Apostle said, "You have embraced Islam along with all those good deeds you did."

Number 716 as narrated by Marwan and Al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

When the delegates of the tribe of Hawazin came to the Prophet and they requested him to return their properties and captives. The Prophet stood up and said to them, "I have other people with me in this matter (as you see) and the most beloved statement to me is the true one; you may choose either the properties or the prisoners as I have delayed their distribution." The Prophet had waited for them for more than ten days since his arrival from Ta'if. So, when it became evident to them that the Prophet was not going to return them except one of the two, they said, "We choose our prisoners." The Prophet got up amongst the people and glorified and praised Allah as He deserved and said, "Then after, these brethren of yours have come to us with repentance, and I see it logical to return them the captives. So, whoever amongst you likes to do that as a favor, then he can do it, and whoever of you likes to stick to his share till we recompense



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him from the very first war booty which Allah will give us, then he can do so (i.e. give up the present captives)." The people unanimously said, "We do that (return the captives) willingly." The Prophet said, "We do not know which of you has agreed to it and which have not, so go back and let your leaders forward us your decision." So, all the people then went back and discussed the matter with their leaders who returned and informed the Prophet that all the people had willingly given their consent to return the captives. This is what has reached us about the captives of Hawazin. Narrated Anas that 'Abbas said to the Prophet, "I paid for my ransom and Aqil's ransom."

Number 717 as narrated by Ibn Aun:

I wrote a letter to Nafi and Nafi wrote in reply to my letter that the Prophet had suddenly attacked Bani Mustaliq without warning while they were heedless and their cattle were being watered at the places of water. Their fighting men were killed and their women and children were taken as captives; the Prophet got Juwairiya on that day. Nafi said that Ibn 'Umar had told him the above narration and that Ibn 'Umar was in that army.

Number 718 as narrated by Ibn Muhairiz:

I saw Abu Said and asked him about coitus interruptus. Abu Said said, "We went with Allah's Apostle, in the Ghazwa of Barli Al-Mustaliq and we captured some of the 'Arabs as captives, and the long separation from our wives was pressing us hard and we wanted to practice coitus interruptus. We asked Allah's Apostle (whether it was permissible). He said, "It is better for you not to do so. No soul, (that which Allah has) destined to exist, up to the Day of Resurrection, but will definitely come, into existence."

Number 719 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

I have loved the people of the tribe of Bani Tamim ever since I heard, three things, Allah's Apostle said about them. I heard him saying, "These people (of the tribe of Bani Tamim) would stand firm against Ad-Dajjal." When the Sadaqat (gifts of charity) from that tribe came, Allah's Apostle said, "These are the Sadaqat (i.e. charitable gifts) of our folk." 'Aisha had a slave-girl from that tribe, and the Prophet said to 'Aisha, "Manumit her as she is a descendant of Ishmael (the Prophet)."

Number 720 as narrated by Abu Musa:

Allah's Apostle said, "He who has a slave-girl and educates and treats her nicely and then manumits and marries her, will get a double reward."

Number 721 as narrated by Al-Ma'rur bin Suwaid:

I saw Abu Dhar Al-Ghifari wearing a cloak, and his slave, too, was wearing a cloak. We asked him about that (i.e. how both were wearing similar cloaks). He replied, "Once I abused a man and he complained of me to the Prophet. The Prophet asked me, 'Did you abuse him by slighting his mother?' He added, 'Your slaves are your brethren upon whom Allah has given you authority. So, if one has one's brethren under one's control, one should feed



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them with the like of what one eats and clothe them with the like of what one wears. You should not overburden them with what they cannot bear, and if you do so, help them (in their hard job)."

Number 722 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "If a slave is honest and faithful to his master and worships his Lord (Allah) in a perfect manner, he will get a double reward."

Number 723 as narrated by Abu Musa Al-Ashari:

The Prophet said, "He who has a slave-girl and teaches her good manners and improves her education and then manumits and marries her, will get a double reward; and any slave who observes Allah's right and his master's right will get a double reward."

Number 724 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "A pious slave gets a double reward." Abu Huraira added:

By Him in Whose Hands my soul is but for Jihad (i.e. holy battles), Hajj, and my duty to serve my mother, I would have loved to die as a slave.

Number 725 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Goodness and comfort are for him who worships his Lord in a perfect manner and serves his master sincerely."

Number 726 as narrated by 'Abdullah:

The Prophet said, "If a slave serves his Saiyid (i.e. master) sincerely and worships his Lord (Allah) perfectly, he will get a double reward."

Number 727 as narrated by Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "The Mamluk (slave) who worships his Lord in a perfect manner, and is dutiful, sincere and obedient to his Saiyid (master), will get a double reward."

Number 728 as narrated by Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "You should not say, 'Feed your lord (Rabbaka), help your lord in performing ablution, or give water to your lord, but should say, 'my master (e.g. Feed your master instead of lord etc.) (Saiyidi), or my guardian (Maulai), and one should not say, my slave (Abdi), or my girl-slave (Amati), but should say, my lad (Fatai), my lass (Fatati), and my boy (Ghulami)."

Number 729 as narrated by Ibn 'Umar:

The Prophet said, "If one manumits his share of a common slave (Abd), and he has money sufficient to free the remaining portion of the price of the slave (justly estimated), then he should free the slave completely by paying the rest of his price; otherwise the slave is freed partly."

Number 730 as narrated by 'Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle said, "Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charges. The ruler who has authority over people, is a guardian and is responsible for them, a man is a



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guardian of his family and is responsible for them; a woman is a guardian of her husband's house and children and is responsible for them; a slave ('Abu) is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it; so all of you are guardians and are responsible for your charges."

Number 731 as narrated by Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:
The Prophet said, "If a slave-girl (Ama) commits illegal sexual intercourse, scourge her; if she does it again, scourge her again; if she repeats it, scourge her again." The narrator added that on the third or the fourth offence, the Prophet said, "Sell her even for a hair rope."

Number 732 as narrated by Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "When your servant brings your meals to you then if he does not let him sit and share the meals, then he should at least give him a mouthful or two mouthfuls of that meal or a meal or two meals, as he has prepared it."

Number 733 as narrated by 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:
That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charge; the ruler is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects; the man is a guardian in his family and responsible for his charges; a woman is a guardian of her husband's house and responsible for her charges; and the servant is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for his charge." I definitely heard the above from the Prophet and think that the Prophet also said, "A man is a guardian of his father's property and responsible for his charges; so everyone of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges."

Number 734 as narrated by Abu Huraira:
The Prophet said, "If somebody fights (or beats somebody) then he should avoid the face."

Number 735 as narrated by 'Urwa:
That 'Aisha told him that Buraira came to seek her help in her writing of emancipation (for a certain sum) and that time she had not paid anything of it. 'Aisha said to her, "Go back to your masters, and if they agree that I will pay the amount of your writing of emancipation and get your Wala', I will do so." Buraira informed her masters of that but they refused and said, "If she (i.e. 'Aisha) is seeking Allah's reward, then she can do so, but your Wala' will be for us." 'Aisha mentioned that to Allah's Apostle who said to her, "Buy and manumit her, as the Wala' is for the liberator." Allah's Apostle then got up and said, "What about the people who stipulate conditions which are not present in Allah's Laws? Whoever imposes conditions which are not present in Allah's Laws, then those conditions will be invalid, even if he imposed these conditions a hundred times. Allah's conditions (Laws) are the truth and are more solid."

Number 736 as narrated by 'Abdullah bin 'Umar:
Aisha wanted to buy a slave-girl in order to manumit her. The girl's masters stipulated that her Wala' would be for them.



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Allah's Apostle said (to 'Aisha), "What they stipulate should not stop you, for the Wala' is for the liberator."

Number 737 as narrated by Aisha:

Buraira came (to 'Aisha) and said, "I have made a contract of emancipation with my masters for nine Uqiyas (of gold) to be paid in yearly installments. Therefore, I seek your help." 'Aisha said, "If your masters agree, I will pay them the sum at once and free you on condition that your Wala' will be for me." Buraira went to her masters but they refused that offer. She (came back) and said, "I presented to them the offer but they refused, unless the Wala' was for them." Allah's Apostle heard of that and asked me about it, and I told him about it. On that he said, "Buy and manumit her and stipulate that the Wala' should be for you, as Wala' is for the liberator." 'Aisha added, "Allah's Apostle then got up amongst the people, Glorified and Praised Allah, and said, 'Then after:

What about some people who impose conditions which are not present in Allah's Laws? So, any condition which is not present in Allah's Laws is invalid even if they were one-hundred conditions. Allah's ordinance is the truth, and Allah's condition is stronger and more solid. Why do some men from you say, O so-and-so! manumit the slave but the Wala will be for me? Verily, the Wala is for the liberator."

Number 738 as narrated by Amra bint 'AbdurRahman:

Buraira went to Aisha, the mother of the faithful believers to seek her help in her emancipation Aisha said to her, "If your masters agree, I will pay them your price in a lump sum and manumit you." Buraira mentioned that offer to her masters but they refused to sell her unless the Wala' was for them. 'Aisha told Allah's Apostle about it. He said, "Buy and manumit her as the Wala' is for the liberator."

Number 739 as narrated by 'Abdul Wahid bin Aiman:

I went to 'Aisha and said, "I was the slave of Utba bin Abu Lahab. "Utba died and his sons became my masters who sold me to Ibn Abu Amr who manumitted me. The sons of 'Utba stipulated that my Wala' should be for them." 'Aisha said, "Buraira came to me and she was given the writing of emancipation by her masters and she asked me to buy and manumit her. I agreed to it, but Buraira told me that her masters would not sell her unless her Wala' was for them." 'Aisha said, "I am not in need of that." When the Prophet heard that, or he was told about it, he asked 'Aisha about it. 'Aisha mentioned what Buraira had told her. The Prophet said, "Buy and manumit her and let them stipulate whatever they like." So, 'Aisha bought and manumitted her and her masters stipulated that her Wala' should be for them." The Prophet; said, "The Wala' will be for the liberator even if they stipulated a hundred conditions."



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1278

Political turmoil again halted the construction of the bell tower for the cathedral of Pisa, after a total of 7 levels. (With the tower having begun even during construction to lean decidedly toward the south, the height of the north and south sides of the 5th level had been adjusted to cope with this inclination in such a manner that the tower was beginning to be bent more or less like a banana.)

LEANING TOWER OF PISA

Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf I of the Habsburg dynasty began acquiring Austrian lands.

GERMANY

According to the Anglo-Norman law of England, rape was not actionable if the victim could be made out to



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be Irish:

If from the beginning of the 18th Century in Anglo-America the term "negro" meant slave, except when explicitly modified by the word "free," so under English law the term "hibernicus," Latin for "Irishman," was the legal term for "unfree." If African-Americans were obliged to guard closely any document they might have attesting their freedom, so in Ireland, at the beginning of the 14th Century, letters patent, attesting to a person's Englishness, were cherished by those who might fall under suspicion of trying to "pass." If under Anglo-American slavery "the rape of a female slave was not a crime, but a mere trespass on the master's property," so in 1278 two Anglo-Normans brought into court and charged with raping Margaret O'Rourke were found not guilty because "the said Margaret is an Irishwoman." If a law enacted in Virginia in 1723 provided that "manslaughter of a slave is not punishable," so under Anglo-Norman law it sufficed for acquittal to show that the victim in a killing was Irish. Anglo-Norman priests granted absolution on the grounds that it was "no more sin to kill an Irishman than a dog or any other brute." If the Georgia Supreme Court ruled in 1851 that "the killing of a negro" was not a felony, but upheld an award of damages to the owner of an African-American bond-laborer murdered by another "white" man, so an English court freed Robert Walsh, an Anglo-Norman charged with killing John Mac Gilmore, because the victim was "a mere Irishman and not of free blood," it being stipulated that "when the master of the said John shall ask damages for the slaying, he [Walsh] will be ready to answer him as the law may require." If in 1884 the United States Supreme Court, citing much precedent authority, including the Dred Scott decision, declared that Indians were legally like immigrants, and therefore not citizens except by process of individual naturalization, so for more than four centuries, until 1613, the Irish were regarded by English law as foreigners in their own land. If the testimony of even free African-Americans was inadmissible, so in Anglo-Norman Ireland native Irish of the free classes were deprived of legal defense against English abuse because they were not "admitted to English law," and hence had no rights that an Englishman was bound to respect."

During this period serfdom and villeinage, which had been formal legal situations of bondage, were being restructured into the sort of renegotiable contracts that could change hands in a money economy. Here, from the abbey of Peterborough,⁴ is a document of manumission dating to this year:

To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Richard by the divine permission abbot of Peterborough and the Convent of the same place, eternal greeting in the Lord. Let all know that we have manumitted and liberated from all yoke of servitude William, the son of Richard of Wythington whom previously we have held as our born bondman, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, so that neither we nor our successors shall be able to require or exact any right or claim in the said William, his progeny, or his chattel. But the same

4. J.H. Robinson, trans. TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, PUBLISHED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Philadelphia PA: U of Pennsylvania P [1897]. Volume III: 5, pages 31-32



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*William with his whole progeny and all his chattels will remain free and quit and without disturbance, exaction, or any claim on the part of us or our successors by reason of any servitude, forever. We will moreover and concede that he and his heirs shall hold the messuages, land, rents, and meadows in Wythington which his ancestors held from us and our predecessors, by giving and performing the fine which is called merchet for giving his daughter in marriage, and tallage from year to year according to our will, – that he shall have and hold these for the fuiture from us and our successors freely, quietly, peacefully, and hereditarily, by paying thence to us and our successors yearly 40s. sterling, at the four terms of the year, namely; at St. John the Baptist's day, 10s., at Michaelmas, 10s., at **Christmas**, 10s., and at Easter, 10s., for all service, exaction, custom, and secular demand; saving to its nevertheless attendance at our court of Castre every three weeks, wardship and relief, and outside service of our lord the king, when they shall happen. And if it shall happen that the said William or his heirs shall die at any time without an heir, the said messuage, land, rents, and meadows with their appurtenances shall return fully and completely to us and our successors. Nor will it be allowed to the said William or his heirs the said messuages, land, rents, meadows, or any part of them to give, sell, alienate, mortgage, or in any way encumber by which the said messuage, land, rents, and meadows should not return to us and our successors in the form declared above. But if this should occur later their deed shall be declared null and what is thus alienated shall come to us and our successors. In testimony of which duplicate seals are appended to this writing, formed as a chirograph, for the sake of greater security. These being witnesses, etc. Given at Borough for the love of lord Robert of good memory, once abbot, our predecessor and maternal uncle of the said William, and at the instance of the good man brother Hugh of Mutton, relative of the said abbot Robert; A.D. 1278, on the eve of Pentecost.*

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





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17TH CENTURY

1624

The Dutch had entered the slave trade in 1621 with the formation of the Dutch West Indies Company. In this year black slaves were imported to serve on the Hudson Valley farms of the Dutch of New Amsterdam. By Dutch law, any children a slave bore subsequent to [manumission](#) were not born free, but –grok this!– would be born as the chattel property of the manumitted slave's former owner.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

SLAVERY

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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1644

February 25, Sunday (1643, Old Style): As the English settlers in this year took control of the government of the Nieu Netherlands colony, fully one out of five of that colony's population was black: there were 300 black [slaves](#) and 15 free blacks. The English were going to prove themselves more "masterful" than the Dutch ever had been, and on this day they granted a sort of conditional [manumission](#) to a number of those slaves, including Big Manuel, Little Manuel, Paulo d'Angola, Simon Congo, and Anthony Portuguese, who had labored for the West India company for more than 18 years. These 11 black men were freed to live in the vicinity of what has now become Greenwich Village, on condition of a bond payable in labor (since their children remained enslaved, this indebtedness had to have been considered by the white people to have been "adequately secured").

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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1671

In his GOSPEL FAMILY-ORDER: BEING A SHORT DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORDERING OF FAMILIES, BOTH OF WHITES AND BLACKS AND INDIANS, Friend [George Fox](#) sought to negate the racism associated with the curse of God upon the son of Noah who saw his nakedness, by saying that it was not a curse upon a race but a curse upon any who spend themselves in “debaucheries.” What the curse means is not racial at all, could in no way serve as any defense of the practice of enslavement, but was merely a warning that should a people “serve sin and Evil, they must look for Destruction, both of families and Nations, who profess in God in words, but deny him in their works, lives, and conversations.” Regardless of race, there is a spiritual kinship which unites all who truly lead lives of faithfulness. Therefore instruct slaves, and preach “to the Ethiopians, the Blacks, and Tawnymoors ... Jesus Christ to them in your families.” Fox’s practical proposal was that, since spiritual conditions are so more important than physical conditions, the way out of the situation is to begin to treat present [slaves](#) not as slaves but as indentured servants, in the Jewish “poor brother slave” tradition.

As slaves were freed after a period of service, they were not simply to be turned loose, but were to be compensated for their slave labor so that they would have the means with which to begin free life (and, in fact, later, Quakers were the only body of the English community to provide such compensation along with the [manumission](#) papers). In about the same period, Fox wrote in his journal:

Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desire them to endeavor to train them up in the fear of God, as well them that were bought with their money as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, “As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.” I desire them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty toward them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free. Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings by the Spirit, and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends, both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

Ann Conway was acquainted with Friend [George](#) and other early Friends, and herself would become a [Quaker](#) shortly before her death. Written in English presumably during this period between 1671 and 1675 and published posthumously in 1890 in Latin translation, her THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY, CONCERNING GOD, CHRIST, AND THE CREATURE; THAT IS CONCERNING SPIRIT AND MATTER IN GENERAL would have an influence upon Leibniz. When an English edition would be prepared in 1692, it would have to be back-translated from the Latin version, the original manuscript in the meanwhile having been lost. (In 1996 her opus would be republished by Cambridge UP in a new translation as edited by Alison P. Coudert and Taylor Corse.)



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At this point in the writings, the chronology of events is reiterated: The sentence of præmunire had been passed against Margaret Fell in 1663, whereupon for about seven years (George Fox supposed ten years) she had been the prisoner of the Binges, and her estate in jeopardy. She was taken to prison again about three months after their marriage, in 1669. When the husband received notice of this, he sent two of her daughters to the King and the King ordered the sheriff of Lancashire to release her. One would have supposed that with such a writ, she would have been set at liberty, but in the storm of persecution that had come suddenly over England, the local authorities found means to hold her still.

Fox's AMERICAN DIARIES, which date to this period between 1671 and 1673, are the **only** materials now extant which may correctly be characterized as a "[JOURNAL](#)" kept by Fox. They are the only ones, that is, which are even roughly contemporary with the events of his life which are described in what now purports to have been his journals — and they also happen to be the only ones of which any originals have survived for us to evaluate the extent of the editorial emendations which have silently been made in layer after layer upon the basal materials:

But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher, and another woman Friend, to go to the King about her liberty. They went in the faith, and in the Lord's power; and He gave them favour with the King, so that he granted a discharge under the broad seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, and præmunired; the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England.

** I sent down the discharge forthwith by a Friend; by whom also I wrote to her, to inform her how to get it delivered to the justices, and also to acquaint her that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond sea, to visit the plantations in America; and therefore I desired her to hasten to London, as soon as she could conveniently after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage. In the meantime I got to Kingston, and stayed at John Rous's till my wife came up, and then I began to prepare for the voyage. But the yearly meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over. Many Friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and His glorious, everlastingly-renowned Seed of Life was exalted above all.*

[JOURNAL](#)

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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1676

June 26, Monday (Old Style): [Metacom](#) had such a high regard for Captain Thomas Willett that during the race war he had ordered that the Willett family not be harmed. At this point, however, some native warriors who had not heard of this order captured Hezekiah Willett, a son of Captain Thomas Willett, 25 years of age, in or near Swansea, and cut off his ears and nose. (Possibly he remained alive until July 1st.) They then carried his head to their war leader, thinking they would be praised — but when Metacom would see this head he would adorn it with wampum, and comb its hair.

A [slave](#) of Captain Thomas Willett, captured at Swansea, would escape to [Taunton](#) to inform the people there of an impending Indian assault he had heard being discussed. Being thus warned, the Taunton people would be ready on July 11, 1676, and only two of their houses would be fired by the Indians, and only one Englishman killed. (Several years later, in gratitude, this black man would be [manumitted](#).)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

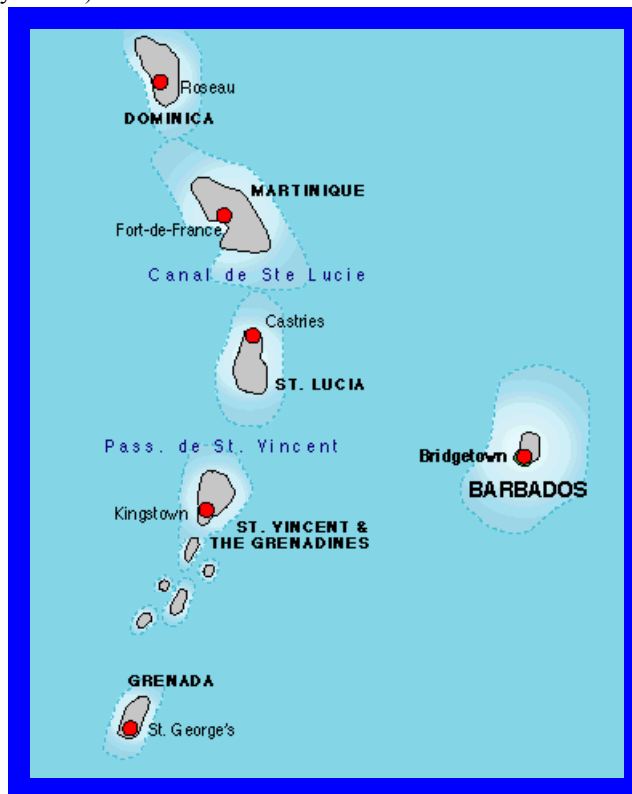


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1689

On the island of Barbados, Friend Ronald Hotton [manumitted](#) four slaves and provided them with four acres of land and materials to construct their own homes. (Besides this manumission, by 1680 three other island Quakers had manumitted slaves in their wills. By 1720, ten more black slaves would be manumitted in Quaker wills on Barbados. In general, during the second half of the 17th Century, Barbados settlers would in about one will in every fifty manumit one or more slaves, while the rate among Barbados Quakers would be triple that, or, they would in about three wills in every fifty manumit one or more slaves. During that same period, by way of radical contrast, a total of zero black slaves were being manumitted in any Quaker will in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.)



WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

HDT

WHAT?

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1693



Toward the end of this year the King of Spain emancipated the blacks of Florida.



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1698

[George Keith](#)'s A THIRD NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT TURNERS-HALL, APRIL 21, 1698.

A [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was erected on the south-west corner at the intersection of Second and High (Market) Streets in Philadelphia.⁵



Robert Pyle of the Concord (near Philadelphia) Friends monthly meeting proposed, at [Yearly Meeting](#), that a time schedule should be set up, within which [Quaker](#) households were to [manumit](#) their [slaves](#).⁶

5. This structure would be pulled down in 1755 and another erected — which would itself be, in 1808, demolished.

6. In subsequent yearly meetings for a number of years (until 1711, in fact) there would be silence on this proposal, and the primary propagator of this doctrine, [George Keith](#), would be forced out of [Quakerism](#).



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We see material relevant to this dispute in that colonial treatise printed in this year in London and titled “AN HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA...”:

... Jealousie among men is here very rare, nor are old maids to be met with; for all commonly marry before they are twenty years of age. The way of worship the Swedes use in this countrey, is the Lutheran; the English have four sorts of religious meetings here; the Church of England, who built a very fine church in this city in the year 1695; the Anabaptists; the Presbyterians; and two sorts of Quaker, (of all the most numerous by much) one party held with George Keith; but whether both parties will joyn together again in one I cannot tell. He gave strict charge concerning plain language and plain habit, and that they should not be concerned in the compelling part of the worldly government; that they should set their negroes at liberty after some reasonable time of service; and that they should not take advantage of the law against one another, as to procure them any corporal punishment. These instructions were given forth, in the year 1693, by the meeting held by George Keith, at P. James’s house in Philadelphia. He shortly after went to England, where he now, in this year 1697, keeps a meeting, at Turners-hall, London, on Sundays in the afternoon....



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18TH CENTURY

1700

May/June: (Dhu'l-Hijjah AH 1111) On the following screen is the decree of [manumission](#) issued by the Safavid Shah Sultan Husayn of Iran by which he set free his slave girl named Khush-manzar. It is a manuscript in the Persian language on cream paper, pasted upon a separate panel of paper with ownership inscriptions and seal marks, and mounted in green and pink border on a blue album page (folio 13 x 8 inches; text 5 7/8 x 4 inches). The decree contains the king's seal impression and a note in his own hand to the right of the seal (the note on the left is the legalization by the theologian Jamal al-Din Muhammad al-Khwansari, with his seal impression).



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1703

Since Massachusetts [slaveholders](#) had gotten into the practice of granting “liberty” to slaves who had become chronically ill or aged in order to relieve themselves of the onus of supporting a nonproductive person, a law was enacted required that these slaveholders post a security bond during [manumission](#) proceedings. You could no longer just set someone free. This law would remain on the books until 1807. (Later, accusations of not supporting ill or aged [slaves](#) would become, self-righteously, one of the most pronounced charges that Northerners would make against the wicked Southern slavemasters.)⁷

7. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”



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1704

José de Zuniga y Cerda, Governor of Florida, proclaimed in his Order for Apalachee Province that “Any negro of Carolina, Christian or not, free or [slave](#), who wishes to come fugitive, will be [given] complete liberty, so that those who do not wish to stay here may pass to other places as they see fit, with their freedom papers which I hereby grant them by word of the king.”

MANUMISSION

The English forces from South Carolina destroyed most of the Spanish [Catholic](#) missions remaining outside the vicinity of St. Augustine in North Florida.

In [Ireland](#), the Penal Law system of religio-racial oppression of [Catholics](#) was in effect (until 1829).

In England, the Test Act was passed to limit rights of all dissenters (non-Anglicans): Presbyterians were awarded nearly the same treatment as [Catholics](#). The Penal Code was enacted to bar [Catholics](#) from voting, education, and the military.



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1706

Lord Chief Justice John Holt delivered himself of the opinion, in this year, that “as soon as a Negro comes into England, he becomes free: one may be a villain in England, but not a Slave.” By *villain* of course this English Lord meant, not “a wrongdoer,” “a recidivist,” but what we would today term a *serf*.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

(Unfortunately, this Lord Chief Justice’s inconvenient dictum would be largely ignored for several decades. In the fullness of time, however, in 1726, in the case of Yorke and Talbot, it would be reversed.)

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: On the other part, appeared the reign of pounds and shillings, and all manner of rage and stupidity; a resistance which drew from Mr. Huddleston in Parliament the observation, “That a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons who used them. Every one of these was built on the narrow ground of interest, of pecuniary profit, of sordid gain, in opposition to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion, or to that great principle which comprehended them all.”

MANUMISSION
EMANCIPATION



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1712

In a New-York that at this point had reached a population of 5,840, one of the blacks who had been taught to read and write by the [Huguenot](#) catechism instructor Ellis Neau was charged with involvement in a slave plot. Did this mean that it was demonstrably unwise to teach American [slaves](#) to read and write, even barely enough to be able to receive the gospel of Christ? Defenders of the agenda of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts would be able to point out that although this black had indeed been taught to read and to write up to a certain level as part of their class, in preparation for a baptismal ceremony, in fact after his execution –guess what– he had been discovered to have been quite innocent of any involvement in that slave plot.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

In the year 1712 a considerable number of negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa Nations formed a plot to destroy all the English, *in order to obtain their liberty*; and kept their conspiracy so secret, that there was no suspicion of it till it came to the very execution. However, the plot was by God's Providence happily defeated. The plot was this. The negroes set fire to a house in York city, and Sunday night in April, about the going down of the moon. The fire alarmed the town, who from all parts ran to it; the conspirators planted themselves in several streets and lanes leading to the fire, and shot or stabbed the people as they were running to it. Some of the wounded escaped, and acquainted the Government, and presently by the firing of a great gun from the fort, the inhabitants were called under arms and pretty easily scattered the negroes; they had killed about 8 and wounded 12 more. In their flight some of them shot themselves, others their wives, and then themselves; some absconded a few days, and then killed themselves for fear of being taken; but a great many were taken, and 18 of them suffered death. This wicked conspiracy was at first apprehended to be general among all the negroes, and opened the mouths of many to speak against giving the negroes instruction. Mr. Neau durst hardly appear abroad for some days; his school was blamed as the main occasion of this barbarous plot. On examination, only two of all his school were so much as charged with the plot, and on full trial the guilty negroes were found to be such as never came to Mr. Neau's school; and what is very observable, the persons, whose negroes were found to be most guilty, were such as were the declared opposers of making them Christians. However a great jealousy was now raised, and the common cry very loud against instructing the negroes.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Of course, if it were going to be allowed that some slaves might read and write, then it would be necessary to institute some sort of program to ensure that whatever reading materials became available to them would include **nothing having any problematic ideas**. For instance, it would be exceedingly unwise to allow a slave access to such opinion pieces as the [Declaration of Independence](#) (when events would work their way around to that document getting written), with its rank celebration of the notion of personal “freedom.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

In the colony of New York in this year, it was being made more difficult for a white slavemaster to legally [manumit](#) his black slaves.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1713



Jack was born in about this year, the [Concord](#) church's record listing him as "Jack, Negro." His owner was Benjamin Barron, a farmer and cordwainer (shoemaker) who lived at 53 Lexington Road. He would take the given name "John" after being granted his freedom, making himself "[John Jack](#)," having been before that late-life [manumission](#) merely another black [slave](#) with no need for more of an identity than this "Jack."



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1714

March 11, Thursday (1713, Old Style): At this point the laws of the [New Jersey](#) colony began to allow for the [manumission](#) of [slaves](#), but only under rigidly controlled circumstances. “An Act for Regulating of Slaves” (New Jersey Archives, Third Series II:136-140) discouraged the freeing of slaves by requiring that the slaveholder provide £200 in security money, and requiring that the slaveholder guarantee to the manumittee the sum of £20 annually, for the remainder of that former slave’s life. If an owner’s last will and testament manumitted a slave, the executor of the estate could negate the manumission simply by failing to post the £200 bond.

REFER TO DOCUMENTS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1723

No [Virginia](#) slave was to be [manumitted](#) by his or her master, except by an action of the Governor and the Council as an award for “meritorious service.” This function would be taken over by the legislature in 1775 and until 1782 [slaves](#) could be manumitted only by special act of the legislature. The permissive [emancipation](#) statute of 1782 would allow a slavemaster to manumit his Negroes provided he, or his estate if freed by will, were responsible for the support of the sick or crippled, all females under 18 or over 45, and all males under 21, or over 45.

In [Virginia](#) it was also enacted that if any female mulatto or Indian, by law obliged to serve till thirty or thirty-one, would have a child during her servitude — such child was to serve the same master to the same age.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1725

Up to this point, the members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who resided in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been traveling for worship to the meetinghouse that had been erected in 1703 (and would be expanded in 1743) in [Saylesville](#). They would dismount, and remount, their horses and their carriages, by use of this stone mounting-block:



In this year the city Friends erected a meetinghouse within the town limits of Providence, probably on Stamper's Hill where the town fort used to exist, across the street north of Captain John Whipple's house (this is at the foot of present-day Olney Avenue). To prevent confusion, we will refer to this as meetinghouse #2.⁸

Later they would erect a newer meetinghouse at the corner of what at the time was known as Town Street but is now known as North Main Street and what had been known initially as Ferry Road (because it led over the hill to a ferry that crossed the estuary at the narrows where the Red Bridge would be erected) and at the time was known as Gaol Street (because a jail had been erected there) and would later be known as Old Gaol Street because a new jail had been erected elsewhere, but is now known as Meeting Street (because the Quaker meetinghouse used to stand there), across from the Salt Cove (presumably this is the same location, differently described). To prevent confusion, we will refer to this as meetinghouse #3. [Quaker](#) meetings for worship would be held at that location for a couple of centuries (removing the building's "Negro Gallery" or "pigeon loft" in 1820 because by that point all their slaves had been [manumitted](#) and had immediately abandoned Quakerism), when the initial building on North Main gave out in 1844 removing it to another location for use as a dwelling (later demolished) and erecting on its site a similar undistinguished building (meetinghouse #4), until the site would be cleared in 1951 for construction of the North Main Street Fire Station. Then they would relocate to the plot of land granted in 1814 by Friend [Moses Brown](#) for use as the [Yearly Meeting](#) Boarding School, where they had erected a nice new brick meetinghouse at 99 Morris Avenue (meetinghouse #5).

8. "CONSTITUTION HILL, a slope of which Stamper's Hill is a continuation, is the part of N. Main St. bet. Mill and Benefit St." The Providence Worship Group of the Religious Society of Friends would, for the initial two decades of its existence, be referred to as the Stamper's Hill Worship Group.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

(One may view a photograph of the #4 meetinghouse, on the wall of the current or #5 meetinghouse.)





MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1735

Augustus Gootlieb Spangenberg established near Savannah the 1st Moravian community in America (it would relocate to Pennsylvania in 1741).

Either in this year or in the following one, Friend [John Bartram](#) journeyed up the Schuylkill River to its source.

BOTANIZING



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1739



September 9, Saturday (Old Style): Some 80 slaves of Stono in [South Carolina](#) tried to escape to the south. In the previous year, the Spanish governor of Florida, not as a way to abolish [slavery](#) but merely as a neat-o way to disrupt the affairs of the British colonies to his north, had offered to manumit any British colonial slaves who could make their way to St. Augustine. There was a battle when this “Cato’s Conspiracy” marching column was intercepted by whites, in which 44 of the blacks and 25 of the whites were killed.

MANUMISSION



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1742

February 16, Tuesday (Old Style): [Friend](#) Ebenezer Slocum of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony sold his black [slave](#) Kofi to his nephew, another [Quaker](#), Friend John Slocum (this document is still in existence). A few years later, at about the age of 25 when he had earned enough to be able to purchase himself, Kofi would be [manumitted](#).

PAUL CUFFE

John Slocum, a devout Quaker, was influenced deeply by the 1733 denunciation of slavery by the Nantucket Meeting, the first condemnation of its nature in America. Reflection upon this denunciation led to Slocum's decision to offer Kofi the opportunity to purchase his freedom. Through the performance of supplemental work following his daily duties, Kofi bought his freedom in the mid-1740s.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1750

The Boone family left Pennsylvania for the western country, and Daniel Boone engaged in his first “long hunt.”



Is it just me, or does it seem strange to you, that as above in the case of Daniel Boone born in 1734, and in the case of [Cudgoe](#) born in 1735, and in the case of Ganiodaio (Handsome Lake, half-brother of Cornplanter) born in 1735, we are speaking of the birth of a white man, and of the birth of a black man, and of the birth of a red man, almost in the same historical breath? (I here confess, as an aging historian who has been the product of his upbringing, it still seems strange to me no matter with what intensity I have struggled to pass beyond the cultural circumstances of that upbringing!)

By this point the “great chain of being, from lowest to highest” conceptual framework which governed (governs?) so much of our thinking had become minutely calibrated, with the human scale rising from “the lowliest Hottentot” (certain small black indigenes of South Africa) to “glorious Milton and Newton.” If blacks such as [Phillis Wheatley](#) were indeed capable of the creation of imaginative literature, given appropriate circumstances in their lives, then it was the debased circumstances under which they lived which were holding them down, and they were entitled to a higher position on this chain of beings. For this reason, Wheatley would be [manumitted](#) soon after her poems were published. For this reason, also, there came to be scores of analyses of her poetry, pro and con. —It was good and she wrote it and that proves something. —It was good but she didn’t write it and that proves something. —She did write it but it wasn’t any good and that proves something. — — — Etc.

In this year Robert Lowth announced that there was poetry buried in the BIBLE, that certain parallelisms were, in actuality, embedded poems that were simply not in our translations being presented as such. These passages amounting to poetry would not be printed as such in English-language Bibles for another two full centuries. Here for instance is GENESIS 4:23-24 first as it would be available to Thoreau, and then as it is available now to us in a presentation emphasizing the parallelistic repetitions of the original poetry. By this method of presentation it becomes clear that Lamech’s story of personal retribution for the moral instruction of his plural wives was that he had just taken final revenge for some wrong by killing not two people, but one person:

- Genesis 4:23 – And Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt.
- Genesis 4:24 – If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

- Genesis 4:23-24 – Lamech said to his wives:
“Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
wives of Lamech, listen to my utterance:
I have killed a man for wounding me,
a boy for bruising me.
If Cain is avenged sevenfold,
then Lamech seventy-sevenfold.”



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1754

➡ In [Concord](#), Benjamin Barron the farmer and cordwainer (shoemaker) of 53 Lexington Road died, leaving a substantial estate. His will listed not only the usual stuff such as beds, but also:

One Negro servant named Jack ... £120:0:0
One Negro maid named Vilot, being of no value.

Soon after Barron's death his black slave Jack, who was in his early 40s, would be able to purchase [manumission](#) from Barron's inheritor, his daughter Susanna Barron, for this set price of £120:0:0, and would be able to announce that hereafter as a freeman he was to be known as "[John Jack](#)."

There are some problems with the following table. The first problem is that it makes it appear that there were considerably fewer persons of color in [Concord](#), than there actually were, because it counts only heads of households. The second problem, more important, is that it makes the magic date 1780 of the "Massachusetts Bill of Rights" far more significant, in the elimination of Northern slavery, than actually it had been. Precious little seems actually to have happened in that year to improve the lives of persons of color in Massachusetts, or their societal standing!

Concord MA Population

1679	?	480 whites
1706	?	920 whites
1725	6 slaves	1,500 whites
1741	21 slaves	?
1754	19 slaves	?
1780: Passage of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights		
1783	15 blacks	1,306 whites
1790	29 blacks	1,556 whites
1800	38 blacks	1,641 whites
1810	28 blacks	1,605 whites
1820	34 blacks	1,754 whites
1830	28 blacks	1,993 whites



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1755

[Hercules](#), who would be one of [George Washington](#)'s personally owned [slaves](#), was presumably born in approximately this year. He would grow up at [Mount Vernon](#).

On [Nantucket Island](#), [Friend](#) Benjamin Coffin was almost disowned by the [Quakers](#) for dragging his feet in regard to the [manumission](#) of his three [slaves](#). He would manage to avoid disownment, but eventually the former governor of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), more recalcitrant, would indeed eventually be disowned for such continued slaveholding. (Looking up the inside of his nose: this Hopkins dude, later, would be a signer of our [Declaration of Independence](#) — which means that he apparently was willing to tolerate freedom, justice, and the pursuit of happiness at least for **some** of us at least **some** of the time.)



"The capacity to get free is nothing; the capacity to be free, that is the task."

— André Gide, *THE IMMORALIST*
translation Richard Howard
NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7



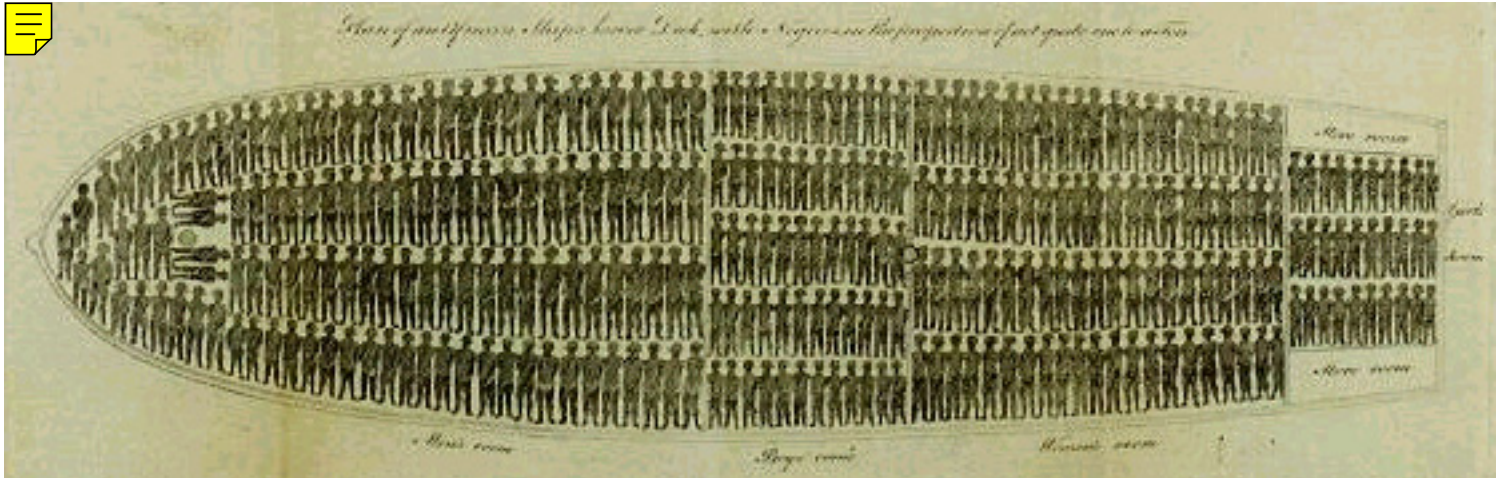
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1757

In [Rhode Island](#) harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 8 vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of 872 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Dolphin*,⁹ carrying a cargo of 80 slaves, the sloop *Gambia*, carrying a cargo of 140, the schooner *Sierra-Leone*, carrying 70, the snow *Two Brothers*, carrying 150, and a brig of unknown name, carrying 70.



A Quaker clerk turned over the blank volume in which the Friends Monthly Meeting of [South Kingstown](#) had been keeping since 1740 a record of its white births, white deaths, white marriages, and white removals, and upside down and backward in the back, began something very different from all that white stuff. What was begun upside down and backward at the end of the volume was — a record of the [manumissions](#) of the black slaves of these white [Rhode Island](#) Quakers. We learn that the 1st local [Quaker](#) to manumit a slave was Friend

9. Thomas Robinson was part owner of the [negrero](#) *Dolphin*. He was a [Quaker](#) in good standing, of [Newport](#).



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Richard Smith of Groton, Connecticut, who in this year manumitted an 18-year-old named Jane.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

Friend Richard explained that the “Negrow Girl” in question had been become the property of his wife, Friend Abigail Gardner Smith, by the will of her father Stephen Gardner, “in Order to be a Slave all her Days According to the common Custom of Slavery.” The document is so totally eloquent in its lengthy expression of antislavery sentiments that I will copy it all here:

I Richard Smith of Groton¹⁰ in the County of New London and Colony of Connecticut upon Consideration and Knowing it Required of me I have written this in Order to Shew the reason and make it manifest to mankind why that I Discharge & Sett free my Negrow Girl named Jane at Eighteen Years of Age Daughter of Sarah which is now in Slavery with her Other Children among the Heirs of Stephen Gardnor of Norwich Deceased this Girl Jane was Given to my Wife Abigail¹¹ by her Father Stephen Gardnor by will in order to be a Slave all her Days According to the common Custom of Slavery. But the falling into my hand by my Wife and the Lord by his free Goodnefs having Given me a clear Sight of the Cruelty of makeing a Slave of one that was by Nature as free as my Own Children and no ways by any Evil She had Committed brought her Self into Bondage and Slavery and therefore can no ways be Gilty of Slavery, and to argue because her Mother was made a Slave being by force and Violence brought Out of her Own Land against her mind and Will and Deprived of What She had there & made a Slave of her Should be a Sufficient Reason that her posterity Should be oprest in bondage with Slavery. I see no Justice for

10. Friend Richard Smith of Groton deceased 28 of 8 mo 1800 “in the 96th year of his age.”

11. Friend Abigail Smith of Groton deceased 15 of 6 mo 1799.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

it nor mercy in so Doing but Vi^Olent Oppre^ssing the
Inocent without Cause For this thing of Servants it hath
pleased God to Sett before me in a Clear manner the case
of Servants and Especially the Unreasonableness of these
misterses and mistresses who profess to be the followers of
Christ how they will buy & Sell and be partakers in
making marchandize in Great Babylon of the Slaves that
in the bodys of men and womon and of these Strangers as
Indians & Negrows that are taken Out of their Own Country

[page]

Country or taken in War one among a nother and Sent
out which when brought here [word marked out] in Sed of being
Released

are Sold into Slavery all there Days and their Posterity
after them they being never so Innocent in Ronging of
any and these masters and mistresses that buy them
or other ways by their parents have them, all this while
profess them selves to be the followers of Christ or
Christians and yet how they will plead the Reasonables
of Keeping them in Slavery and their posterity after them
But when they have pleaded all they can and used the
best arguments they have, it is Only to have there work
done with ease & they to be great and to be Lord over
there fellow Creatures, Because they have power & authority
to oppres the helpless by a Customary Law of the Nations
to keep them in Bondage under Slavery, Quite Renounfing
and Rejecting and Hating to obey the Law & command
of there great Lord and Master Christ as they call him
who charge them saying Therefore all things whatsoever
Ye would that man should do to You do ye even so
to them for this if the Law and the prophets said
Our Great Lord Matt. 7 & 12. Now if it should be asked
of any of these masters or mistresses if they in like
Mannor with these Children should be carried away
unto any Strange People in the world and be sold into
Slavery whether they would be willing to serve a strange
nation in Slavery & their Children after them and be
Deprived of what they Injoyed in there own Country
(for this is the Case) I suppose there answer would
be no nor any of our Children upon any acc^t: no
not if it were in a Christian Land as they call this
well then how can any of them plead the Reasonables
of Keeping of any of them in Slavery with there
Posterity and would setthem free in a Reasonable Time
as they themselves with their Children would be
willing to be done by according to Christs words
above mentioned for by Nature all nations are
free one from the other and the apostle Saith
God is no Respector of persons, the apostle Likewise
Saith that God hath made of one Blood all Nations
of men to Dwell on all the face of the Earth Acts 17 & 26



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

So

[new page]

So that by Nature & blood wee are no better in Gods Sight than they and it is plain that Chrifft taught a Doctrine that was to Releive Oppreffed and to Unbind heavy Burdens and let the Innoſent priſoner go free, and hath commanded us to love our Enemy, and to entertain Stranger, & not to oppreſs them in Bondage with Slavery and ſaid, he came not to Deſtroy mens Lives but to ſave them Luke 9 & 56 So that the way that brings them into Slavery is forbidden by Chrifft for by war violence & ſtealth and tradeing in them is the way by which they are firſt Ordered to go into Slavery, and they that buy them or other ways have them and keep them in Slavery as they do there Beaſts, for to do there Labour & not to Releive them and ſet them free, are partakers of the ſame evil, Therefore I Leave this as a faithfull Teſtimony in the fear of the living God againſt all ſuch wicked proceedings, and upon true Conſideration of what is above written I hereby Declare that now at this Time that my Negrow Girl Jane hath arrived to Eighteen Years of Age that ſhe Shall now go out Free from Bondage and Slavery as free as if ſhe had been free born and that my Heirs Executors or Administrators ſhall have no power over her to make a Slave of Her or her poſterity no more than if ſhe had been [word lined out] free born, for I freely give her her freedom now at the arrival of the aforeſ^d age which is now fullfilled in this preſent Year 1757 as witneſs my hand

Richard Smith

Some time after I had written this Diſcharge I had it in Conſideration which way was proper to make it manifeſt & ſecure and it appeared to me very proper to lay it before Friends at the preparative meeting, as buſineſs to the Monthly Meeting, to ſee if the Monthly Meeting would think proper that it might be put on Record or would forward Untill I might Know what might be done by Friends on this acc^t for this thing hath had weight on my mind ever ſince this

Girl

[new page]

Girl was put into my hands to prove me in this part of Self Denial whether I would be faithfull or not [flourish] Now my Friends to tell you plainly ſome Years before this my Intent was to have bought ſome negrow Slaves for to have done my work to have ſaved hireing of help But when I was about buying them I was forbidden by the ſame power that now cauſes me to ſet this Girl at Liberty for the matter was ſet before me in a Clear manner more Clear than what mortal man Could have done, and Therefore I believe it is not write for me to Think or hide in a thing of ſo



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

*great Concernment as to give my Consent to do to others
Contrary to what we our selves would be willing to be
done unto our selves if we were in Slavery as many of
them are at this day & under such masters and
mistresses too as would be willing to be called Christs
true followers and make a large profession of some
of his Truths but if we truly Consider God will have
no part kept back for he call for Justice and mercy
and his Soul Loathes the Oppressing of the Inocent
and poor & helpless and such as have none to help
and will assuredly avenge their cause in Righeousness
These things I have found on my mind to lay before
Friends as a matter worth due [word lined out] Consideration
and so lay it before this meeting as Buifiness [flourish]
Richard Smith [flourish]*

We note that the 1st draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#), in taking the King of England to task for having insisted on the continuation of the international slave trade (“He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.”¹²), may be better understood by referring back to the debate in this year over banning the importation of [slaves](#) into [Virginia](#). In this year, the question of a ban on the further importation of new slaves did come before the House of Burgesses, and it was not a debate over benevolence or over human rights. The primary sponsors of such a ban were the large planters of the Northern Neck region of Virginia, including the family of Richard Henry Lee, while the main opposition to it came primarily from smaller planters closer to the frontier, many of them affiliated with the John Robinson faction. Not long after this debate began, the legislators abandoned the possibility of a total ban and the discussion turned toward imposing a 10% tariff or head tax on newly imported Africans as a means of raising revenue to defray Virginia’s expenses for the Seven Years’ War. We do have some evidence that this situation in Virginia was then discussed with the British government, for after Francis Fauquier would become governor of [Virginia](#), the topic would come up in his correspondence with the Board of Trade. Fauquier would on June 2, 1760 mention that this proposal had been made by some “old settlers who have bred large quantities of slaves and who would make a monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition.” In council on December 10, 1770, [King George III of England](#) would direct them not to thus interfere with the importation of new slaves from Africa — but this was not cruelty offsetting a colonial benevolence, for in this debate, the first consideration had been the business of making money, the second consideration had been the business of making money, and the third consideration had been the business of making money.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

12. Although the sentences in question are confidently asserted to have been authored by [Jefferson](#), and confidently asserted to have been stricken from the draft by others, I know of no evidence to support any such speculation.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1758

December 7, Thursday: Joseph or Jofeph Tillinghast or Tillinghaft the son of the deceased Elisha or Elifha Tillinghast or Tillinghaft (we note immediately that at this point in time the English were very much in the process of giving up the long *ſ* written as an *ʃ* without a cross-stroke) acting to fulfil the oft-expressed desire of his merchant father –that if he should die before his personal servant Primas or Primus or primus Tillinghast, the “Negro Man Slave” should serve no other man– and acting “also in Confideration of the sum of One Hundred and Sixty Six pounds in money of the Colony aforesaid to me in hand already paid by the said Primus Tillinghast,” did “Manumit Set free let go discharge and acquit him the said Primus Tillinghast from all manner of Slavery bondage Duty and Servitude whatsoever.” The record appears in the title transactions of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) for February 13, 1760 on page 38 of Volume 17:

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

To all People to whom these Presents shall come I Joseph Tillinghast of Providence in the County of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island Gentle-
 =man Son And Heir at Law to Elisha Tillinghast late of said Providence merchant
 Deceased and also one of the Administrators of the Good Debts Rights ^{and} Credits of the
 Said Elisha Tillinghast who Died Intestate send Greeting. Whereas Primus
 commonly called Primus Tillinghast a Negro Man Slave Late the property of my
 Said Father Elisha Tillinghast, by his Fidelity and Long Continuance in the Service
 of my said Father and also by his Dutifull and Good Behaviour to him and all his
 Family so far [sic] procured to himself the Good Liking Love and Esteem of my said-
 Father that he oftentimes in a publick manner in his Life Time Declared That
 he Did not intend that his said man Servant primus [sic] Should ever Serve any
 Other person besides himself and that if he my said Father Should die first then
 the Said Primus should go Free, or other Words Importing the same Thing -
 Now Know ye that I the said Joseph Tillinghast minding and desiring that
 the Intention of my said Father in this Behalf should be truly observed performed [sic]
 And fulfilled and also in Consideration of the sum of One Hundred and Sixty Six
 pounds in money of the Colony aforesaid to me in hand already paid by the said
 Primus Tillinghast Do as Administrator as aforesaid and for my Self my
 Heirs Executors and Administrators Manumit Set free let go discharge and
 acquit him the said Primus Tillinghast from all manner of Slavery bondage
 Duty and Servitude whatsoever and that he the Said Primus Tillinghast shall
 be and Remain a Free man and absolutely acquitted exonerated and Discharged-
 of and from all and ^{all} manner of Slavery Bondage Duty and Servitude whatsoever,
 forever hereafter unto me the said Joseph Tillinghast my Heirs Executors and Admini-
 strators and unto every other Person or person whatsoever and as much as in
 [me in margin] Lieth Granting Unto the Said Primus Tillinghast that he shall be entitled
 unto and have and enjoy all such Priviledges Immunities Freedoms and -
 Advantages to all Intents and purposes in the same manner as if he had been
 born Free. In Witnes whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this
 Seventh Day of December in the Thirty Second Year of the Reign of [his]
 [the] his Majesty George the Second by the Grace of God King of Great Britain
 And so forth and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and
 Fifty eight.
 Signed Sealed and Delivered
 in presence of
 Sam: Chace Young
 Archibald Young } Joseph Tillinghast (L.S.)
 The above Signer acknowledged the above
 Instrument at the Time of Signing to be his
 own Voluntary act and Deed ~ ~ ~ ~
 Before me Sam: Chace Jus. Peace.
 Recorded ye 13th Day of February 1760th James Angell Clerke-



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Providence, Rhode Island Records of Title Transfer Involving Non-White Persons

Date	Vol	Page	Party #1	Type	Party #2
December 7, 1758	17	38	Joseph Tillinghast	Man.	Primus Tillinghast
August 7, 1762	14	512	Greenwich Navy	Man.	Nimbo (Wench) [Membo, Mimbo]
January 11, 1770	19	181	Benjamin Cushing	Man.	Caesar [Cefar]
October 14, 1774	19	262	Joseph Crawford	Man.	Five Negroes
October 14, 1774	19	263	Joseph Crawford	Ind.	Anthony
October 14, 1774	19	265	Joseph Crawford and wife et al	Ind.	Manuel
October 14, 1774	19	265	Joseph Crawford	Ind.	Patience
October 14, 1774	19	266	Joseph Crawford	Ind.	Primus
October 14, 1774	19	266	Joseph Crawford	Ind.	Peggy
December 15, 1774	19	315	Caleb Greene	Man.	Peter and Venter
October 16, 1775	19	310	Executor Benoni Pearce of will of James Brown	Man.	Pero
January 1, 1776	19	277	Nicholas Cook	Man.	Mingo
October 18, 1776	19	317	Gideon Manchester	Man.	Colette
January 7, 1777	19	309	Executor of will of Jeremiah Brown	Man.	Anthony (Negro)
December 12, 1777	19	339	Samuel Butler	Man.	Quaco
March 14, 1778	19	329	Benjamin Cushing	Man.	Prime
May 28, 1778	19	315	Joshua Hacker	Man.	Andrew Hacker
December 2, 1779	19	333	Juba	Man.	From two Privateers
March 31, 1781	19	340	Nicholas Power, et al	Sale	Caesar Power
April 2, 1781	19	345	Joseph Bucklin sold London to Elkana & Moses Wilmarth, for him to perform their military obligation	Sale	London Bucklin
April 16, 1781	19	340	Nicholas Power	Man.	Prince Power
May 16, 1781	19	341	Efek Hopkins sold Peggy to Flora Wanton, her own mother, for \$100.00	Sale	Peggy Hopkins
May 29, 1781	19	342	Mary Crouch	Man.	Peter Crouch
January 24, 1782	22	43	Mary Chickley [Cheekly, Cheekley]	Man.	Cato
September 18, 1782	19	378	Ezekiel Durfee [Durfey]	Sale	Arthur Tickey [Tikey]
November 7, 1783	19	542	Richard Mumford	Man.	Cato Mumford



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Providence, Rhode Island Records of Title Transfer Involving Non-White Persons

Date	Vol	Page	Party #1	Type	Party #2
April 15, 1784	19	449	Amaziah Waterman	Man.	His Negroes
May 25, 1784	19	447	Joseph McClellan	Man.	Plato McClellan
October 13, 1784	22	43	Mary Stiles	Man.	Caesar [Cato]
December 18, 1784	19	492	Jabez Bowen	Man.	Prince Bowen
April 20, 1785	19	516	William Morris	Man.	Catherine
March 13, 1786	22	109	Jonathan Arnold	Man.	Lilly (Wench)
May 11, 1786	22	35-36	Ruth Hopkins	Man.	Tony Hopkins
May 26, 1786	22	48	Benjamin Cushing	Man.	Prime Cushing
July 14, 1790	22	290	John I. Clark, et al	Man.	Quam
February 15, 1792	25	144	Isaiah Burr	Sale	Baccheus Overing
May 3, 1799	27	4	Five heirs of Joseph Brown	Man.	Power of Attorney for Obadiah Brown to free Phillis Brown
May 6, 1799	27	5	the five heirs of Joseph Brown	Man.	Phillis Brown
August 22, 1808	30	432	Jabez Bowen Jr. and N. Brown	Man.	Robert, (Negro boy)
July 22, 1820	42	604	Mary T. Olney	Man.	Lewis Olney
May 4, 1829	57	148	Jacob Wood	Man.	Hetty [Smith]
April 28, 1832	63	183	Mann Page Lomax	Man.	William Howard
April 28, 1832	70A	331	Mann Page Lomax	Man.	Daniel Rollins
April 28, 1832	70A	332	Mann Page Lomax	Man.	Maria Rollins
April 28, 1832	63	274	Mann Page Lomax	Man.	Kitty Howard
April 28, 1832	63	274	Mann Page Lomax	Man.	Martha Howard
December 2, 1837	70A	436	George Collins	Man.	Jesse Kimball



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1759

January 17, Wednesday: On [Cuttyhunk Island](#) near the commercial port of [New Bedford](#), [Paul Cuffe](#) was born to a father, Kofi Slocum, who had formerly been a slave to an American family, the Slocums, but who had been allowed by his benevolent [Quaker](#) slavemaster to purchase his own [manumission](#) — and to a mother who was Pequot.

The family, although not accepted as Friends did live following Quaker values. Sometime in his youth, Cuffe received about two weeks of formal education, which led him to a basic knowledge of reading and writing.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1762

August 7, Saturday: A “free Negroe” and “Labourer” in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) named Greenwich Navy, having purchased a “Negroe whoman” named Membo or Mimbo, “a wench,” from Joseph Tellinghast the son, heir, and one of the administrators of the estate of the deceased Providence merchant William Tellinghast,¹³ “for Sundry Good Causes and Considerations me hereunto moving,” duly granted this “wench” her freedom.¹⁴ On January 15, 1766 this transaction would be duly recorded on page 512, the final page, in fact the flyleaf, of Volume 14 of the title transactions of the town. Since this record is severely out of its date sequence in books that were kept in date sequence, clearly it was written onto the blank last leaf of this completed 14th volume in order not to waste any space in Volume 17, the volume then current. Clearly, this transaction was considered at least by the clerk of the town, James Angell, to be more a ceremonial than a real property transaction (we notice that he even blotted a word he had begun to misspell), and clearly, the reason for such improper treatment was racial condescension. —However, out-of-sequence recording does award the record the honor of being the very 1st such “manumitt” now to be discovered in turning the pages of the transactions of this town:

13. No record of such a sale appears on [Providence](#)’s books. The heir and administrator Joseph Tellinghast may or may not have acted in good faith — perhaps eventually we will locate such a transaction entered in the records of some other town? Things all seems to have worked out for the Navys, for when later on page 22 of Volume 20 “I Greenwich Navy ... Free Negro man” sells a plot with a small shop on it to James Brown, there is at the bottom of said document a signed release by which “And Membo Navy wife of the faid Greenwich Navy doth also release requit and Surrender,” etc.

14. According to Mary Beth Corrigan’s “It’s a Family Affair” in *WORKING TOWARD FREEDOM* (ed. Larry Hudson, 1994), generally, when free blacks in the Upper South owned black slaves, this was for “philanthropic reasons” — i.e., as a step toward providing freedom to kin. During the 1850s, approximately 10% of the slaves who had been freed by manumissions in deeds (in contrast to manumission in wills) had been freed by a member of their own family who had purchased their enslaved kin in order to free them. Of the 900 or so former slavemasters who would petition for compensation upon the manumission of their Washington DC slaves by the US Congress, approximately 888 would be white slavemasters and 12 would be free blacks slavemasters. All but one of these black slavemasters, however, merely “owned” members of their families — usually these were adult males who “owned” wives or children. Note that the black slavemasters who had to that point retained ownership of family members could have been simply unable to afford the rather steep fees of \$50 for a certificate of freedom.

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

*Know all Men by these Presents that I Greenwich Navy a free-
Negroe of Providence in y^e County of Providence and Colony of-
Rhode Island Labourer for and in Consideration of the Good Will and
affection which I have and do bear Towards Membo [blank space]
a Negroe whoman, which I Purchased of the Administrators of the
Estate of William Tellinghast Deceased and for Sundry Good
Causes and Considerations me ^{hereunto} moving, Do by These Presents-
Manumitt the said Negroe Woman, and absolutely free and discharge
her from all manner of Slavery, Bondage or Servitude whatsoever
hereby Publishing and Declaring to all whom it may Concerne [sic]
that the said Mimbo [blank space] by virtue of this Instrument of
Manumission is become a free Subject of his Majesty and-
by all Persons so to be Esteamed[sic] and Taken[blotted "hera"?] hereafter-
. In Witneß whereof I do hereunto Set my Hand and Seal-
the Seventh Day of August in the Second Year of his majesty
Reign George the Third King of Great Britain ^{Y^e} AD 1762
Signed Sealed and Delivered
In the Presence of
Joseph Arnold
Jonathan Hill
} Greenwich Navy ((Seal))
Recorded January 15.th 1766-
By James Angell Clerke*

[MANUMISSION](#)[SLAVERY](#)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1764

Sam Adams, when offered a slave woman to tend his sick wife, insisted that she had to be manumitted before he would allow her to enter his home.



There are some things

up with which I will not put.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1766

April: In [New Jersey](#), James Anderson and his wife Ann Anderson [manumitted](#) Jane, a “Girl Born of the body of a Negroe Woman but supposed to be begotten by a White man which said Girl according to the Custom of the Land is held in [Slavery](#) and bondage.” James Anderson was one of the earliest and staunchest followers of the local religious leader [Joseph Nichols](#), who was antislavery, so it is possible that the manumission was due to his influence. Since this happened a couple of months before the arrival of [Friend John Woolman](#), it cannot be said to have been the result of his Quaker antislavery influence.

May 24, Saturday: In [New Jersey](#), Paris Chipman and Margaret Chipman [manumitted](#) Thomas, a Negro boy. The Chipmans, like the Andersons, were followers of the local religious leader [Joseph Nichols](#), who was antislavery, so it is possible that the manumission of a [slave](#) was due to his influence. Since this happened prior to the arrival of [Friend John Woolman](#), it cannot be said to have been the result of his Quaker antislavery influence.

June: [Friend John Woolman](#) began his 1st walking tour through Delaware and the Eastern Shore of [Maryland](#). His testimonies seem to have had some impact on [Joseph Nichols](#) and the [Nicholites](#) in the middle region of the Delmarva Peninsula, for shortly after his visit the people of this group, almost as a group, would not only [manumit](#) their slaves, but would adopt Woolman’s style of undyed clothing (notice that this was happening among the “Nicholites” significantly **before** the Quakers of this region would begin to embrace the testimony of Friend John in regard to human enslavement). In addition, the group would like Friend John come to embrace “a very strong peace testimony.” The Nicholites would reject any “hireling ministry” or “man-made ministry” and dissent from the Maryland “priests’ tax” of that period. They would adopt a marriage ceremony similar to that of the Quakers and would sometimes be referred to by others as “New Quakers.”

The [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#) began experiments to explain the rings which appeared on metallic surfaces as a result of electrical discharges, and the oscillatory nature of the discharges from Leyden jars. He began to measure electrical resistance.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1769

The [New Jersey](#) colony's law regulating the [manumission](#) of [slaves](#) was revised in "An Act for laying a Duty on the Purchasers of Slaves imported into this Colony" (New Jersey Archives, Third Series IV:510-512).

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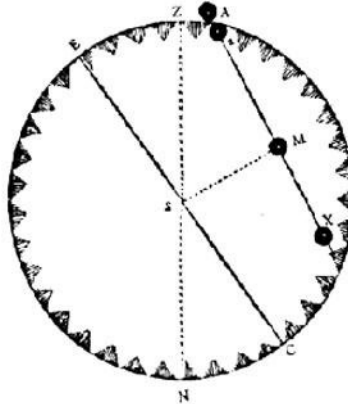
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

June 3, Saturday: In Rhode Island, Joseph Wanton was in charge.¹⁵ From the yard of [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#)'s home



(erected 1701, altered 1743)¹⁶ a group of notables such as [Benjamin West](#) the local “philomath” and Joseph Brown observed the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun.¹⁷



[Benjamin West](#) would publish AN ACCOUNT OF THE OBSERVATION OF VENUS UPON THE SUN THE THIRD DAY OF JUNE 1769, and would soon be awarded honorary degrees by both [Harvard College](#) and the [College of Rhode Island](#).

In commemoration, Transit Street and Planet Street in [Providence](#) would receive their names. —On “Transit Street” between Benefit Street (Back Street) and Main Street (Town Street), an observatory of sorts for the event had been constructed.

[ASTRONOMY](#)

15. Wanton’s wig, which had been crafted in England in imitation of the wig of the Speaker of the House of Commons, was so immense that it would have seemed preposterous to perch a hat atop it. He therefore was in the habit of carrying his hat under his left arm while holding in his right hand an umbrella (he was the 1st gentleman in Rhode Island to use an umbrella).

16. This structure has been moved a couple of times and I do not presently have the dates of those removes. Initially it stood on South Main Street, then it was moved to 9 Hopkins Street (which may at that time still have been being called Bank Street), and then it was moved to the corner of Hopkins Street and Benefit Street.

17. Would [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#)’s [slave](#) Toney, whom he was refusing to [manumit](#), have been playing “barista,” and carrying drinks out from the house and respectfully serving these notable gentlemen?

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

THERE will be Five ECLIPSES this Year, 1769.

I. The first of the Sun, January 7th, 9 h. 45m. in the Evening, invisible.

II. The second of the Sun, June 4th, 3 h 43m. in the Morning invisible.

III. The third of the Moon, June 19th in the Morning visible and total as follows.

Beginning	—	—	1	26
Beginning of total Darknes	—	—	2	40
Middle	—	—	3	12
End of total Darknes	—	—	3	42
End of Eclipse	—	—	4	58
Duration of total Darknes	—	—	0	30
Duration of Eclipse	—	—	3	46
Digits Eclipsed	—	—	13	6

IV. The fourth of the Sun, November 28th, at 3h. 5 m in the Morning, invisible.

V. The fifth of the Moon December 13th, visible as follows

Beginning	—	—	0h	7 m
Middle	—	—	1	29
End	—	—	2	51
Duration	—	—	2	44
Digits Eclipsed	—	—	8	33

On the third Day of Junewill happen a most rare Phenomenon, which it is probable not any now living will have another opportunity of beholding, for an accurate observation of which most Civilized Nations have ordered their Astronomers to prepare at the Expence of the Public, some important Principles in Astronomy being thereby to be settled, and which will not happen again till the 8th of December, 1874. This is the passage of Venus over the Disk or Face of the Sun in the Afternoon of said third Day of June 1769, as follows.

Venus will begin to touch the Sun	2h	31m	24sec
Middle of the Transit	—	—	5 48 40
Venus leaves the Sun	—	—	9 5 56
Duration of the Transit	—	—	6 34 32
Latitude of Venus at the Middle	—	—	90 47

On the 9th of November the Planet Mercury will appear like a black Spot on the Sun's Disk.

Beginning	—	2 h	42 m	30 sec P.M.
Middle	—	5	12	30
End	—	7	42	30
Duration	—	5	0	0
Distance of cent. at Middle	—	7	18	



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

The [South Kingstown](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was the first group of [Quakers](#) in [Rhode Island](#) to take the issue of abolitionism in New England to the New England Quarterly Meeting of the Quakers, and then to the New England Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting for 1769 would appoint a committee that, in the following year, would report back a recommendation that Friends [manumit](#) all [slaves](#) owned by them, excepting only the very old and the very young — and the Yearly Meeting for 1770 would act positively upon this recommendation.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1770

In the previous year the [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting had taken the issue of abolitionism in New England to the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), which had appointed a committee to study the matter and report back in the following year. At this year's meeting, the committee recommended that all New England [Quakers manumit](#) all [slaves](#) owned by them, excepting only the very old and the very young. The Yearly Meeting embraced this recommendation.¹⁸

Up in the northern reaches of the [Rhode Island](#) colony, in [Cumberland](#), motherless [Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#), age 18, was very happy that this was happening. She was decidedly opposed to human slavery. However, apparently without as much parental guidance as she needed, she was also being caught up emotionally in the religious re-awakening that was following the visits of the Reverend [George Whitefield](#) to New England. She would be becoming involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) of Ledyard, Connecticut, known also as "Rogerenes." Her attendance at such meetings would lead in August 1776 to her being [disowned](#) by her Quaker meeting, the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) — and then she would in effect transform herself into a New-Age "channeler" for a spirit from the Other World, and create her own religious climate centered around her own person and her own personal whims.¹⁹



18. For the benefit of non-[Quakers](#), I need to point out what this means. It means that there was not one single Friend who was so troubled by this as to stand in its way!



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

January 11, Thursday: Benjamin Cushing of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in consideration of the sum of one Hundred Spanish Milled Dollars cash in his hand, did formally obligate himself to Manumit a [slave](#) he had just acquired, named Cesar, “in such manner as the Law Direct,” so that “said Cefar shall thence Forward be forever free from my Service and be free from me at his own Disposal.” The obligation to manumit upon which Mr. Cushing was entering was conditional on this man well and faithfully continuing as his servant for a full five years, until January 10, 1775. This 1770 record would be belatedly entered on the town’s books as of May 21th [sic], 1773, on pages 181 and 182 of Volume 19:

Providence, January 1th AD 1770 Whereas I Benjamin Cushing of Providence in the County of Providence Esq^r have this Day Purchased of Elizabeth Arnold of Providence aforesd. Administratrix of all and Singular the Goods and Chattles Rights and Credits which were of the Estate of Oliver Arnold late of said Providence Esq^r a certain Negro Man called Cefar. And Whereas the said Cefar hath paid to me the sum of one Hundred Spanish Milled Dollars. Therefore In Consideration of said sum, and Provided that the said Cefar shall well and faithfully as a Servant continue to serve me the said Benjamin Cushing for and during the Term of Five Years next ensuing from the above date. I do hereby Promise that at the end ^{said} Expiration of said Term I will Manumit the said Cefar in such manner as the Law Directs and that the said Cefar shall thence forward

———page break———

*Forward be forever free from my Service and be free from me at his own Disposal—
In Witness whereof I have hereto set my Hand the Day and Year above said—
Witness
Mary Katherine Goddard Benj^e Cushing
Paul Ten [??] Recorded May 21st 1773*

[illegible initial] Dan Marsh D. Clerk

MANUMISSION

We do not have a subsequent record in the books of the town, that said Cefar who had tendered 100 Spanish milled dollars to his new master ever actually became a free man — did this black servant fail in his task of well and faithfully continuing to serve this Mr. Cushing for the entire term of five years?

19. Examples of this sort of religious misconduct have always abounded. There has been, for instance, in our own time, “Judge” J.F. Rutherford of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society who channeled bigtime by receiving the concealed true meanings of Scripture direct from God as the occasion arose, and there has been the bestselling Jane Roberts, a housewife from upstate New York who was channeling “Seth,” and there has been the touring-circuit phenomenon J.Z. Knight who was channeling a Cro-Magnon warrior who identified himself as “Ramtha,” and of course, there has been the indefatigable and terminally enthusiastic Shirley MacLaine. The spiritual entities channeled have been variously assigned inventive names such as Ashtar, Aurora, Bashar, Emmanuel, Jesus, K17, Kuthumi, Lazarus, Lily, Mafu, Mary, Mentor, Merlin, Monka, Phebius, Ra, Ramtha, St. Germaine, Zolar, Zoosh — and in this indicated early instance in a Quaker or Baptist context, “Divine Spirit.” (You know the old one about how many legs a dog has, if you call its tail a leg, the answer being four and the reason being that calling a tale a leg doesn’t make it a leg? Well, in this context, calling self-privileging by the name “Divine Spirit,” in very much the same manner, doesn’t evade the sin of self-privileging.)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

February: The town and county of Warren having subscribed a total of £4,200 toward the erection of a college building, the [Rhode Island](#) College Corporation settled on [Providence](#), rather than upon [Warren](#) or [Newport](#), as the permanent home of their [Baptist](#) institution of higher education, and during the course of this year the building now known as University Hall would be erected by the contractor, [Nicholas Brown](#) & Company, in part by the use of slave labor. The pastor of the First Baptist Church of Providence desired to retire from the duties of his office, and that church invited President Manning to preach provisionally for them. Therefore the Reverend [James Manning](#) relocated from Warren to preach provisionally at Providence's 1st [Baptist](#) Church as well as



to continue to lead his Latin School. (During this year the Reverend was [manumitting](#) his only black [slave](#). His Warren Latin School, which would soon eventuate as the Providence “University Grammar-School,” and is now known as [Brown University](#), now admits black Americans as students: as I write this, a case is pending in regard to three white male students, accused of manhandling a black female student in front of a dorm while informing her that “You’re just a quota.” The black female student had, it would appear, attracted their ire because allegedly she had neglected to hold the door open for another student who was entering the dorm — these three white male students having decided, it would seem, upon an “open door” policy all of their own.)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

April 16, Monday: This is the date on the land deed for the plot on which Concord's Old Manse stands: Monument Street, Concord, Massachusetts, 01742, USA, phone (508) 369 3909. There may have already been a house on this land and this house may have been expanded to form the wood frame two-story gambrel center-entrance twin-chimney Colonial structure that was once known as the "Old Ripley Mansion," which we now know courtesy of Nathaniel Hawthorne as the "Old Manse" ("Manse" is a name possibly of Scottish origin, for the residence of the minister of a church). At this early time there was a large barn with associated farmland across the road, which land was being worked by three or more black [slaves](#) of the family. Two, named Caesar and Peter, possibly [manumitted](#) and possibly not, would live across the road for years.



At this time the predecessor to the Old Manse structure was the only structure in Concord to sport two chimneys.

The household of the Old Manse originally included not only the Reverend and Madam Emerson, but also their [indentured](#) servant, Ruth Hunt, their black slave Frank, and frequently Phebe's mother's black slave Phillis. The descendants would remember Grandmother Phebe as a "real lady" who "sat in her chair and from it ruled the home."

PHEBE BLISS EMERSON RIPLEY



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1771

30th day of 7th month: The meeting for business of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) issued a query:

Are friends clear of Importing, Buying or any way purchasing disposing or holding of Mankind as Slaves, And are all those who have been held in a State of Slavery discharged therefrom.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

MANUMISSION

SLAVERY



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1772

It has been alleged that at some point [John Bartram manumitted](#) his slaves, who ate at table with his 11 children, and put them on salary. We have no indication that if this happened, the action had been ideology-driven, that is, that it was due to any growing distaste for human [slavery](#), or commitment to an ideal of freedom, or religious sentiment on the part of the elder Bartram, or pressure from other [Quakers](#) — this may indeed have been the case but there's an entire absence of evidence. It is within the bounds of possibility that the manumission described was entirely practical. It is also within the bounds of possibility that this account that has grown up represents a considerable exaggeration. What William Bartram would write about his father was simply that "he gave liberty to a most valuable male slave, then in the prime of his life, who had been bred up in the family almost from his infancy." One event, one person. Various members of the Bartram family in fact bought and sold slaves up to within three years of the point at which the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends began to censure members who continued to own slaves.

What Friend John Fothergill had in mind, in his patronage of [William Bartram](#), was a two-or-three-year expedition for the collection of rare plant specimens and their seeds, more or less a replay of what William's father [John Bartram](#) had accomplished on behalf of Friend [Peter Collinson](#), deceased, before advancing age had deprived him of his eyesight. He wanted "plants remarkable for their beauty, fragrance, singularity of appearance or known usefulness." He really wouldn't get this from the son at all. He wouldn't get one cutting, he wouldn't receive as much as one seed. All he would get was drawings, and travel accounts not remarkable for their accuracy, and over a greater period of years than he had bargained for. Well, but his patronage wouldn't cost him very much, either. In one of the years of Bartram's TRAVELS, for instance, his position as patron would cost him a mere £12.

BOTANIZING

The following account of a couple of stories that [Peter Cook](#) of Germantown ("Mr. Peter Cock, a merchant") had passed along in 1748 to travelling naturalist [Peter Kalm](#) is from Volume 14 of [THE ANNUAL REGISTER, OR A VIEW OF THE HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1771](#), edited by Edmund Burke and printed in London for J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall (one of these stories would wind up in [Henry Thoreau's CAPE COD](#)):

An Account of some Vestiges of Cultivation and Antiquity, which the French met with, in their Attempt to trace out the Passage by land from Canada to the South Sea; from Professor Kalm.... Remarkable Prognostic of a Hurricane in the West Indies; from the same.

Mr. Cock told me one day, and on some other occasions afterward, an accident which happened to him, and which seemed greatly to confirm a peculiar sign of an imminent hurricane. He failed to the West Indies in a small yacht, and had an old man on board, who had for a considerable time failed in this sea. The old man founding the depth, called to the mate to tell Mr. Cock to launch the boats immediately, and to put a sufficient number of men into them, in order to tow the yacht during the calm, that they might reach the island before them, as soon as possible, as within twenty-four hours there would be a strong hurricane. Mr.



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Cock asked him what reasons he had to think so? the old man replied, that on founding, he saw the lead in the water at a distance of many fathoms more than he had seen it before; that therefore the water was become clear all of a sudden, which he looked upon as a certain sign of an impending hurricane in the sea. Mr. Cock likewise saw the excessive clearness of the water. He therefore gave immediate orders for launching the boat, and towing the yacht, so that they arrived before night in a safe harbour. But before they had quite reached it the waves began to rise more and more, and the water was as it were boiling, though no wind was perceptible. In the ensuing night the hurricane came on, and raged with such violence, that not only many ships were lost, and the roofs were torn off from the houses, but even Mr. Cock's yacht and other ships, though they were in safe harbours, were by the wind, and the violence of the sea, washed so far on shore, that several weeks elapsed, before they could be got off....

The following curious Particulars in Natural History, are taken from Professor Kalm's Travels in North America....

Mr. Peter Cock, a merchant of this town, assured me that he lately had himself been a spectator of a [black] snake's swallowing a little bird [Catbird *Muscicapa Carolinensis*)....



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CAPE COD: It is generally supposed that they who have long been conversant with the Ocean can foretell, by certain indications, such as its roar and the notes of sea-fowl, when it will change from calm to storm; but probably no such ancient mariner as we dream of exists; they know no more, at least, than the older sailors do about this voyage of life on which we are all embarked. Nevertheless, we love to hear the sayings of old sailors, and their accounts of natural phenomena, which totally ignore, and are ignored by, science; and possibly they have not always looked over the gunwale so long in vain. Kalm repeats a story which was told him in Philadelphia by a Mr. Cock, who was one day sailing to the West Indies in a small yacht, with an old man on board who was well acquainted with those seas. "The old man sounding the depth, called to the mate to tell Mr. Cock to launch the boats immediately, and to put a sufficient number of men into them, in order to tow the yacht during the calm, that they might reach the island before them as soon as possible, as within twenty-four hours there would be a strong hurricane. Mr. Cock asked him what reasons he had to think so; the old man replied, that on sounding, he saw the lead in the water at a distance of many fathoms more than he had seen it before; that therefore the water was become clear all of a sudden, which he looked upon as a certain sign of an impending hurricane in the sea." The sequel of the story is, that by good fortune, and by dint of rowing, they managed to gain a safe harbor before the hurricane had reached its height; but it finally raged with so much violence, that not only many ships were lost and houses unroofed, but even their own vessel in harbor was washed so far on shore that several weeks elapsed before it could be got off.

PEOPLE OF
CAPE COD

PETER KALM
"A MR. COCK"



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June 22, Monday: With Westminster Hall full of kibitzers for an important trial, the gallery was crammed with anxious black Britons. James Somerset, one of the some 10,000 black slaves in Britain, has escaped and been apprehended. After some hesitation, the Lord Chief Justice of England, William Murray, Baron Mansfield, ruled that “as soon as any [slave](#) sets foot in England he becomes free.” The justice declared the institution of slavery to be so “odious” that it could have no basis in the common law or in its precedents, but could be rendered legal only were it made so by the “positive law of England,” that is, by specific legislative act.²⁰ At the conclusion of the trial, Lord Mansfield declared that “the Man must be discharged.” **[Relevant materials from Gerzina, Gretchen. BLACK LONDON: LIFE BEFORE EMANCIPATION. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers UP, 1995, pages 131-4 are extracted on the following screen.]**²¹

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: “I was a slave,” said the counsel of Somerset, speaking for his client, “for I was in America: I am now in a country, where the common rights of mankind are known and regarded.”

EMANCIPATION

September: The [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), of which former [Rhode Island](#) Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) was at least nominally a member (as, for instance, President Richard Milhouse Nixon was at least nominally a birthright member of the Friends Church in Whittier, California—since his mother had been a member at the time of his birth—despite the fact that he had nothing whatever to do with Quakers and in fact refused to visit with committees coming to Washington DC to plead with him about such topics as the bombing of Cambodia), took [Friend](#) Stephen under dealing for his refusal to [manumit](#) his black personal manservant and [slaves](#) Toney.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

20. In England as in America, the condition of slavery was a common-law reality, a phenomenon of local practice and local perception, rather than ever having been awarded any sort of legislated status, so to annul its common law basis was to remove every shred of legitimacy.

21. In England as in America, the condition of slavery was a common-law reality, a phenomenon of local practice and local perception, rather than ever having been awarded any sort of legislated status, and therefore to annul the common law basis for such praxis would effectually remove every shred of legitimacy. Therefore it has been offered in numerous supposedly scholarly publications that what happened on this date was that the Lord Chief Justice of England declared the institution of slavery to be so “odious” that it could have no basis in the common law or in its precedents, but could be rendered legal only were it made so by the “positive law of England,” that is, by specific legislative act. In fact the Earl of Mansfield would spend the remainder of his life expressing that he had done **no such general thing**. He had, he said, decided only one case — and on its own peculiar merits.



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All over Britain and America, slaves, abolitionists, lawyers and judges cited the Somerset case as ending slavery in Britain, a precedent which many saw as applying to America as well: slaves who crossed into free states with their masters, even temporarily, tested the legality of slavery. Despite Mansfield's many pains to reassert the deliberate narrowness of his decision, he seemed powerless to stem the tide of misinterpretation, demonstrating "a legal world where things are not as they seem, a world of deceptive appearances and unforeseen consequences." ... Despite the decision, slaves were still sold and sent out of the country for years afterward, often quite openly.... In the end it didn't really matter what Lord Mansfield had said, or what actually happened to James Somerset. The case became legend and to this day is still erroneously referred to as ending slavery in England. As long as everyone believed that slaves were free, it served as de facto freedom. John Riddell of Bristol wrote to Charles Stewart on 10 July 1772, that one of his servants had run off after the decision.

He told the servants that he had rec'd a letter from his Uncle Sommerset acquainting him that Lord Mansfield had given them their freedom & he was determined to leave me as soon as I returned from London which he did without even speaking to me. I didn't find that he had gone off with anything of mine. Only carried off all his own cloths [sic] which I don't know whether he had any right so to do. I believe I shall not give my self any trouble to look after the ungrateful villain.

In only three weeks the Somerset case had passed from the legal to the apocryphal. All over England, and sometimes in America, the "nephews" of James Somerset left their masters and struck out on their own.... The timing of the Somerset case affected both countries in ways that Sharp probably never anticipated. While he and others were fighting to resolve the issue of freedom for British slaves, the American colonists adopted similar rhetoric to agitate for white colonists' freedom from England. The hypocrisy of whites proclaiming themselves "enslaved" by the British government and declaring a few years later the "self-evident" truth "that all men were created equal" was lost on neither American nor British slaves. In Boston and elsewhere the Declaration of Independence in 1776 sparked a series of petitions, leaflets and newspaper announcements from free and enslaved blacks challenging those white who demanded either liberty or death to free the real slaves. One fifth of the colonial population was black and the colonists, with some reason, began to fear a racial insurrection parallel to their own political one.



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1773

March: [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), a former governor of [Rhode Island](#), instead of [manumitting](#) his [slave](#) Toney, was still pleading special circumstances after six months of being dealt with. On account of this impasse, in this month the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) decided that they needed at this point to take action. If he continued to resist, then the clerk, Friend Moses Farnum, and an associate, were to draw up a “Paper of Denial” that would notify Rhode Islanders that the governor was no longer in unity with his Quaker associates.



QUAKER DISOWNMENT

This all seems strange to us now. What was going on back then? The Smithfield, Rhode Island Quakers had not disowned Hopkins when time after time he had compromised their testimony against swearing by taking an oath of office as Governor. The Smithfield Friends had not disowned Hopkins when he had compromised the Quaker Peace Testimony by directing the Rhode Island war effort in the Great War for the Empire, nor for seeking a defensive union of the English North American colonies. At this late date allofasudden they are acting against him but they are taking their own sweet time about it, taking him under dealing in September 1772 and taking half a year to reach a decision to disown him — and they wouldn’t get around to making it public knowledge that he was being disowned for another five months, in October 1773!

Now, Quakers are notoriously slow to be sure, but this is ridiculous — what was going on? Perhaps we may take some sort of clue from the fact that a published work of Quaker history (real trees killed to make real paper) has alleged that he was being disciplined “for refusing to free a slave woman who had small children. Hopkins insisted on retaining ownership until her children no longer needed her care.”²² **Can you smell whitewash? Who was this slave woman and who were her small children? —They appear exactly nowhere in our historical record. Hopkins’s black manservant, whom he would not free, was named Toney Hopkins. When Stephen Hopkins died more than a decade later on July 13, 1785, this Toney was not yet in possession of his manumission document!**

May: The [Rhode Island](#) Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) proposed to the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) that slaveholding be forbidden to any Quaker — and the same pointed query was issued by that larger group:

Are friends clear of Importing, Buying or any way purchasing disposing or holding of Mankind as Slaves, And are all those who



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have been held in a State of Slavery discharged therefrom.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

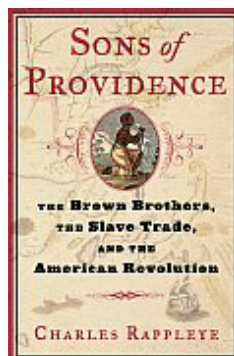
EMANCIPATION

SLAVERY

27th day 9th month, 13th year of the Reign over England of King George the Third: Friend Jeremiah Browning of Charleston, [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) unconditionally [manumitted](#) his black [slave](#) "Richard."

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

22. Charles Rappleye, in his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 142), quotes the phrase "still refuses to set her at liberty tho often requested." I wonder if he has actually looked at these holographic minutes at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island, for I am unable myself in them to make out this word he has alleged, "her." I find there to be nothing whatever in the record to suggest that the slave in question was female.





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1st day 11th month, 14th year of the Reign over England of King George the Third: Friend John Knowles of the [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) manumitted his Negrow Woman named Phillis and her two children the One named [Ceafar? Casper?] the other Judith. The [enslaved](#) mother became immediately and unconditionally free while the two children were to be bound to be apprenticed until they reached proper age.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786



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November 4, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Mary Brown](#), sister-in-law of prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#) who had also converted from the [Baptist](#) Church, convinced that “the holding of Negros in slavery however kindly used by their masters and mistresses has a tendency to encourage the iniquitous practice of importing them from their native country, and is contrary to that justice, mercy and humanity required of every christian,” made out for her [slave](#) Eve, with Eve’s child also bearing the name Eve, “being all I am possessed off of that Nation and Colour,” a [manumission](#) document:

*Whereas I am sensible the Holding of Negroes in Slavery However Kindly
Used by their Masters and Mistresses has a Tendency to Encourage the Iniquitous
Practice of Importing them from their Native Country and Is contrary to that -
Justice Mercy and Humility Required of Every Christian I do by these -
Manumit and Set free from my self my Heirs Eve an Negro Woman -
With her Child Eve being all I am Possessed off of that Nation and Colour and
[“ordain” has been written between the lines, in pencil]
from a Sense of duty for her Long and faithful Service I hereby Oran Direct
and Injoin Upon My Heirs to treat her Kindly and on all Occasions Assist and
Support her with the Needful Comforts of this Life Trusting in her Continued
Endeavours for Her Support in Honnest Labour as far as [“Labour” marked out] age and Circumstan^{ces}
Will admit And in Respect to the young Child born in My family I desire and
Direct she may be bro^t up and Educated Suitably for her future Maintainance
and due Improvement of the dvantage [sic] of a sober and Religious Education In
Witness Whereof Therunto Subscribe my Name and Affix my Seal this -
[“This” marked out] fourth [sic] day of the Eleventh Month AD 1773
In presence of W^m Barker
Moses Brown
Mary Brown [LL]
Recorded Nov^r 16. 1773 By J. Angell Clerk*

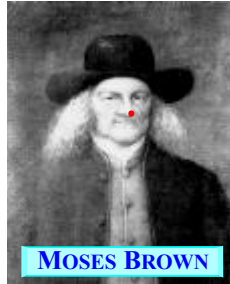
(Refer to Moses Brown Papers, Msc. MSS, B-814, Box 2.)



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November 10, Wednesday: Prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), owner or part owner of ten human beings other than himself (Moses Brown Papers, II, 18), stricken with grief at the premature death of his wife (his 1st cousin Anna Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, who had died on February 5th), on his way to becoming a [Quaker](#), made out a [manumission](#) document for his [slaves](#) awarding them the use of one acre each of his 200-acre farm



“Elmgrove” on the back side of Prospect Hill for their sustenance (Bonno, about 34 years of age, Ceafer, 32 years of age, Cudge,²³ 27 years of age and born in [Rhode Island](#), Prime, about 25 years of age, Pegg, 20 years of age and born in [Providence](#), and Pero, about 18 years of age), and also for all slaves in whom he held a part interest (Yarrow, about 40 years of age,²⁴ Tom, about 30 years of age, Newport, about 21 years of age, and Phillis, about 2 years of age, who had been born in his family):

23. A grandson of Cudge, [William J. Brown](#), would describe [Moses Brown](#) as a person who “considered himself a Christian man,” choosing that description over the simpler “Christian man” or the more specific “Quaker.” Why would he write in such manner, in regard to this benevolent rich white man who had freed his grandfather? William would point out that Moses had come to believe that Cudge had paid for himself by his satisfactory labor and that it would therefore be improper to hold him any longer in slavery, despite the fact that Cudge was “his property.” Professor Joanne Pope Melish’s explanation of this would rely upon the concept of compensated emancipation: “Like most antislavery advocates of his time, Moses Brown believed that slavery was sinful but could not conceive of slaves as having rights to freedom that superseded the property rights of their owners. Moses Brown freed his slaves in an act of compensated emancipation — after the labor of his slaves had ‘paid off’ their purchase price.”

24. Yarrow had been owned jointly by the Brown brothers, who worked him at their spermaceti candle works in today’s Fox Point. Moses released his quarter share but [John Brown](#) of course refused to reciprocate. From his deathbed Yarrow would have the last word: “Tell him to come and take his quarter or I shall soon be free.”

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Whereas I am clearly convinced that the Bying and Selling of Men of what Colour Soever as Slaves is Contrary to the Divine Mind manifest in the Conscience of all Men, however some may smother and neglect its Reproovings, and being also made Sensible that the Holding Negroes in Slavery, however Kindly Treated by their Masters has a Great Tendency to Incurrage the Iniquitous Traffick and Practice of Importing them from their Native Country, and is contrary to that Justice, Mercy and Humility Injoind as the duty of every Christian. I DO therefore by these presents for my Self my Heirs &c. Manumit and set Free the following Negroes being all I am Possesed of or am any ways Interested in Viz. Bonno an African aged about 34: years Caesar aged 32. years. Cudge aged 27. years Born in this Colony. Prime an african aged about 25. years. Perc an African aged about 18. years. Pegg Born in this Town aged 20: years. And One Quarter being the part I own of the three Following africans viz- Yarrow aged about 40: years. Tom aged about 30: years. and Newport- aged about 21: years- And a Child Phillis aged about Two years born in my Family, she having the same Natural Right. I hereby give her the same power as my own Children to Take and Use her Freedom Injoining upon my Heirs a careful watch over her for her Good, and that thay in case I be taken hence, give her Suitable Education, or if she be bound out t[hat] they take care in that and other respects as much as to White Children hereby exprestly prohibiting my Self and my Heirs from Assuming any further power over, or property in her- And as all prudent men Lay up in Times of helth and Strength so much of their Honnest Earnings as is over and abov[e] their needful expences for Cloathing &c, so it is my direction and advice to you that you deposit in my Hands such a part of your Wages as is not from time to Time Wanted, taking my Receipt therefor, to put to- Interest and to apply it for your Support when through Sickneß or, otherwise you may be unable to Support your Selves, or to be applyd to the Use of your Children (if Free) and if not to the purchasing their Freedom and if not wanted for these Uses to be Given in your Wills to such persons or for Such Uses as you may think proper. And for your Incouragement to such Sober Prudence and Industry. I hereby Give to the First Six named (the other three having Good Trades) the use of [one] acre o[f] land as marked off on my Farm as long as you Imp[rove] It To Good purpose. I now no Longer consider you as Slaves nor my Self



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as your *Master*. but your *Friend*, and so *Long* as you behave well may you expect my further *Countenance* support and *Assistance*. And as you will consider this as an *Instrument* of extending your *Liberty*, so I hope you will always *Remember* and *Practice* this my earnest desire and advice that accompnys it, that you use not the *Liberty* hereby granted you, to *Licenciousness*, nor take occasion or opportunity thereby to go into or practice the *Lusts* of the *Flesh*, the *Lusts* of the *Eye*, or pride on any *Occasion* or *Temptation*, but be more cautious than heretofore, and with *Love* serve one another, and all *Men*, not only to please *Men*, but as *Fearing* and *Reverencing* that *Holy God* who *Sees* all the *Secrit Actions* of *Men*. And receive your *Liberty* with a *Humble sence* of its being a *Favor* from the *Great King* of *Heaven* and *Earth*, who through his *Light* that *Shines* upon the *Consciences* of all *Men*. *Black* as well as *White*, and thereby sheweth us what is *Good*, and that the *Lords* requireings of each of us to do *Justice*, to-*Love* *Mercy* and to *Walk Humbly* with our *God*. To the *Cause* of this my *Duty* to you, be therefore *Watchful* and *Attentive* to that *Divine Teaching* in your own *Minds*, that convinces you of *Sin*, and as you *Dutifully* *Obay* its enlightnings and *Teachings* it will not only cause you to avoid *Open Profaneness* and *Wickedness*, as *Stealing*, *Lying*, *Swearing*, *Drinking* *Lusting after Woman*, *Frolicking* and the *Like Sinful Courses*, but will *Teach* you and *Lead* you into all that is *Necessary* for you to *Know*, as your *Duty* to the *Great Master* of all *Men*, for he has said respecting *Mankind* -- *Universally*, I will put my *Law* into their *Inward parts*, and *Write* it in their *Hearts* and they shall all *Know* me from the *Least* to the *Greatest*, & therefore you cant plead *Ignorance* that you dont know your *Duty* to the *God* that made you. because you cant all read his *Mind* and *Will* in the *Scriptures*, which is indeed a great *Favor* and *Blessing* to them that can. *Understand* and *Obay*: But there is a *Book* within you that is not confined to the *English* or any *Language*, and as you *silently* and *Reverently* wait for its *openings* and *Instructions* it will *Teach* you and you will be enabled to *understand* its *Language*, and as you are *carefull* to be *Obedient* thereto and *Often Silently* read it, you will be able to *Speak* its *Language* -- with *African* as well as *English Tongues* to your poor *Fellow Countrymen* To the *Glory* of him who has *Wrought* your *Deliverance* from *Slavery* To. whose *Gracious* *Care* and *protection* I *Commit* and *Fervently* *Recommend*

Recommend you and bid you *Farewell*

Signed this 10th of the 11th Month: 1773 *Moses Brown*
in presence of

Mary Brown

}

Recorded Nov^r. 12th 1773



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November 12, Friday: Prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), on his way to becoming a [Quaker](#), placed the [manumission](#) deed he had made out on all his [slaves](#), and on all slaves in whom he held a part interest, on file on page 73 in volume 6 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) probate records.

November 16, Tuesday: [Mary Brown](#), sister-in-law of prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), placed the [manumission](#) deed she had made out on her [slaves](#) on file on page 75 of volume 6 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) probate records.

According to Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 107-9):

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION presented members of the Society of Friends with a terrible dilemma: whether to remain faithful to their religious principles as Quakers or to their political principles as Englishmen or Americans. As Quakers they condemned war as morally and spiritually evil; it resulted in hatred and bestiality and could not possible solve anything - good could not come from evil. In Pennsylvania as early as 1756 many Quakers had withdrawn from participation in political affairs because of the government's policy of violence toward the Indians and its involvement in the French and Indian War.²⁵ Although Quakers had become unpopular because of their pacifism they had not been molested. In Rhode Island they had fared pretty much the same.

The approaching conflict with England, however, placed Quakers throughout American in a much more difficult position. Both royal and revolutionary governments began to question the sincerity of Friends' neutrality, and the Quaker elders and ministers began to enforce more strictly the Society's testimony against war. Unlike Friends in the middle colonies, New England Quakers had no great leaders such as the Pembertons to hold the members steady. When the war broke out in New England, Friends there began to grope for leadership and guidance.

For Moses Brown the decision as to what course to follow was not an easy one. Privately he sympathized with the American cause. This was to be expected. He had been deeply involved in agitation against British policy during the preceding decade, and it would have been odd indeed if he had become a Tory. Had he not become a Quaker, he would probably have joined his brothers in their support of the Revolution. His position was therefore a difficult one, and he stated his views on public events carefully. In a long letter to his good friend James Warren, member of the Massachusetts revolutionary Provincial Congress, he tried to define his position: "My religious principles thou art I presume sensible does not admit of my interfering in war, but my love for my country, and sence of our just rights is not thereby abated, and if my poor abilitys could be

25. Thayer, Theodore. *ISRAEL PEMBERTON: KING OF THE QUAKERS* (Philadelphia PA, 1943, pages 18-96, 113-22)



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any way subservient to a happy change of affairs nothing on my part shall be wanting."²⁶

Publicly, Moses was until early 1776 an advocate of compromise and reconciliation. He sounded more like a British sympathizer than a neutral Quaker. In April 1775 he pleaded for "a restoration of all those benevolent and kind offices that hath for more than a century subsisted between this and our mother country."²⁷ In an appearance before the Providence town meeting he endorsed the sentiments of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Dartmouth, who urged an "accomodation of the unhappy differences subsisting between the two countries." At the same meeting he persuaded the council to postpone the erection of an artillery battery until the General Assembly could meet to discuss proposals for reconciliation. At one point in his campaign he traveled to Boston to lay before the Massachusetts military governor, General Gage, more than half a dozen letters from men in Providence and Newport urging peaceful reconciliation.

27d day Monday 12th month, 14th year of the Reign of King George the Third: Friend Stephen Richmond of Exeter, [Rhode Island](#), a [Quaker](#), [manumitted](#) his Negrow Woman commonly called, or known by the name of Pegg. The formerly [enslaved](#) mother became immediately and unconditionally free while her two children were bound to be apprenticed until they had reached a proper age.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

26. May 11, 1775. MOSES BROWN MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Volume II, page 32)

27. Roelker, William Greene. "The Patrol of Narragansett Bay (1774-76)," [Rhode Island History](#) 8 (1949): 45-63



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1774

Friend [John Woolman](#)'s JOURNAL was published. Warner Mifflin of Delaware, convinced by Friend John, became the first of our slavemasters to voluntarily [manumit](#) all his [slaves](#).

Walter Mifflin of Delaware was a true son of liberty. He fired a shot heard round the world.

(The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#), not born yet, would say of Friend John's journal that "The secret of Woolman's purity of style is that his eye was single, and that conscience dictated his words." The Reverend might have said this precise thing of his contemporary [Henry Thoreau](#)'s JOURNAL —had he been privileged to see it— for it is a remark quite as true of our friend Henry as it is of this [Quaker](#) saint. Henry would be faulted in his own day for saying, in effect, that he had no more time for making pencils once he had made some of the best, but of course Friend John had made precisely the same decision in the previous century when his success in the merchandising business had begun to threaten him with what he termed "outward cumbers." When [Waldo Emerson](#) got on Thoreau's case for feeling that no one person had any greater right to the earth's richness than any other, and that therefore really there was no such thing as trespass, Waldo might as well have



Notice the barriers

been criticizing the John Woolman whom he was professing so much to admire, saying of Friend John's JOURNAL that "I find more wisdom in these pages than in any other book written since the days of the Apostles." In Friend John's writings we see that he had been consumed by two great causes, [slavery](#) and poverty — and Thoreau in the following century of course the same. Friend John had said that the solution lay in recognizing the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal values, and the need to shun luxury — and in the following century Thoreau likewise.)

A TESTIMONY of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, NJ; Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held the 29th of Eighth Month, 1774

A TESTIMONY of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the First day of the Eighth Month, in the year of our Lord 1774, concerning our esteemed friend, John Woolman, deceased.

HE was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington and province of West New Jersey, in the Eighth Month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian religion as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him even in his younger years, tending to preserve him from the infection of



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wicked children. But, through the workings of the enemy and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance that was finally succeeded by a "godly sorrow not to be repented of"; and so he became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age; and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father, capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto, dispensing milk to babes and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, in his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to His people." He was a loving husband, a tender father, and was very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction was evident by his visits to them, whom he frequently relieved by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he mentioned, lay almost continually upon him; and he laboured to obtain liberty for those captives both in public and in private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burdens on this oppressed people, but should remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that, if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but, being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence for His interposition and relief, being particularly careful as to himself not to countenance slavery even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own mind and the minds of others redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which, appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well-disposed people. In the latter part of his life, he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible avoided the use of plate, costly furniture, and feasting, thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial which he believed himself called unto; and he was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and though a man of industry, he avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiety after perishable things, being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to



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the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly, for the instruction of poor Friend' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youths among us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them to choose conscientious and pious tutors, saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children"; and that to "labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom led into, frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of the discipline, his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating with those who had done amiss; he visited such in a private way in that plainness which truth dictates, showing great tenderness and Christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly Meeting, in which he was a good example and particularly useful, assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and the neighbouring provinces, with the concurrence of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe he did good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his handwriting the following observation and reflections:

"As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away, so this list may probably revive a like thought in some, when I and the rest of the persons above named are centered in another state of being. The Lord who was the guide of my youth hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; He hath healed my wounds; He hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; He remains to be the strength of my life, to whom I desire to devote myself in time and in eternity.

"John Woolman"



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In the Twelfth Month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he felt his mind drawn towards a religious visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the First Month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and indorsed by our Quarterly Meeting, and by the Half-Year's Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the Fifth Month, and arrived in London in the Sixth Month following, at the time of their Annual Meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being "resigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the testimony of Friends at York in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the smallpox, on the 7th of the Tenth Month, 1772, and was buried in Friends' burial-ground in that city, on the 9th of the same, after a solid meeting held on the occasion at their great meeting-house. He was aged near fifty-two, having been a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in and by order of the said meeting, by
SAMUEL ALLISON, Clerk.

Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held in Burlington the 29th of the Eighth Month, 1774.

Signed by order of the said meeting,
DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.

The descendants of the native Americans who had been [enslaved](#) after "[King Phillip's War](#)" were [manumitted](#) in Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#).²⁸

May-September: The Intolerable Acts effectively required that Boston be closed as a port as of July 1st. This means that, although Massachusetts would not formally ban the African slave trade until the revolution and would allow the persistence of slavery despite its constitution of 1780 and despite the judicial determinations in the Quock Walker cases of 1781 and 1783, effectively its importation of black slaves ceased at this point.

28. As of the Year of our Lord 1781, freedom would come to visit the descendants of the native Americans who had been [enslaved](#) in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as well. Work gangs of these race [slaves](#) had been utilized throughout New England to construct much of that attractive, mossy old stone walls, field fencing which today we fancy to have been constructed through the dedicated labor of "our" stereotypically sturdy and industrious –because white– Yankee-farmer forebears.



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May 17, Tuesday: Pugachev's forces captured Fort Magnitnaia (Magnitogorsk).

Carrying a much more aggressive colonial policy, General Thomas Gage arrived in [Boston](#) to take up the post of royal governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, replacing [Thomas Hutchinson](#) (this former royal governor would depart for England, where he would act as an adviser to King George III and the British ministry on American affairs, uniformly counselling moderation).

A former resident of the Caribbean island of Antigua named Jacob Schoemaker, a [slaveholder](#) who had for a time been living in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) off the earnings of a black father named Tom whom he had rented out, had died intestate. Tom, therefore, along with his wife and their four young children, had therefore by default become the property of the town. [Moses Brown](#) had therefore petitioned the town meeting, to set free this family of six. On this day an emergency meeting of the citizens was called to consider the new Boston Port Bill, which had closed the harbor of [Boston](#) pending reimbursement to the East India Company for the cargo of tea it had lost in the Boston Tea Party. Moses Brown managed to get the two issues, of freedom for Americans and of freedom for Tom and his family, tied together in the minds of the citizens attending the town meeting, by proclaiming how very "unbecoming" it would be for American freemen to be, simultaneously, American enslavers. The resolution voted therefore contained a clause, "and they do hereby give up all claim of right or property in them." Going even beyond that particular, "Whereas the inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind, the deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavors to obtain an act of the General Assembly prohibiting the importation of Negro slaves into this colony; and that all Negroes born in the colony, should be free, after obtaining to a certain age." This was the first such call by any assembly in the American colonies. The new Quaker, [Friend Moses](#), would soon be sitting down with the recently disowned Quaker, [Stephen Hopkins](#), to craft a bill banning the slave trade in Rhode Island, and this is the language which the two of them would come up with: "Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free."

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

FREE PAPERS

June: [Friend Moses Brown](#) and the recently disowned Quaker governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) took the language of their proposed slave-trade bill to the assembly in [Newport, Rhode Island](#): "Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free."²⁹

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

FREE PAPERS

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"An Act prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony."

"Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in

29. The bill would, of course, be gutted. Its practical import would be nil.



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the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; –

"Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free, so far as respects personal freedom, and the enjoyment of private property, in the same manner as the native Indians."

"Provided that the slaves of settlers and travellers be excepted.

"Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony.

"Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond to the general treasurer of the said colony, within ten days after such arrival in the sum of £100, lawful money, for each and every such negro or mulatto slave so brought in, that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."

"Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave that may be on board any vessel belonging to this colony, now at sea, in her present voyage." Heavy penalties are laid for bringing in Negroes in order to free them. COLONIAL RECORDS, VII. 251-3.

[1784, February: "It is voted and resolved, that the whole of the clause contained in an act of this Assembly, passed at June session, A.D. 1774, permitting slaves brought from the coast of Africa into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this (then colony, now) state, and who could not be disposed of in the West Indies, &c., be, and the same is, hereby repealed." COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 8.]

Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#)'s biographer William Eaton Foster would in 1883 totally misconstrue this, perpetrating any number of blunders. In his "Appendix U" to STEPHEN HOPKINS, A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN, entitled "Stephen Hopkins's Connection with the Society of Friends," on page 247, he would misrepresent Hopkins as the sole author of this legislation, misrepresent the enactment of the legislation as effective when in actuality it changed nothing, misrepresent the Religious Society of Friends as a group that had "membership" when in fact in this century there was never any such a thing as a membership list, misrepresent the Quaker process of disownment as a cancellation of membership (which it most decidedly never was), pretend there to be an equivalence between societal policymaking (freeing other white people's black slaves at these other people's expense) and personal estate planning (freeing one's own black slaves at one's own expense) when in fact there was never any such equivalence, and pretend that simply because the governor continued to call himself a Friend after his disownment, he could not have been struggling to free himself from religious influence in the sphere of political decisionmaking.



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Stephen Hopkins was in 1774 the author of the humane act of legislation by which the enslaving of negroes for the future was prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1772, however, a strong pressure had been brought to bear on him to set at liberty one of his own slaves. He did not accede to this demand. Subsequent efforts, continued from month to month, appear to have been equally unavailing. Final action was taken by the Society of Friends, March 25, 1773, when his membership was cancelled. What may have been the ground for Stephen Hopkins's refusal is not easy to determine. It was apparently not a disapproval of emancipation, as is seen by his action elsewhere. Nor can it be set down to a desire to break with the Friends, for he still continued to call himself a Friend.

This is almost, but not quite, as egregious as a lecture I went to in April 2007 at the Moses Brown School, offered by a Quaker genealogist who suggested that Hopkins's heart had been in the right place because 1.) allegedly at one time in his earlier life he had manumitted one of his slaves (providing no evidence whatever that this assertion was accurate, over and above offering no argument whatever that this actually demonstrated Hopkins's good-guy status), because 2.) allegedly Hopkins was refusing to manumit only one slave, who was a woman named Hannah (according to the census of 1774, he owned six), and refused freedom to her only because this would not have served the needs of her two small children (offering no evidence whatever that the number was singular rather than plural, or that the person was female, or that the name this genealogist assigned was accurate, or that said children actually existed), and because 3.) in Hopkins's will his slaves were to be set free upon his death (offering no evidence whatever that this will mentioning the liberation of an indefinite but plural number of slaves was effectively implemented, when we know very well that in the process known as probate no mere statement of intention could have manumitted a slave unless and until all creditors to the estate had previously been paid off, and paid off in full).

June 28, Tuesday: Evidently there had been some problems in the friendly persuasion of those [Rhode Island Quakers](#) who still held [slaves](#) and had been refusing to [manumit](#) them, because the official visits that appointed "Visitors" had been making to the households of these Quakers were at this point indefinitely "suspended."

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

August: [Friend Moses Brown](#) petitioned that the town meeting of [Providence](#) direct the delegates that town would send to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), to support the bill he had authored in suppression of the participation of local citizens in the [international slave trade](#), and local abolition of [slavery](#), and [manumission](#) of existing local slaves. The town meeting rejected his abolitionist petition, instancing that such a proposal contained "matters of great importance" that might well "materially affect the property of individuals" — and that therefore "the freemen of the town" deserved to have more time to organize themselves in opposition to it, and protect their property rights and their American freedoms.



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September 12, Monday: The town meeting of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) repudiated [Friend Moses Brown](#)'s petition that the town's delegates to the General Assembly be instructed to support the bill he had authored in suppression of the slave trade, and abolition of [slavery](#), and freeing of slaves. The town meeting rejected this by voting "that no instructions be given to the representatives of this town regarding the slave import bill." Of course, no on the [manumission](#) of local slaves. Of course, no on the local abolition of the institution of human enslavement. But also, no on the suppression of local participation in the [international slave trade](#). No, no, and no. There was something very fundamental about the concern that the white citizens of Providence had about liberty, that Moses simply had not grasped. What he had not grasped was that their concern about liberty was entirely a concern about their own liberty, and not at all a concern about somebody else's liberty.



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October 14, Friday: The 1st declaration of colonial rights in America: the Declaration and Resolves of the 1st Continental Congress.

READ THE FULL TEXT

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) as duly attested on page 262 in Volume 19 of the town records for such property transactions, Joseph Crawford had chosen this as the day to manumit "Five Negroes to wit One Negro Man named Anthony aged twenty one Years and upward One Negro Woman named Patience aged Seventeen Years and upward One Negro Boy named Manuel aged about fifteen Years One other Negro Boy named Primus aged about twelve Years and one Negro Girl named Peggy aged ten year and upward all which said Five Negroes are now deemed my Slaves":

To all People to whom these Presents shall come, I Joseph Crawford of Providence in the County of Providence Yeoman send Greeting Whereas I the said Joseph Crawford upon due Consideration by me had of and concerning the enslaving and keeping our fellow Men in perpetual Bondage and being fully convinced in my Mind and Conscience that the enslaving of and keeping our fellow Men in perpetual Bondage is contrary to the Laws of God and Nature and the common Rights of Mankind And as I the said Joseph Crawford am now possessed of Five Negroes to wit One Negro Man named Anthony aged twenty one Years and upward One Negro Woman named Patience aged Seventeen Years and upward One Negro Boy named Manuel aged about fifteen Years One other Negro Boy named Primus aged about twelve Years and one Negro Girl named Peggy aged ten year and upward all which said Five Negroes are ^{now deemed} my Slaves Therefore now know ye that I the said Joseph Crawford not of a sudden or mean Motion but upon mature and good Consideration and of my own free Will an Accord for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators have and by these Presents do freely fully and absolutely give and grant unto my aforesaid five Negroes to wit the said Anthony Patience Manuel Primus and Peggy and to each of them their full and absolute Freedom Furthermore I the said Joseph Crawford for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators Do manumit release acquit and forever discharge the aforesaid Anthony Patience Manuel Primus and Peggy each and every one of them from any further Challenge Right Title Intersept or Demand that I now have or ought to have to the Persons or Service of the said Anthony Patience Manuel Primus and Peggy and every of them and that the said Anthony Patience Manuel Primus and Peggy and each of them by Force and Virtue of these Presents from the Day of the Date hereof have their full and perfect Freedom to all Intents and Purposes whatever to act and transact their lawful Business without any Let Hindrance or Molestation whatever from me my Heirs Executors and Administrators and every of them In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the fourteenth Day of October in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of George the third of Great Britain &c. King Annoque Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Four .A.D. 1774

Signed Sealed and delivered in the Presence of

James Angell
G. Brown }

Joseph Crawford ((L.S.))

----- new page 263 -----

*Providence ss. In Providence the fourteenth Day of October the above Signer Joseph Crawford personally appeared and acknowledged the above written Instrument to be his own free voluntary Act and Deed Hand and Seal thereto affirmed — Before me Theodore Foster Jus. Pacis.
Recorded May 10. 1775 by James Angell Clk
(and minuted to be entered then.)*

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Meanwhile, this above **manumitted** Anthony a Negro Man of **Providence**, the Son of Anthony Kinnicut, a Labourer, was on that day formally binding himself as Apprentice to the service of the said Joseph Crawford, Yeoman, unless Joseph Crawford should sooner Decease, until the said Anthony arrived at the age of 25 Years (which the indenture document states would be on July 31, 1778). On his own part Joseph Crawford “doth promise and engage to find and provide for his said Apprentice Sufficient Meat Drink washing Lodging and Apparel and all other Neecessaries fitting for such an Apprentice during said Term”:

This indenture witnesseth that Anthony a Negro Man of Providence in the county of Providence Labourer and Son of Anthony Kinnicut of said Providence hath put himself and by these Presents both voluntarily and of his own free will and Accord put and bind himself Apprentice to Joseph Crawford of said Providence Yeoman and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve him, the said Joseph from the Day of the Date hereof in such Trade and Business as he the said Joseph shall direct until the said Anthony shall attain to the Age of Twenty Five Years which will be on the thirty first Day of July A.D. 1778 or until the Decease of him the said Joseph Crawford which of the two shall first happen During which Term of Time the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve his Secrets keep his lawful command gladly obey He shall not absent himself by Day or by Night from his said Master's Service without his Leave but in all Things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do during said Term And the said Joseph Crawford doth promise and engage to find and provide for his said Apprentice Sufficient Meat Drink washing Lodging and Apparel and all other Neecessaries fitting for such an Apprentice during said Term. In Testimony whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the fourteenth Day of October in the fourteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign LORD George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain &c. King A.D. 1774

*Signed Sealed and delivered
in the Presence of*

James Angell
J. Brown

Joseph Crawford Sener (L.S.)

*Recorded May 10, 1775. by James Angell Clk
(and minuted to be entered then)*

On page 265 the process of indenture of **manumitted** persons continues with Patience a Negro fingle Woman and Daughter of Anthony Kinnicut who voluntarily and of her own free Will and Accord by and with the Consent of her said Father was binding herself to perform the Houfehold Bufinefs of said Joseph until she



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reached the age of 25:

This Indenture witnesseth that *Patience* a Negro Woman now of Providence in the County of Providence single Woman and Daughter of *Anthony Kinnicut* of said Providence Labourer hath put herself and by these Presents doth voluntarily and of her own free Will and Accord by and with the Consent of her said Father put and bind herself Apprentice to *Joseph Crawford* of said Providence Yeoman and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve him the said *Joseph Crawford* from the Day of the Date hereof in such Household Business as he the said *Joseph* shall order from Time to Time until she the said *Patience* shall attain to the Age of twenty five Years which will be on the thirty first Day of August A.D. 1782 or until the Death of him the said *Joseph Crawford* which of the two shall first happen During all which Time she the said Apprentice her said Master faithfully shall serve his Secrets keep his lawful Commands gladly obey She shall not absent herself by Day or by Night from her said Master's Service without his Leave but in all Things behave herself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do during the whole said Time And *Joseph Crawford* the Master doth hereby promise and engage to find and provide for his said Apprentice sufficient Meat Drink Washing Lodging and Apparel and all other Necessaries fitting for such an Apprentice during the whole of said Time In Testimony whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the fourteenth Day of October in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain &c. King Annoque Domini 1774.

Signed Sealed and delivered
in the Presence of
James Angell
G. Brown

Joseph Crawford (L.S.)

Minuted to be received May 10. 1775
and recorded by
James Angell Clk

For some reason not immediately evident, as you will notice above, these 1774 manumissions and their accompanying indenture would not be placed on record immediately in the town books, but the recording of them would be delayed until May 10, 1775.

This Indenture witnesseth that *Manuel* a Negro Boy of called now of Providence in the County of Providence Labourer and son of *Anthony Kinnicut* of said Providence hath put himself and by these Presents doth voluntarily and of his own free Will and Accord by and with the Consent of his said father put and bind himself Apprentice to *Joseph Crawford* of said Providence Yeoman and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve him the said *Joseph Crawford* from the Day of the Date hereof in such Trade and Business as he the said *Joseph* shall order and direct until he the said *Manuel* shall attain unto the Age of twenty five Years which will be on the first Day of September in the Year of our LORD A.D. 1784 or until the Death of him the said *Joseph Crawford* which of the two shall first happen During all which Time the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve his Secrets his lawful Commands gladly obey he shall not absent himself by Day or by Night from his said Master's Service without his Leave but in all things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do during said Term of Time And *Joseph Crawford* the Master doth promise and engage to find and provide for his said Apprentice sufficient Meat Drink Washing Lodging and Apparel and all other Necessaries fitting for such Apprentice During the Whole of said Time In Testimony whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the fourteenth Day of October in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain &c. King Annoque Domini 1774

Signed Sealed and delivered in Presence of
James Angell
G. Brown

Joseph Crawford (L.S.)

Minuted to be received May 10. 1775
and recorded by *James Angell* Clk

On page 266 the process of indenture of [manumitted](#) persons continues with Primus a Negro Boy and Son of Anthony Kinnicut who voluntarily and of his own free Will and Accord by and with the Consent of his said



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Father was binding himself Apprentice of said Joseph and Sufanna his Wife until he reached the age of 25:

This Indenture witnesseth that Primus a Negro Boy and Son of Anthony Kinnicut of Providence in the County of Providence Labourer hath put himself and by these Presents doth voluntarily and of his own free Will and Accord by and with the Consent of his said Father put and bind himself Apprentice to Joseph Crawford of said Providence Yeoman and Sufanna his Wife and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve them the said Joseph Crawford from the Day of the Date hereof in such Trade and Business as they shall order and direct from Time to Time until he the said Primus shall attain ^{to} the Age of twenty five Years which will be on the Twentieth Day of August in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and eighty Seven or until the Death of the longest Survivor of them the said Joseph and Sufanna which of the two shall first happen During all which Time ^{he} the said Primus his said Master and Mistress faithfully shall serve their Secrets keep their lawful Commands gladly obey He shall not absent himself by Day or by Night from his said Master or Mistress's Service without their Leave but in all Things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do during the whole of the Time And the said Master doth promise and engage to find and provide or cause to be found sufficient Meat Drink washing Lodging and Apparel and all other Necessaries fitting for such Apprentice during the whole of said Time And in Testimony whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the fourteenth Day of October in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain & King A.D. 1774

Signed sealed and delivered
in the Presence of
James Angell
& Brown

Joseph Crawford (L.S.)

Minuted to be received May 10. 1775

and recorded by James Angell & Co.

and finally — Peggy a Negro Girl and Daughter of Anthony Kinnicut voluntarily and of her own free will and Accord by and with the Consent of her said Father put and bound herself Apprentice to Joseph and Sufanna to serve in such Household Business as they from Time to Time should order and direct until she attain the Age of 25 Years on October 2, 1789:

This Indenture witnesseth that Peggy a Negro Girl now of Providence in the County of Providence and Daughter of Anthony Kinnicut of said Providence hath put herself and by these Presents doth voluntarily and of her own free will and Accord by and with the Consent of her said Father put and bind herself Apprentice to Joseph Crawford of said Providence Yeoman and Sufanna his Wife and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve him the said Joseph Crawford and Sufanna his Wife from the Day of the Date hereof in such Household Business as he the said Joseph and Sufanna from Time to Time shall order and direct until she the said Peggy shall attain to the Age of Twenty Five Years which will be on the second Day of October in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty nine or until the Death of the longest Survivor of them the said Joseph and Sufanna which of the two shall first happen During all which Time the said Peggy her said Master and Mistress faithfully shall serve their Secrets keep their lawful Commands gladly obey She shall not absent herself by Day or by Night from her said Master or Mistress's Service without their Leave but in all Things behave herself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do during the whole of said Time and the said Master doth promise and engage to find and provide ^{or cause to be found & provided} sufficient Meat Drink washing Lodging & Apparel and all other Necessaries fitting for such an Apprentice during the whole of said Time And in Testimony whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the fourteenth Day of October in the fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain & King A.D. 1774

Signed sealed and delivered
in Presence of
James Angell
& Brown

Joseph Crawford ((L.S.))

Minuted to be received May 10. 1775

and recorded by James Angell & Co.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

November: Information had been received that King George had declared the American colonies to be in a state of rebellion, when the General Assembly of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations met. The [Rhode Islanders](#) had to face the prospect of being vulnerable to the depredations of the British navy. With this in prospect, there was no time or energy to be wasted on abstract issues such as the nicey-nice agendas of the local abolitionists. A decision was reached that to [manumit](#) a [slave](#), a citizen would be required to post a deposit of £1,000, an extraordinary sum, to ensure the town against that freed person becoming “chargeable,” that is, becoming an expense item on the town’s charity rolls.



It was a resounding defeat, replicated throughout the colonies: on the eve of a Revolution fought in the name of freedom and liberty, the popular movement against slavery crested, then collapsed. The legislature in Massachusetts considered several abolition bills, but with British troops and ships massing in Boston harbor, the representatives passed the question on to the new Congress, where it languished: John Adams, among others, considered it too “divisive” to pursue. Quakers in New Jersey presented “a flood” of petitions in 1774 seeking abolition and an end to the slave trade, but as in Rhode Island, the resulting bills were riven with amendments; before the abolitionists could demand reconsideration, the government there had collapsed. In Philadelphia in 1774, the immigrant polemicist Thomas Paine made his American debut by publishing an acerbic attack on slavery, and Anthony Benezet organized the world’s first abolition society, the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, Unlawfully Held in Bondage. But the society shut down after only four meetings, its legislative agenda abandoned for another five years.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

December 15, Thursday: On page 315 of Volume 19 of the property transactions of the city of [Providence](#), Caleb Greene, Merchant of [Rhode Island](#), under a Sense of the Oppression and Injustice of Buying and Selling of Men as [Slaves](#) and a Desire to remove as far as may be the evil Practice hereof by complying with the Manifestations of that divine Light which has shined and is shining in the Minds of Men, to bring them out of Darknefs, and if adheard to, will lead them into all Truth, did in the presence of [Friend Moses Brown](#) and of Friend Job Scott (1751-1793), give up his partial rights in the person of a certain Indian or Mulattoe, Peter, and give up his partial rights in the person of a Negro Man, Venter, thus [manumitting](#) the said Peter and Venter and confirming their Freedom to the fullest (admittedly only partial) extent within the said Caleb Greene's power:

To all People to whom these Presents shall come. Know Ye that I Caleb Greene of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island, Merchant, under a Sense of the Oppression and Injustice of Buying and Selling of Men as Slaves and a Desire to remove as far as may be the evil Practice hereof by complying with the Manifestations of that divine Light which has shined and is shining in the Minds of Men, to bring them out of Darknefs, and if adheard to, will lead them into all Truth. Do hereby absolutely release, manumit and discharge forever One Quarter Part of the Time and Service of a certain Indian or Mulattoe of what Nation he may be called and known by the Name of Peter of whom Robert Livingston and James Lovet claims the other three Quarters. And also one half Part of Negro Man named Venter the other Half being claimed by James Lovet, hereby fully confirming to them the said Peter and Venter their Freedom so far as the Parts aforesaid from the Claim and Demand of all Persons by, from or under the; Defining their Health and Prosperity. I the said Caleb Greene have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this fifteenth Day of the twelfth Month 1774.

*Signed Sealed & Delivered
in Presence of
Moses Brown
Job Scott
(interconnecting script)*

Caleb Greene (L.S.)

*The foregoing is a true Copy. Recorded 13th May 1778
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

December 27, Tuesday: The [Quakers](#) dissolved their old, inactive committee to visit the homes of slaveholding [Friends](#) and remonstrate with them, appealing to their consciences, and a new such committee was appointed. Although members would be granted plenty of time, if they did not eventually [manumit](#) their black [slaves](#) they would be [disowned](#).

RHODE ISLAND



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1775

In [Rhode Island](#), [Elkanah Watson](#) was kicking around as a young man.

ELKANAH WATSON'S YOUTH

Nicholas Cooke was in charge of the colony. At this point in this roguish colony's trajectory, one person of every fourteen was a slave, the highest %age in New England. Yet [manumissions](#) were occurring (here's one from [Newport](#) for which I don't yet have a plain-text transcription):





MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

July: [General George Washington](#), who in this month was in Cambridge, Massachusetts assuming command over the main American army besieging the British army of occupation of the port of Boston, ordered (and then the Continental Congress in Philadelphia confirmed) that no more Americans of color were to be allowed to participate in our revolution. We are not an equal opportunity employer as that might be unbearably offensive to our white Southron brothers!



CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

However, those black Americans already enlisted might be suffered to remain in service to his Continental formations.³⁰ There were already persons of color among the Minutemen of Massachusetts, and thus we saw some swarthy faces among the whites of the militia at the fights in Lexington and Concord:

- Peter Salem, who had been the slave of the Belknaps in Framingham MA but had been [manumitted](#) expressly that he might enlist in the militia
- Pompy or Pomp Blackman of Braintree
- Cato Wood of Arlington
- Prince of Brookline
- Prince Estabrook, belonging to Benjamin Wellington of Lexington, one of those wounded on Lexington common

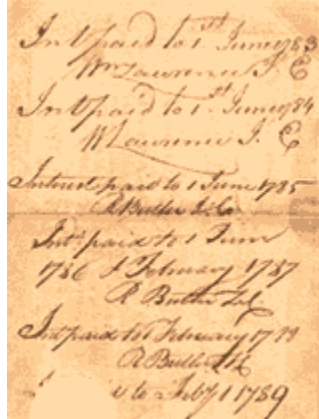
30. After some debate over whether the commander-in-chief had intended to exclude all blacks on the basis of race, or only [slaves](#) on the basis of status, the consensus became that he must of course have meant to exclude all blacks on the basis of race.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Here is the certificate provided to one such soldier of color, Juba Freeman of Connecticut:



August 1, Tuesday: Eve Bernon of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), being still of Perfect Mind and Memory tho' weak of Body and convinced from the Uncertainty of human Life of the Necefsity of difpofing of such worldly Estate as it hath pleafed God to blefs Her with whilst she was in full Enjoyment of her Rational Faculties, DID on this First Day of August AD 1775 make and publish her last Will and Testament. After bequeathing to her beloved Sister Mary Crawford, her Niece Freeloze Crawford, her Niece Sarah Cooke, and this Niece's daughter Abigail Mathewfon, the sum of £30 each, and after bequeathing her home to her near Friend & Kinfman [Zachariah Allen](#), she provided for her two [slaves](#), a Negro Woman named Amey³¹ and her son called Manny:

Item I do hereby manumit set free and Discharge my Negro Woman named Amey and her son called Manny from all Servitude Slavery or Subjection whatever to Me my Heirs or Assigns, giving and Surrendering up to them all my Right & Property in their Persons: And if said Negro Amey or her son by Sicknes [sic] or any other Accident shall be rendered unable to Support themselves then my Will and Meaning is that they shall be maintained and Supported by the said Zachariah Allen Mary Crawford Freeloze Crawford Sarah Cooke and Abigail Mathewfon out of the Estate Given them by this Will

MANUMISSION

31. Would this Amey and Manny be descended from the black family of six disposed of by [Gabriel Bernon](#) in his 18th-Century will? "Negro man woman and 4 children £500."... "Negro man Manuel, Negro woman Peggy, to be at disposition of wife also the Negro boy and girl and the product of them, if sold." ... "One Negro child being with daughter Esther Powell, is left to her." Also "and a boy has been given to daughter."



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

20th, 3d Month: “The Committee appointed to treat with those [Friends](#) who hold their **fellow creatures as slaves** made return that they had treated further with Latham Thurston as desired by the last Monthly Meeting and that he still refused to comply with the advice of the [Yearly Meeting](#) respecting holding mankind as [slaves](#). Wherefore we, apprehending our selves clear of any further labour with him in that respect do **disown** him to be any longer a member of our Society.”

“By a minutes of our last monthly meeting the Clerk was directed to procure a Book to record [manumissions](#), but upon further consideration we do direct that said manumissions be recorded in one end of our book for recording condemnations.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

25th, 4th Month: “The women [Friends](#) inform that Damaris Fowler of [Jamestown](#) being left in possession of a Negro, but is informed that as her husband left no will the property is not hers but her childrens and desires the advice of Friends, on consideration of which we appoint John Hadwen and Gould Marsh to enquire into said matter and make return to our next Monthly Meeting.”

[SLAVERY](#)
[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[MANUMISSION](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

30th, 5th Month: At the previous monthly meeting of the [Jamestown Friends](#), a committee had been appointed to make a recommendation as to the standing of a [slave](#) belonging to the estate of a deceased man. Could the widow, Friend Damaris Fowler, [manumit](#) this slave? The committee had established that in accordance with “widow’s thirds” dower rights, “She hath no right to but one third of said Negro, for which (she) presented a bill of [manumission](#) to this Meeting which is ordered to be recorded on Friends Records.” The other 2/3ds of this person were (was?) the property of the widow Fowler’s children (who presumably were not treated of because they were not [Quakers](#)?).

Also, “The Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) informs this Meeting [the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting held in [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#)] that P. Jonothan [*sic*] Brownell hath taken the place of a Captain in the Military and enlisted in for that service. And it appearing to this Meeting that he hath been laboured with on that account but still persists therein, wherefore for the Clearing of Truth and our Christian Testimony we do disown him to be any longer a member of our Society and order that a copy of this Minute be read at the close of a First Day Meeting at Portsmouth between this and our next monthly meeting. Jacob Mott, Jr. is directed to read said Minute and to report back to our next Monthly Meeting.”

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

30th (Saturday), 9th Month: “The Committee appointed to treat with those that claim [slaves](#) as their property inform that Elisabeth Thurston (widow of Edward Thurston) was possessed of some and refused to liberate them, which after being considered is directed to be sent to the Meeting of Women [Friends](#).”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[MANUMISSION](#)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

People were trying to kill each other at Stonington, Connecticut.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

October 16, Monday: In Volume 19 page 310 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) record of Deeds and Mortgages, Benoni Pearce, the Executor to the Last Will and Testament of James Brown, disposed of one item belonging to the Estate of the said James Brown, to wit One certain Negro Man Named PERO who had gotten too old to do much work, by Releasfing Dismifing and Setting him Free fo that neither he nor his Heirs Executors or Administrators or any perfon or Perfons by his or their Means might or would have any Claim or Demand to the said Pero or his Service. This Executor declared against the holding of Negroes in [slavery](#), Depriving them of that Liberty to which all Mankind are equally entitled, however kindly they may be treated by their Masters – unlefs, that is the persons in question had legally Forfeited such Freedom. Such enslavement activities were in general characterized as:

- contrary to the Divine Law
- inconfittant with the Natural Rights of Mankind
- inconfittant with that Great Christian Precept “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you”
- perniciously tending to encourage the Iniquitous Traffick in Negroes and the importing them from their Native Country

To all Intents and purpofes the [manumitted](#) elderly Negro Man Pero was put at his own Difpofal, but since he was utterly indigent after having performed a lifetime of free Services, Pearce undertook to provide at his own Expençe [sic] all things comfortable and Necefsary for Pero’s Maintenance and Support for so long as this worn-out former slave continued alive.

Whereas I Benoni Pearce of Providence in the county of Providence Esqⁿ am appointed Executor to the Last Will and Testament of James Brown late of said Providence Merchant Deceased and Whereas there is belonging to the Estate of the said James Brown One certain Negro Man Named PERO who is now old and far advanced in Life: and Whereas I am convinced that holding Negroes in Slavery and Depriving them of that Liberty to which all Mankind are equally entitled however kindly they may be treated by their Masters unlefs they have legally Forfeited their Freedom is inconfittant with the Natural Rights of Mankind and has a pernicious tendency to encourage the Iniquitous Traffick in Negroes and the importing them from their Native Country and is contrary to ^{the Divine} Law because inconfittant with that Great Christian Precept. “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” I Do therefore as Executor of this said James Brown Manumit and by these Presents Release Dismif and Set Free the said Negro Man Pero so that neither I my Heirs Executors or Administrators or any person or Perfons by my or their Means shall or will have any Claim or Demand to the said Pero or his Service hereby declaring him to be free to all Intents and purpofes and at his own Difpofal ----- And I hereby Promise and Engage to the said Pero in Consideration of the Services which he hath heretofore done for said Estate to find Provide and Allow to him now in his old Age at my own Expençe all things comfortable and Necessary for his Maintenance and Support as long as he lives..... In Witnefs whereof I the said Benoni Pearce have hereunto set my Hand

----- page 311 -----

and Seal this Sixteenth Day of October in the Fifteenth Year of his Majesty’s Reign Annoque Domini 1775 Signed Sealed and Delivered in Presence of us

*Ralph Carle
Lydia Foster*

Benoni Pearce ((L.S.))

Providence s in Providence Oct^r 16th 1775 The above named Benoni Pearce Esq^r personally appeared and acknowledged the Foregoing Instrument by him executed to be his free and Voluntary Act and Deed Before Me Theodore Foster Jus: Peace----

*The Foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 4th Day of February A.D. 1778.. }
Witnefs Theodore Foster Jus.. Peace----*

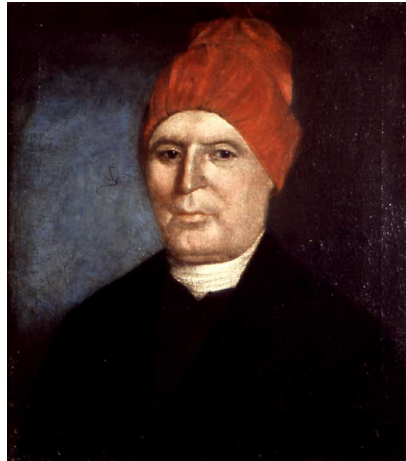


MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1776

The Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#)'s A DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, SHOWING IT TO



BE THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN STATES TO EMANCIPATE ALL THEIR AFRICAN SLAVES. The Calvinist minister of the 1st Congregational Church at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), a white guy, had [manumitted](#) his one black slave, and hoped for a future of benevolence, in which as a consequence of the Revolution, the practice of human enslavement in America would be discontinued, and the black people would go back to Africa where they belonged, because America should only be for us white people. Fair's fair, so if we fail to condemn [slavery](#) here, then "The Africans have a good right to make slaves of us and our children.... And the Turks have a good right to all the Christian slaves they have among them; and to make as many more slaves of us and our children, as shall be in their power."

ANTISLAVERY

RACISM

Discretion being the better part of valor, while [Aquidneck Island](#) was occupied by the British military, the Reverend would abandon his 1st Congregational Church there and preach instead at Newburyport in



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Massachusetts and at Canterbury and Stamford in Connecticut (he would not return to Newport until 1780).

This reverend's training school for black missionaries to Africa would fall apart due to the disruption of the revolutionary fighting.

During Winter 1775/1776, acting on behalf of the Rhode Island legislature, militia General William West had been ferreting out loyalists. For the duration of the American Revolution, Newport sent its Loyalists, including Joseph Wanton (son of the deposed royal governor) and Thomas Vernon (the Comte de Rochambeau would use Vernon House, on Clarke Street in Newport, as his headquarters), to rusticate for the duration pleasantly and harmlessly in [Glocester](#) on the farm of Stephen Keach.



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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

During the Revolutionary War, Flushing, Paumanok Long Island was occupied by the British. Local [Quakers](#) would not participate in the war effort and a number of them suffered the confiscation of property as punishment. Flushing Meeting spoke out against members who aided the British or accepted military service. Consequently, the Friends meetinghouse was seized by the army and used for various purposes including a hospital, stable, and storage. It is believed that the army burned the original benches and picket fence as their



firewood, since this was in short supply. With this meetinghouse unavailable, [New York Yearly Meeting](#) moved its gatherings to Westbury, never to return. Monthly meetings in New York and other areas were



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

formed, and Flushing Meeting became merely a local monthly meeting (which it remains today).



The American colonies were in revolt, and loyalties were divided. With all the pressures, divided loyalties were to be found even within the [Religious Society of Friends](#). As an example of how [Quaker disownment](#) was used as a tool in this incendiary situation, here is a disownment that was announced in this year at the Fairfax, [Maryland](#) monthly meeting:

"W.R. who by birth had a right of membership in our Religious Society but through levity and a disregard to that principle which would preserve if adhered to, he hath been seduced and drawn away with the Spirit of the Times so far as to enlist and join in the active part of war, leaving his place of abode to that end, and having given us no opportunity to treat with him on this sorrowful occasion, we, agreeable to our antient practice, think it requisite to deny him the right of membership among us, which is hereby confirmed by our monthly meeting and he so to stand until by due contrition he condemns his conduct which we can but desire on his behalf."

As an example of an acknowledgement of disownment due to warlike activity, here is a statement that was duly received and placed on file in this year by that same meeting:

"Whereas I the subscriber have several times stood Centry in a military manner and having considered the same, I see it to be wrong, for which misconduct I am sorry, and hope to be more careful for the future, desiring that Friends would accept this my acknowledgment and continue me under their care as my future



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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conduct shall render me worthy. J.L."³²

On Paumanok Long Island, Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was standing steadfast and refusing to participate in the American Revolution or

*"use any coercive force
or compulsion
by any means whatever;
not being overcome
by evil,
but overcoming
evil
with the good."*

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

He well knew that any suggestion that we attempt to kill the Devil with a gun or a sword could have been a suggestion sponsored only by the Devil himself. Instead he chose to make his contribution to the cause of American liberty by paying visits to [Quaker](#) slavemasters on *Paumanok* "Long Island," entreating them to strike a direct blow for human freedom by [manumitting](#) their black [slaves](#).

As you can see, even [Quakers](#) have such cannon:



This cries out for explanation but first you need to think about it because there are several levels at which explanation must be attempted.

January 1, Monday: The [Reverend James Fordyce, D.D.](#)'s THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF THE FEMALE SEX, AND THE ADVANTAGES TO BE DERIVED BY YOUNG MEN FROM THE SOCIETY OF VIRTUOUS YOUNG WOMEN; A DISCOURSE IN THREE PARTS, DELIVERED IN MONKWELL STREET CHAPEL, 1ST JANUARY, 1776.

The frigate *Liverpool*, two corvettes, and Royal Governor Lord Dunmore's armed sloop opened fire upon the port of Norfolk, Virginia while a detachment of British marines landed to put the torch to houses.

32. These are per Morse, BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 59.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY


MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) **GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE** named Mingo his Time, and forever difmised and difcharged him from Service to himself or his Heirs and Afsigns forever, but only on Condition that he carefully provide the Necefsaries of Life for himfelf and not fpend his Time in Idlenefs. If, through this former slave's future Mifconduct or Negligence, he should become chargeable to his previous owner the said Nicholas Cooke or to the Community of Providence in General, then this document of [manumission](#) filed in Volume 19 on page 277 of the town's Deeds and Mortgages book was null and void, and said Negro Man named Mingo again reduced to [slavery](#).

*This may certify to all People before whom this Present Instrument shall come that I Nicholas Cooke of Providence in the County of Providence and Colony of Rhode Island have given my Negro Man named Mingo his Time on the Conditions hereafter mention=
ed and Do by these Presents forever difmife and difcharge the said Negro Man named Mingo from the Service of Me or my Heirs and
Afsigns forever he complying with the Terms hereafter mentioned which are as follows. Viz. that he will carefully provide the Necefa=
ries of Life for himfelf and not fpend his Time in Idlenefs and thereby become chargeable to Me or my Heirs or Afsigns or the
Community in General, which if through his Mifconduct or Negligence should be the Cafe then this present Instrument to be
of no Force against Me or my Heirs or Afsigns. And I Do recommend the said Negro Man to thofe who may have Occafion to em=
ploy him to be an Honest Industrious Faithfull Fellow and well acquainted with the Husbandry Bufinefs
Given under my Hand at Providence the Day and year above mentioned*

The foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 1st Day of January AD 1776 ~
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk.....

Nich. Cooke....~

(Note carefully also that this manumitted slave's name was "Mingo," despite the fact that we learned in the Year of our Lord 1734 from published Harvard College Rule #20, that "to mingo" was slang for taking a leak, , urinating.)

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

8th mo. 24: In New Jersey, the [manumission](#) of Belinda Pash by Joseph and Rebecca Lippincott was arranged to take effect as of her 21st birthday, which would be on the First Day of the Tenth Month, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Seven.

968

We Joseph & Rebecca Lippincott of the Township of Northampton in the County of Burlington in New Jersey do hereby set free from Bondage ~~my~~ our Mulattal Girl named Belinda Pash when she shall arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years, which will be on the ~~first~~ Day of the Tenth Month, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and ~~seventy seven~~ ^{thereafter} and do Release unto the said Belinda Pash all ~~our~~ Right and Claim to her Person, and to any Estate which she may acquire, hereby declaring the said Belinda Pash absolutely free, against ~~myself~~ ^{ourselves} and all Persons claiming under ~~us~~. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set ~~my~~ ^{our} Hands and Seal this ~~Twentieth fourth~~ Day of the ~~Eight~~ Month, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and ~~Seventy Seven~~ ^{Seventy Seven}.

Scaled and delivered
in the Presence of Joseph Lippincott

Benjamin Jones, Rebecca Lippincott
Wm. Calvert

Recorded in a Book kept by the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Burlington
By Saml. Adkinson Clk

Quite a birthday present: "Here's yourself, enjoy."



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

October 18, Friday: The British advance out of New-York, transferred from Throg's Neck, was delayed by an American defense at Pell's Point — which is to say, to put this another way, people were trying to kill each other at Pelham Manor (New Rochell), New York.

Gideon Manchester of [Providence](#), in the State of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations, Merchant, of his own free voluntary Will and Accord [manumitted](#), set free, and discharged his Negro Man Servant “Colette” from all Servitude, Slavery and Bondage whatsoever, requesting that all Magistrates and others permit this former [slave](#) to go and pass freely about his own Buſineſs and Concernements without Moleſtation or Interruption for so long as He behaved Himſelf peaceably and in Subjection to the Law:

To all People to whom these Presents shall come Greeting, Know ye that I Gideon Manchester of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Merchant, of my own free voluntary Will and Accord Do hereby manumit, set free, and discharge my Negro Man Servant called Colette from all Servitude, Slavery and Bondage whatsoever. And I request all Magistrates and others to permit the said Negro Man to go and pass freely about his own Buſineſs and Concernements without Moleſtation or Interruption, He behaving Himſelf peaceably and in Subjection to the Law. Given under my Hand and Seal, at Providence, the Eighteenth Day of October in the Year of our LORD, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Six.

((L. S.))

*Witness Caleb Godfrey r.
Christopher Lufsey Jun.*

}

Gideon Manchester.

*The foregoing is a true Copy Recorded this Sixth Day of July
A.D. 1778. Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk*



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

October 20, Sunday: Fiume was transferred from Venice to Croatia.

The [Reverend William Emerson](#) died in Otter Creek, Vermont at the home of the minister at Rutland. At this early time there was a large barn with associated farmland across the road from what we now know as the “Old Manse” in Concord, which farm was being worked by three or more black slaves. There is a story that on his deathbed in Vermont the Reverend Emerson expressed a desire to free these slaves. Although it is unclear how the surviving family could have funded such a [manumission](#) except by its being a merely nominal one, it is a fact that two black men, named Caesar and Peter, would live across the road from the Old Manse for years.³³ The body of the Reverend must have been buried at or near Rutland but no-one now knows exactly where.³³ The deceased left five children of whom one, [William Emerson, Junior](#), would become minister of the 1st Church (Old South Church) of Boston and father of [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#), while another was [Mary Moody Emerson](#) — Waldo’s aunt “Polly” who had been “in arms” at the time of the Concord fight.

33. Eventually [Waldo](#) would go searching for his grandfather [William Emerson](#)’s grave and not be able to locate it. The brick tomb constructed to house his casket, close to the Old Manse and the North Bridge in Concord, has therefore always been empty, and the stone qualifies as a memorial rather than a gravestone.



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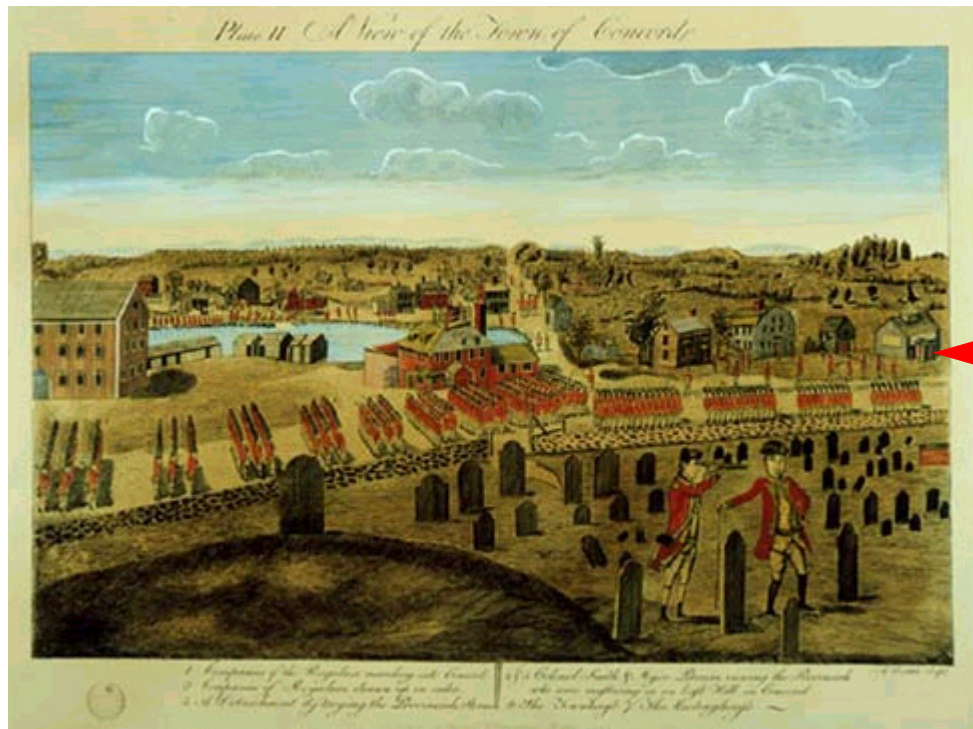
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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

WALDO'S
RELATIVES



There Mary is,
in her mother's
arms. —See?



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1777

Richard Allen was able at the age of 17 to purchase his [manumission](#) from [slavery](#), and became an itinerant preacher for interracial groups. Although attempts were made to prevent him from preaching to [slaves](#) in the vicinity of Radnor in New Jersey, he would persist.



January 7, Tuesday: The Committee of Safety ordered that, to halt British ships, British prisoners of war be put to work on a chain across the Hudson River at Fort Montgomery.

According to the Record of Deeds for 1617 to 1872, Book 19, page 309, on this day Jeremy Brown of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in the presence of Thomas Olney and Smith Brown as witnesses [manumitted](#) his [slave](#) Anthony, offering by way of explanation that “GOD knows human Nature was born Free” and urging him to “Remember GOD” while following the practical advice “to Labour 6 days: Then attend Some House of Worship,” meanwhile noticing to him that “if you are in Want while I or my Children have, I would have you call for any thing you may stand in Need of”:

Providence 7th January 1777 ~~~~~ GOD knows human Nature was born Free and have some Part of them been through Oppression held in Slavery ever Since Pharaoh's Time: It is my Opinion all Negroes ought to be free ~~~~~ Thereby give this from under my Hand that from this Time this Negro Anthony has his freedom: and I shall with God's Assistance free all Negroes in the English Nation ~~~~~ Anthony, if you are in Want while I or my Children have, I would have you call for any thing you may stand in Need of ~~~~~ My Advice is for you to Labour 6 Days: Then attend Some House of Worship Shun bad Company both black and White: Remember GOD ~~~~~ Learn to know yourself ~~~~~

*N. Providence, Januy 7, 1777
Witness Thomas Olney
Smith Brown*

Jer^my Brown

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

October 1, Wednesday: In Northampton, New Jersey, Belinda Pash became black, twenty-one, and free:

968

We Joseph & Rebecca Lippincott of the Township of Northampton in the County of Burlington in New Jersey do hereby set free from Bondage ~~my~~ our Mulatto Girl named Belinda Pash when she shall arrive at the Age of Twenty One Years, which will be on the ~~first~~ Day of the Tenth Month, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and ~~seventy seven~~ ^{thirty six} and do Release unto the said Belinda Pash all ~~our~~ ^{her} Right and Claim to her Person, and to any Estate which she may acquire, hereby declaring the said Belinda Pash absolutely free, against ~~any~~ ^{ourselves} and all Persons claiming under ~~us~~. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set ~~our~~ ^{our} Hands and Seals this Twentieth ~~fourth~~ ^{thirty} Day of the ~~Eight~~ ^{Third} Month, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and ~~seventy six~~ ^{thirty six}.

Sealed and delivered in the Presence of

Joseph Lippincott

Benjamin Jones Rebecca Lippincott

Wm Calvert

Recorded in a Book kept by the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Burlington By Saml. Calloway Clerk

[MANUMISSION](#)[SLAVERY](#)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

December 12, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a Negro Servant named Quaco was promised his freedom forever, beginning on December 1, 1780, and not only his freedom and indeed his very clothing but also the sum of \$50, plus a set of Shoe makers Tools — but for this Obligation to be in full Force Power and Virtue the condition would be that for the intervening three years he must behave himself faithful Trusty and obedient unto his Master Sam Butler and Miftrefs:

I the Subscriber Do promise for myself my Heirs Executors and Assigns That my Negro Servant named Quaco shall be free and at his Liberty from Me my heirs and Assigns forever from and after the First day of December in the Year of One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty and at the end of the aforeaid Time. I Do promise for myself my Heirs Executors and Assigns to pay and Deliver unto the aforeaid Servant named Quaco Fifty Dollars with one set of Shoe makers Tools and all his Clothing. The Conditions of the above obligation is Such that if my Negro Servant named Quaco above mentioned doth behave himself faithful Trusty and obedient unto his Master and Miftrefs and to his Heirs and Assigns from the Date here after mentioned Then the above Obligation to be in full Force Power and Virtue otherwise to be void and of no Effect. As Witness my Hand this Twelfth day of December 1777.

Sam Butler

*The Foregoing is a True Copy
Recorded this 13th Day of December A.D. 1780 }
Attest Theodore Foster Town Clerk }*

SLAVERY

If Negro Servant Quaco should fail to convince these white overlords that he was indeed behaving himself faithful Trusty and obedient, then their said Obligation of course to be void and of no Effect. (One would like to be reassured that the other shoe did drop, on December 1, 1780.)

MANUMISSION



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1778

Scottish miners gained some partial remission of their [slavery](#) — but they would not achieve [manumission](#) until 1779.

It was established that at least in the vicinity of [Boston](#), Lynn, and Salem, all members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had by this point completed the process of [manumission](#) necessary to clear their families of the practices of

*“importing,
buying,
or disposing
or holding
of mankind as slaves.”*

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Following the death of her slavemaster, John Wheatley, [Phillis Wheatley](#) was [manumitted](#) and married John Peters. Her marriage would be an unhappy and unfortunate one, and she would bear three children two of whom soon died, with her third succumbing soon enough after she died to be buried with her.



6 3/4 inches, \$75, on the internet



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

February 9, Friday: The government of France recognized the independence of the United States of America from the British colonial empire.

READ THE FULL TEXT

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly ordered that a “Regiment” (that is, a segregated military group) of [slaves](#) be raised. This group would never exceed a hundred enlistees. Out of their love of liberty, they pledged to slaves, not only Negro slaves but also mulatto slaves and native American slaves, who served the troops of General Washington’s army throughout the course of the revolution “all the bounties, wages and encouragements of other troops” — assuming of course that the colonies won against England. The “Black Regiment” would be mustered under the command of a white officer, Colonel [Christopher Greene](#), in order to



replace white members of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment who had been killed in earlier campaigns. Slaves who provided acceptable services were to be immediately discharged from the service of their master or mistress, and at the successful culmination of the war were to be [manumitted](#). Trust us, to the victors would belong the spoils. Richard Cozzens, Pomp Reaves, Felix Holbrook, and other free blacks from [Providence](#) also

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volunteered to serve in all-black companies under white officers in the 1st Rhode Island Regiment.





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Here, by way of illustration, is a list of [slaves](#) from Kings County of [Rhode Island](#) enlisted in the Continental Army, together with the names of their masters, and how much in Pounds their masters were saying that each one of them was worth on the open market:

Date	Slave's Name	Master's Name	Value
February 25	Dick Champlain	Stephen Champlain, South Kingstown	£130
February 25	Jack Champlain	Stephen Champlain, South Kingstown	110
April 2	Jack Fones	Daniel Fones, North Kingstown	100
April 3	Cudjo Carpenter	Heirs of Ann (widow), South Kingstown	120
April 3	Ceaser Wells	James Wells, Jr., Hopkinton	100
April 3	Cuff Gardiner	Chris. Gardiner, South Kingstown	120
April 3	Sharper Gardiner	Benj. Gardiner, South Kingstown	120
April 3	Prince Hammond	Wm. Hammond, North Kingstown	120
April 3	Quam Tanner	Joshua Tanner, Hopkinton	120
April 3	Prince Bent	John Bent, Hopkinton	120
April 11	York Champlain	Robert Champlain, South Kingstown	120
April 23	Isaac Rodman	Daniel Rodman, South Kingstown	120
April 24	Brittan Saltonstall	Dudley Saltonstall, Westerly	105
May 8	James Clarke	Gideon Clarke, South Kingstown	120
May 8	Mintel Gardiner	Henry Gardiner, South Kingstown	110
May 8	Moses Updike	Lodowick Updike, North Kingstown	93
May 8	Ceaser Updike	Lodowick Updike, North Kingstown	120
May 8	Garrett Perry	Benj. Perry, South Kingstown	120
May 8	Sampson Saunders	Steph'n Saunders Heirs, Westerly	90
May 8	Ruttee Gardiner	Nick's Gardiner, Exeter	30
May 28	Ceaser Sheldon	Palmer Sheldon, South Kingstown	120
May 29	Fortune Watson	Sam'l Watson, North Kingstown	120
June 6	Ceaser Rose	John Rose, South Kingstown	120
June 6	Edward Rose	John Rose, South Kingstown	120
June 6	Peter Hazard	Rob't, of Rich. Hazard, South Kingstown	110
June 6	Primus Babcock	Samuel Babcock, Hopkinton	120



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Date	Slave's Name	Master's Name	Value
July 2	Prince Rodman	Rob't Rodman, Jr., South Kingstown	120
July 2	Mingo Rodman	William Rodman, South Kingstown	120
July 2	Jacob Hazard	Carder Hazard, South Kingstown	110
July 16	Primus Gardiner	Nich's Gardiner, South Kingstown	105
July 16	Peter Hazard	Joseph Hazard, South Kingstown	120
July 16	Mingo Robertson	Sylv'r Robinson, South Kingstown	120
July 16	William Greene	Henry Greene, South Kingstown	120
July 31	Prince Vaughn	Jonathan Vaughn, North Kingstown	114
September 5	July Champlain	Stephen Champlain, South Kingstown	120
September 28	Hercules Gardiner	Ezekiel Gardiner, North Kingstown	60
September 28	Philon Phillips	Chris. Phillips, North Kingstown	120
October 14	Newport Champlain	Jeffrey Champlain, South Kingstown	120



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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February 14, Wednesday: The US ship *Ranger* took the recently adopted Stars-and-Stripes flag overseas for the 1st time, as it flew this flag while arriving in a port of France.

The Slave Enlistment Bill of [Rhode Island](#): “It is voted and resolved, that every able-bodied Negro, mulatto, or Indian man [slave](#) in this state, may enlist into either of the said 2 battalions, to serve during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain. That every slave, so enlisting, shall be entitled to, and receive all the bounties, wages and encouragements, allowed by the Continental Congress, to any soldier enlisting into their service. It is further voted and resolved, that every slave, so enlisting shall, upon passing muster before Colonel [Christopher Greene](#), be immediately discharged from the service of his master or mistress, and be absolutely FREE, as though he had never been encumbered with any kind of servitude or slavery...”

MANUMISSION



Joseph Brown and his cousin Nicholas Power together owned a man named Prince whom they had at work on a farm in Grafton, Massachusetts. Prince would come to Providence and enlist in accordance with this Slave Enlistment Bill, but when his owners would learn of what he had done they would petition the General Assembly and their Prince would be sent back to his slave labors. (In May the assembly would revoke this offer, after several hundred persons of color were assembled for service.)

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May 28, Wednesday: At the head of a division, the *Marquis de Lafayette* commanded during the retreat from Barren Hill.



On page 315 of Volume 19 of the property transactions of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Joshua Hacker, Yeoman, [manumitted](#) Discharged Liberated and Set free as a full and perfect Freeman a certain Mollato Man, Andrew



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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Hacker, from all Bondage [Slavery](#) and Servitude whatsoever forever hereafter:

Know all Men by these Presents That I Joshua Hacker of Providence in the county of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Yeoman Do hereby Manumit Discharge Liberate and Set free a certain Mollato Man called Andrew Hacker from all Bondage Slavery and Servitude whatsoever forever hereafter: And I do hereby Request all Persons to consider and use accordingly the said Andrew Hacker as a full and perfect Freeman. In Witness whereof I the said Joshua Hacker have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Twenty Eighth Day of May in the Year of our L^RD One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Eight

Witness Tho. Thayer }
Dally Hacker }

Joshua Hacker ((L.S.))

The foregoing is a True Copy: Recorded this 3rd Day of June A.D. 1778
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk

June 9, Tuesday: The new President of [Yale College](#), the Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#), [manumitted](#) Newport, the one black slave whom he owned.



I freed or liberated my Negro Man Newport, about aged 30. Settled all my Affairs, & myself & seven children set out in two Carriages for New Haven.

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1779

December 2, Thursday: It would be made a matter of record in the property-transaction records of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that, in regard to a Negro [slave](#) named Juba –recently taken on Board a vessel of the British enemy of the United States and Brought into the Port of New-London by Captain Sage, the Commander of the Schooner *Experiment*, and Efeek Hopkins, Jr., the Commander of the Schooner *Lively*– unanimous agreement had been obtained among the interested parties, to not simply Sell the person of the said Juba for whatever he might bring on the open market, but to instead [manumit](#) him and give him his Freedom for Life:

*This Certifies all it may concern that Juba a Negro belonging to an Enemy of the United States was taken on Board a British vessel & Brought into the Port of New-London by Capt. Sage Commander of the Schooner Experiment and Efeek Hopkins Junr. Commander of the Schooner Lively; and it was unanimously agreed Between the Owners and Agents for the Vessel to not Sell the said Juba but to give him his Freedom for Life ~Witness
J. B. Hopkins for Owners of Schooner Experiment and Agent for Schooner Lively.....*

*Paul Allen
Jas Waterman
Wm Wall
D Lawrence
Nich. Cooke
J M Varnum.....*

*The Foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 1st Day of
January A.D 1780.. Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk }*

ESEK HOPKINS

Later in the year, [Lafayette](#) persuaded the government of King Louis XVI to send an expeditionary army of 6,000 soldiers to the aid of the insurgent British colonists on the North American continent, to fight under the command of a general named George Washington whom they had defeated during the previous hostilities, the “French and Indian Wars” on that terrain. Both because this general had made himself the enemy of their British enemies, and because the French had previously been able to force him to surrender his army to their superior forces, this American general obviously was in need of such assistance.

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1780

15th day 1st month: Friend William Robinfon of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) manumitted his previously [enslaved](#) Negrow man named Ifrael.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

September: The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) received Pink Harris, the [slave](#) of Friend David Harris, into membership. She eventually would be granted a [manumission](#) document.

20th, 11th Month: The situation of the French troops in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would be described by François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux.

MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX

“Was read in this Meeting to good satisfaction an Epistle from the Quarterly Meeting held at Dartmouth the 12th and 13th of 10th month 1780 by which they desire we would treat with such [Friends](#) as are concerned in keeping [slaves](#), they having had information that there were some such among us, whereupon we appoint Isaac Lawton and Sampson Shearman to treat with them and report to next Monthly Meeting.”



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Between 1775 and 1780: The [Friends](#) of [Aquidneck Island](#), [Rhode Island](#) had recorded 22 [manumissions](#) of black [slaves](#) between 1775 and 1780, while disowning during that period 14 members of the Society who after being visited and labored with had refused to sign such documents. At the end of this process the comment was made that there was “hardly a Friend” who continued as a slaveholder. “Hardly?” –We do know of one such Quaker: Ann Bower was still holding her slaves, nor had she been disowned.

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)



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1781

March 31, Saturday: We find on page 340 of volume 19 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) records of title transfers, that on this day Nicholas Power et al was selling a certain [slave](#) named Ceafar or Cesar Power, of about 26 years of age, to Elisha Harding and Josiah Robbins or Robins of Franklin MA, so that they could have him serve in their place as a Continental soldier for a term of three years, after which this Negro Man would be [manumitted](#) and set free not only from his military obligations but also from these white slavemasters. Interestingly, this document doesn't state how many "Hundred Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to Me in Hand already paid" a man's freedom from chattel slavery in this case was worth in America:

Providence March 3rd 1781. Whereas a certain Negro Man named Ceafar about Twenty Six Years of Age, the Property of Nicholas Power in Providence one of the Subscribers - is sold to Elisha Harding and Josiah Robins [sic] of Franklin in Massachusetts State. as a Continental Soldier for the Term of Three Years - - This may certify that the said Negro Ceafar is to be considered as freed from any Demand of future Services from us or our Heirs forever on his being discharged from the Continental Army In Witness whereof We have Signed our Names. - - -

In the Presence of
Joseph Rogers
Richard Lathrop } *Nich. Power*
Josiah Robbins
Elisha Harding

The Foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this Fifth Day of April AD 1781 -
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk



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April 2, Monday: Joseph Bucklin of [Providence](#) sold One Certain Negro Man Servant or [slave](#) named London who was Twenty Years old, to the brothers Elkanah Wilmarth and Moses Wilmarth of Attleborough in the County of [Bristol](#), [Rhode Island](#), and these new owners of London Bucklin Covenanted and Promised to and with the said London on page 345 in Volume 19 of the Deeds and Mortgages records at the Town Hall that if he enlisted into the Army of the United States of America in their place, and served faithfully and truly for a Term of Three Years (or, if discharged before the three years were up, faithfully served them until the expiration of that period), that after the Expiration of that Term He the said London should and would be declared to be [manumitted](#) and Set Free and should have all the Liberties and Privileges of a Freeman in the most full and ample Manner:

Know all Men by these Presents that Whereas We Elkanah Wilmarth and Moses Wilmarth both of Attleborough in the County of Bristol, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts [sic], have this [sic] purchased of M. Joseph Bucklin of Providence in the State of Rhode Island &c. One Certain Negro Man Servant or Slave named London who was Twenty Years old, in the Month of March last past and as the said London hath now agreed to enlist [sic] and Serve as a Soldier in the Army of the United States of America for the Seventh Class of the Town of Attleborough aforesaid to which Class We the said Elkanah and Moses belong.

These Presents Therefore Witness That We the said Elkanah and Moses Wilmarth for ourselves our Heirs Executors and Administrators Do hereby Covenant and Promise to and with the said London That Provided and upon Condition he shall enlist into the Army of the United States of America for the said Class as aforesaid and shall faithfully and truly serve therein for the Term of Three Years agreeable to his Enlistment if the War shall continue so long or in Case of his being discharged from the Army before the Expiration of Three Years shall faithfully serve us till the Expiration of Three Years from the Date hereof We in that Case Do hereby Covenant and Engage That after the Expiration of that Term He the said London shall and he is hereby declared to be Manumitted and Set free and Shall have all the Liberties and Privileges of a Freeman in the most full and ample Manner We hereby promising never to call upon him for any other Service. -- In Witness whereof We the said Elkanah Wilmarth and Moses Wilmarth have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this Second Day of April A.D. 1781.

*Elkanah Wilmarth
Moses Wilmarth..*

Witness Theodore Foster..

Providence ye in Providence April 2. 1781. Then the above named Elkanah Wilmarth and Moses Wilmarth personally appeared and acknowledged the foregoing Instrument to their [sic] Free and Voluntary Act and Deed Before Me Theodore Foster Jus. Peace

The foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 4th Day of June A.D. 1781

Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk

April 16, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Augusta, Georgia. (They'd be keeping on trying to kill each other there all the way until June 5th — it all must have been Hell! Well, at least they'd had the sense to wait to get this thing going until after Easter Sunday when Jesus rose to Heaven. :-)

We find on page 340 of volume 19 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) records of title transfers, that on this day Nicholas Power was [manumitting](#) and setting free his Negro Man Prince:

Providence April 16, 1781 This may certify That I the Subscriber have Manumitted and Set Free my Negro Man Prince from Me my Heirs and Assigns forever from this Date

*Test Benjamin Cushing Junr }
Luke Arnold ----- } Nicholas Power*

The foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 17th Day of April A.D. 1781

Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk }



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May 16, Wednesday: We find on page 341 of volume 19 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) records of title transfers, that our good ol' buddy [Efek Hopkins](#) was on this day up to selling a girl to her own mother, a resident of [Newport](#), *“for and in Confideration of the Sum of One Hundred Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to Me in Hand already paid”* (kindly don't ask me to explain how something like this can go down, here or anywhere). Isn't it interesting that the age of this girl isn't specified, nor are we told how it came about that the child

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of a free woman was being treated as a slave?

Know all Men by these Presents That I Ezek Hopkins of North Providence, in the County of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, for and in Consideration of the Sum of One Hundred Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to Me in Hand already paid by Flora Wanton a Free Negro Woman of Newport in the County of Newport, in the State of Rhode Island &c. aforesaid, which said Flora Wanton is Mother of a Certain Negro Servant Girl called Peggy, now belonging to Me the said Ezek Hopkins, the Receipt of which said Sum of Money, I hereby acknowledge. *Have Remitted* Released and Forever Quitclaimed and by these Presents I Do remise Release and forever Quitclaim All the Right, Title, Interest Property Claim and Demand whatever which I ever had now have, or can have of, in and to the said Servant Negro Girl called Peggy, to her Mother, the said Flora Wanton, in order that the the [sic] said Peggy may be made Free, and for this Purpose I hereby Bargain and Sell all my said Right and Title to the said Negro Girl to her said Mother the said Flora so that neither I, my Heirs Executors Administrators or any other person claiming from by or under Me, or their or either of them shall have any Claim whatever to the Service of the said Peggy from and After the Date of these Presents but shall and will be therefrom forever barred and excluded by these Presents. And I covenant That That [sic] I will Warrant to the said Flora Wanton to defend against the Lawful Claims of all persons claiming any Right or Title to the Services of said Negro Girl Peggy in Consequence of any Conveyance heretofore made.

Witness my Hand and Seal this Sixteenth Day of May A.D. 1781.

Signed Sealed and Delivered in Presence of us

Timothy Bourden.....

Griffith Harris.....

Ezek Hopkins

The Foregoing is a True Copy. Recorded this 16th Day of May A.D. 1781 }
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk - }

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May 20, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Stephen Hopkins](#) made his last will and testament: “I give to all my Negroes³⁴ their Freedom, to take Place immediately with Respect to those who shall be of Age, and of the others, the Males at Twenty One and the Females at Eighteen years of Age.”

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34. We note that this document is in accord with the 1774 census, which indicates that he owned six slaves, and refutes the convenient story now offered by the Quakers, that Hopkins had owned but one slave, a woman named Hannah.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

29th, 5th Month: “The Women’s Meeting informs that Ann Bowers is holding [slaves](#) and refused to follow anyone’s advice.” A committee of male [Friends](#) was formed, to labor along with the women.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[MANUMISSION](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

May 29, Tuesday: The widowed Mary Crouch of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) sold her Negro Man named Peter to himself for the sum of 300 Spanish Milled Dollars, [manumitting](#) him and forever setting him Free and at his own Liberty, in the most full and ample Manner a Freeman, and forever Discharging and Acquitting him from all Services which she had or ever had had a Right to claim:

Know all men by these Presents that I Mary Crouch of Providence in the County of Providence Widow for and in Consideration of the Sum of Three Hundred Spanish Milled Dollars to me paid by my Negro Man named Peter and more especially for the Good Services which he hath done Me Do by these Presents Manumit and forever set free him the said Peter and Do for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators forever Discharge and Acquit him the said Peter from all Services which I now have or ever had a Right to claim to his person or Services hereby declaring absolutely Free and at his own Liberty in the most full and ample Manner a Freeman. – In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Twenty Ninth Day of May in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty One. 1781.

*Witnesses
David Wilkinfon
A Fenner Junr*

Mary Crouch

The Foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 29th Day of May AD 1781

Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk –

[SLAVERY](#)

Fall: Friend [Elias Hicks](#), after making his way home from a missionary journey to the Vermont border in which he had had to impress his way past army deserters who had turned bandit, came down with a debilitating fever. While in his delirium, he made himself believe that he had received a call from God to go testify in a location on *Paumanok* “Long Island” at which traveling [Quaker](#) ministers were currently being abused. Then, while he was convalescing from this fever, he had a vision in which he was making this visit which had been commanded, and in this vision he came to a town which he did not recognize and felt that he needed to give testimony. When he cried out, a black man took him into a different part of the town, and pointed out to him a place where he could hold his meeting and give his testimony.


“Mum Bet” or “Mumbet” was in her late 30s at this point, and she and her younger sister Lizzie were [slaves](#) in Stockbridge MA. Their owner attempted to injure Lizzie and, amazingly, Mumbet was able to persuade the town’s lawyer, a Mr. Sedgwick, to solicit the protection of the court. Not only were they awarded damages of 30 shillings, not only was the Stockbridge [slaveholder](#) forced to pay court costs of 5 pounds, 14 shillings, and 4 pence, but also, the court awarded “Mum Bet” or “Mumbet” her [manumission](#) papers and she was able to



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assume the free name of Elizabeth Freeman.

She would do domestic work for wages in the Sedgwick home for the remaining years of her life, and would gradually made herself into what the white family would come to acknowledge as “the main pillar of the household.” When she would die  she would be buried in the Sedgwick family plot, in Stockbridge Cemetery on Main Street, and her tombstone would be engraved to read:

**SHE COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE,
YET IN HER OWN SPHERE
SHE HAD NO SUPERIOR OR EQUAL...
GOOD MOTHER FARE WELL.³⁵**

35. Consult Arthur Zilversmit’s “Mumbet: Folklore and Fact,” Berkshire History, Spring 1971, Volume I, Number 1, Arthur C. Chase’s THE ASHLEYS – A PIONEER BERKSHIRE FAMILY, a booklet published for the Colonel Ashley House, and pages 47-49 of Lillian E. Preiss’s SHEFFIELD, FRONTIER TOWN for the story of Mumbet of Ashley Falls and Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



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...the citizens of Massachusetts had been concerned with their own state constitution, which was adopted in 1780 and contained many of the features later incorporated into the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Since Colonel Ashley was a prominent lawyer and an influential Southern Berkshire resident, it was only natural that his home would be the scene of many discussions about the document. In his household there was a young slave woman, affectionately called Mumbet, who, with her sister Lizzie, had been purchased as a child from Mrs. Ashley's family, the Hogaboams of Claverack NY. As she waited on the Ashley family, Mumbet overheard many of the conversations about freedom and liberty.



One day in a fit of anger Mrs. Ashley was about to strike the younger girl with a heated shovel. Stepping between the two, Mumbet received the blow intended for her sister; then, resentful of the injustice, she left the house. Persuading a fellow slave named Brom to join her, she hastened to the home of Theodore Sedgwick, Sheffield's leading lawyer and a friend of Colonel Ashley's. There they sought his assistance in obtaining their freedom. In answer to Sedgwick's question about how she ever got such an idea, she replied that in listening to the talk about the Bill of Rights, "she never heard but that all people were born free and equal, and she thought long about it, and resolved she would try whether she did not come among them."

Intrigued by the "palpable illogic of slavery at a time when Massachusetts was engaged in a fight for freedom from imperial regulation and control," Sedgwick accepted the case. The suit for freedom of the two slaves, Brom and Bett vs. Ashley, was heard in August 1781 before the County Court of Common Pleas in Great Barrington. Colonel Ashley pleaded that the Negroes were his legal servants for life, but the plaintiffs, represented by Sedgwick and Tapping Reeve, a distinguished lawyer of Litchfield, Connecticut, won their case. The jury found that the Negroes were freemen illegally detained in servitude by the Ashleys and assessed damages of thirty shillings against the defendants. Mumbet was awarded compensation for her services from the time she was 21 years of age. Ashley decided to withdraw the appeal, for he was still tainted by the opprobrium clinging to him as one of the "obnoxious seventeen" rescinders of 1789.

Welcomed cordially into the Sedgwick family, Mumbet, taking the surname of "Freeman," remained with the Sedgwicks for the rest of her life as a beloved friend and helper. Catherine Sedgwick, late a popular novelist, wrote of her: "One should have known this remarkable woman, the native majesty of her deportment.... Mumbet was the only person who could tranquilize my mother when her mind was disordered -the only one of her friends whom she liked to have about her- and why? She treated her with the same respect she did when she was sane. As far as possible, she obeyed her commands and humored her caprices; in short, her superior instincts hit upon the mode of treatment that science has since adopted."

When Mumbet died in 1829, she was buried in the Sedgwick plot in Stockbridge near the center of the family circle. Her epitaph, written by Charles Sedgwick, reads: "She was born a slave and remained a slave for nearly thirty years. She could neither read nor write, yet in her own sphere she had no superior nor equal. She neither wasted time nor property. She never violated a trust, nor failed to perform a duty. In every situation of domestic trial, she was the most efficient helper, and the tenderest friend. Good Mother, farewell." Mumbet's case was one of the most important



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1782

Monk Estill became the first [manumitted slave](#) in Kentucky history.

The Virginia legislature authorized [manumission](#) of [slaves](#). Some 10,000 Virginia slaves would be freed over the following 8 years — largely because they were too old, ill, or costly for their masters to maintain. (Independence has a high price as British subsidies on critical commodities were ended and Britain shifted her trade elsewhere.)

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, John Buttrick, and George Minott were Selectmen.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood was again Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Timothy Minott was Town Treasurer.

James Barrett was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

When Dr. [John Cuming](#), a prominent citizen of [Concord](#) of the most impeccable revolutionary and social standing, fell ill in this year, he made a will in which he declared: "I give and bequeath to my two negros (that was) viz. Bristo and Jem thirty pounds sterling each, the expending of which money to be under the Special Directions of the Selectmen of Concord."³⁶

BRISTER FREEMAN

[Concord](#)'s revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was renewed.

The committee of correspondence, etc., chosen March, 1776 [for [Concord](#)], were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. Jonas Heywood, Capt. Joseph Hosmer, James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Capt. George Minot. In 1777, Colonel John Buttrick, Josiah Merriam, Isaac Hubbard, Capt. Abishai Brown, Capt. David Wheeler, Mr. Ephraim Potter, and Lieut. Nathan Stow. In 1778, [John Cuming](#), Esq., Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam. These were re-elected in 1779, 1780, 1781 & 1782. In 1783, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Wood, and Lieut. Joseph Hayward. This committee was not chosen afterwards.³⁷

36. Note that as "Bristo" was short for "Bristol," so also "Jem" was short for "James"; in the context of a legal document what we have here is two adults being diminished. The designation of the Town Selectmen as custodians for the fund makes it clear that Cuming's bequest was in no sense largesse, but was intended merely to reassure his fellow white townsmen that after his death his [manumitted slaves](#) would not make themselves a financial burden on the town. (Cuming would live until 1788 and then it would require several additional years before this will would be settled.)



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January 24, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the widowed Mary Cheekly or Cheekley formally pledged that, on condition that her Negro-Man Cato “serve me faithfully” during the next approximately six months “as he has hitherto done,” then as of July 18, 1783 she would grant to her said Negro-Man Cato his Release from Servitude and make him Free — no longer held “in Slavery or Bondage from and after the Day above mentioned.” Her pledge was duly notarized and witnessed and certified, and placed on record on page 43 of Volume 22 of the town records:

I, Mary Cheekley [sic] of Providence in the County of Providence & State of Rhode Island & Widow, in consideration of the faithful service of my Negro-Man Cato, hereby make known that from and after the 18th Day of July, which will be in the Year 1783. I Do, by these Presents Release the said Cato from Servitude and make him Free, hereby & forever Quitting- Claim, and renouncing all right & Title of what Name or Nature soever, which I have now or ever had to his services, by which for my Heirs or Assigns might or could hold him in Slavery or Bondage from and after the Day above mentioned: Upon condition, that he, the said Cato serve me faithfully, as he has hitherto done, untill the intermediate Time from the Date hereof to the said 18th Day of July AD 1783 be fully completed and ended. ~ In Witnes whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed my seal in Providence aforesaid, this 24th Day of January AD 1782

For Presence of us

Henry Bacon } Mary Cheekly [sic] ((L.S.))
Bally Church }

In Providence this 24th Day of January AD 1786 personally appeared Mrs. Mary Cheekley, and acknowledged the within Instrument to be her Voluntary Act, before me—
Thos. Truman Justice of the Peace—

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Notice who was in control here. Notice whose needs were being served here. The white person was in control. The black person was at risk. It was up to the white person to decide, later, whether to keep this “promise,” based upon a subjective appreciation of whether the conduct of the black person had or had not been suitably “faithful.” How about the timing? Did this black person need to be enslaved for an additional six months? Did this black person need not to be set free immediately? Or, is the black person, said Negro-Man Cato, being further manipulated — was it exclusively the white person’s need, the widowed Mary Cheekly or Cheekley’s need, for an additional six months of over-the-top service, which was setting the timing here?

What we see in this document — as in so many other of the manumission documents stored under the roof of the Providence Town Hall — is how racial extortion can masquerade as white benevolence.

37. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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April 19, Friday: The Dutch Republic recognized the United States of America as a legitimate and independent nation (John Adams's home at The Hague, Netherlands would become our initial US embassy).

In Connecticut, Nathaniel Shaw died:

*I do hereby Emancipate & set at Liberty all my Negro slaves
Except Silah who is to be free at Twenty One Years of Age.*

MANUMISSION

September 14, Saturday: In Providence, Rhode Island, Ezekiel Durfey sold for 140 Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars his 13-year-old slave Abraham Tikey to Arthur Tikey, a Free Negro Man of Newport — who was, presumably that lad's father. We may presume that Arthur did not then sell Abraham to any other person or hold him otherwise in bondage, and that therefore, effectively, this property transaction which has been labeled in the town records as a “sale of a Negro,” between a white man and a black man, amounted to a manumission, of a black boy by a black man:

Know all Men by these Presents That I Ezekiel Durfey of Providence in the County of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Mariner for and in Consideration of the Sum of One Hundred and Forty Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to Me in Hand already paid by Arthur Tikey a Free Negro Man of Newport in the County of Newport in said State the Receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge and do requit and Discharge the said Arthur Tikey his Heirs Executors and Administrators of the same, Have Given Granted Bargained Sold assigned Set over and conveyed and by these Presents Do Give Grant Bargain Sell assign Set over and freely fully and absolutely convey unto him the said Arthur Tikey his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns One Certain Negro Boy called Abraham Tikey who was born in said Newport and who is now in the Nineteenth Year of his Age.

To Have and To Hold the said Negro Boy called Abraham Tikey to him the said Arthur Tikey his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns forever to his and their only use and Benefit so that neither I the said Ezekiel Durfey or my Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns or any or either of them shall or will have any Right Title Claim or Demand whatever to the said Negro Boy or his Services after the Day of the Date hereof but from the same they and every of them are hereby wholly Barred and excluded. And I hereby Covenant for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators That I have Good Right to Sell and convey the said Negro Boy as aforesaid and will Warrant Secure and Defend the said Negro Boy called Abraham Tikey to him the said Arthur Tikey and to his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns forever against the Lawful Claims or Demands of any person or persons whatsoever. *In Witness* whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seal this Fourteenth Day of September Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Two.

Ezekiel Durfey.

Nathaniel Jacobs.. }
John P. Jones... } *The Foregoing is a True Copy*

Recorded this 4th Day of September AD 1782
[squiggle] *Theodore Foster Town Clerk.*

December: Newport, the black man who had been manumitted by the Reverend Ezra Stiles as he had set out from Newport, Rhode Island in 1778 to become the President of Yale College, showed up in New Haven, Connecticut with wife and 2-year-old son in tow, and a proposition. “How about I come work for you?”

This Evening arrived here my Man servant Newport and his Wife & Child, whom I have hired for seven years @ \$20 per annum. The Child Jacob two years old last Month and bound to me till age 24.



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1783

24th day 7th month: In [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), [Bathsheba? Barshebe?] Knowles, Robert Knowles, Joseph Knowles, Jr., John Congdon, Charles Congdon, and Hannah Knowles [manumitted](#) an [enslaved](#) Mustee or Molatto Man known by the name of Cuff Otherwife Cuff Knowles.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

November: The British vessel *Peggy* sailed out of [Staten Island, New York](#) for Nova Scotia, with many former American [slaves](#), freed in recognition of their labor services to the British army and in fulfilment of [manumission](#) promises made, aboard.

GOODBYE, COLUMBUS

by Jill Lepore

(The New Yorker, issue of 2006-05-08)

When America won its independence, what became of the slaves who fled for theirs?

What with the noise, the heat, and the danger of being forced back into slavery, sometimes it's good to get out of the city. Such, at least, was the assessment of Harry Washington, who, in July of 1783, made his way to the salty, sunbaked docks along New York's East River and boarded the British ship *L'Abondance*, bound for Nova Scotia. A clerk dutifully noted his departure in



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the "Book of Negroes," a handwritten ledger listing the three thousand runaway slaves and free blacks who evacuated New York with the British that summer: "Harry Washington, 43, fine fellow. Formerly the property of General Washington; left him 7 years ago."

Born on the Gambia River around 1740, not far from where he would one day die, Harry Washington was sold into slavery sometime before 1763. Twelve years later, in November, 1775, he was grooming his master's horses in the stables at Mount Vernon when the royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, offered freedom to any slaves who would join His Majesty's troops in suppressing the American rebellion. That December, George Washington, commanding the Continental Army in Cambridge, received a report that Dunmore's proclamation had stirred the passions of his own slaves. "There is not a man of them but would leave us if they believed they could make their escape," a cousin of Washington's wrote from Mount Vernon, adding bitterly, "Liberty is sweet." In August of 1776, just a month after delegates to the Continental Congress determined that in the course of human events it sometimes becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the bands that have connected them with another, Harry Washington declared his own independence by running away to fight with Dunmore's all-black British regiment, wearing a uniform embroidered with the motto "Liberty to Slaves." Liberty may not have been as sweet as he'd hoped. For most of the war, he belonged to an unarmed company known as the Black Pioneers, who were more or less garbagemen, ordered to "Assist in Cleaning the Streets & Removing all Nuisances being thrown into the Streets." The Black Pioneers followed British troops under the command of Henry Clinton as they moved from New York to Philadelphia to Charleston, and, after the fall of Charleston, back to New York again, which is how Harry Washington came to be in the city in 1783, and keen to leave before General Washington repossessed it, and him.

No one knows how many former slaves had fled the United States by the end of the American Revolution. Not as many as wanted to, anyway. During the war, between eighty thousand and a hundred thousand (nearly one in five) left their homes, running from slavery to the freedom promised by the British, and betting on a British victory. They lost that bet. They died in battle, they died of disease, they ended up someplace else, they ended up back where they started, and worse off. (A fifteen-year-old girl captured while heading for Dunmore's regiment was greeted by her master with a whipping of eighty lashes, after which he poured hot embers into her wounds.) When the British evacuated, fifteen thousand blacks went with them, though not necessarily to someplace better.

From the moment that Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, in 1781, American allies reported seeing "herds of Negroes" fleeing through Virginia's swamps of pine and cypress. A few made it to a warship that Washington, under the terms of the British surrender, had allowed to sail to New York. Some ran to the



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French, on the not unreasonable supposition that earning wages polishing shoes in Paris had to be better than planting tobacco in Virginia for nothing but floggings. "We gained a veritable harvest of domestics," one surprised French officer wrote. Hundreds of Cornwallis's soldiers and their families were captured by their former owners, including five of Thomas Jefferson's slaves and two women owned by George Washington. Those who escaped raced to make it behind British lines before the slave catchers caught up with them. Pregnant women had to hurry, too, but not so fast as to bring on labor, lest their newborns miss their chance for a coveted "BB" certificate: "Born Free Behind British Lines."

As runaways flocked to New York, or Charleston, or Savannah, cities from which the British disembarked, their owners followed them. Boston King, an escaped slave from South Carolina, saw American slave owners "seizing upon their slaves in the streets of New York, or even dragging them out of their beds." A Hessian officer reported, "Almost five thousand persons have come into this city to take possession again of their former property." (It was at Washington's insistence that the names of those who boarded British ships were recorded in the "Book of Negroes," so that owners might later file claims for compensation.) In Charleston, after the ships were full, British soldiers patrolled the wharves to keep back the black men, women, and children who were frantic to leave the country. A small number managed to duck under the redcoats' raised bayonets, jump off the wharves, and swim out to the last longboats ferrying passengers to the British fleet, whose crowded ships included the aptly named Free Briton. Clinging to the sides of the longboats, they were not allowed on board, but neither would they let go; in the end, their fingers were chopped off.

But those who did leave America also left American history. Or, rather, they have been left out of it. Theirs is not an undocumented story (the "Book of Negroes" runs to three volumes); it's just one that has rarely been told, for a raft of interesting, if opposing, reasons. A major one is that nineteenth-century African-American abolitionists decided that they would do better by telling the story of the many blacks who fought on the patriot side during the Revolution, and had therefore earned for their race the right to freedom and full citizenship and an end to Jim Crow. "Not a few of our fathers suffered and bled" in the cause of American independence, Peter Williams, Jr., declared in a Fourth of July oration in New York in 1830. (Williams's own father, who had joined American troops in defiance of his Loyalist master, later managed to purchase his freedom and went on to help found the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.) When the Boston abolitionist William Cooper Nell published "The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution," in 1855, Harriet Beecher Stowe supplied an introduction:

The colored race have been generally considered by their enemies, and sometimes even by their friends, as



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deficient in energy and courage. Their virtues have been supposed to be principally negative ones. This little collection of interesting incidents, made by a colored man, will redeem the character of the race from this misconception.

Best not to mention those who fled to the British. Having abandoned the United States, they not only were of no use in redeeming "the character of the race"; they had failed to earn the "passport" to citizenship that Nell believed patriot service conferred.

They were also too shockingly unfree to be included in grand nineteenth-century narratives of the Revolution as a triumph for liberty. As the historian Gary Nash observes in "The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution" (Harvard; \$19.95), slavery is so entirely missing from those histories that "it would appear that the British and the Americans fought for seven years as if half a million African Americans had been magically whisked off the continent." In 1891, the Harvard scholar John Fiske took notice of Dunmore's proclamation in his two-volume "American Revolution," only to dismiss it. "The relations between master and slave in Virginia were so pleasant," Fiske wrote, that Britain's "offer of freedom fell upon dull uninterested ears."

It wasn't until Benjamin Quarles's landmark "The Negro in the American Revolution," in 1961, that what Harry Washington might have had to say about that became clear: Liberty is sweet. Many fine scholars have followed in Quarles's wake, but it would be fair to say that their work has yet to challenge what most Americans think about the times that tried men's souls.

With no place in any national historical narrative, black refugees of the American Revolution have been set adrift. Perhaps, then, it is hardly surprising that they have been taken up recently not by American historians but by historians of the places they went to.

Two new histories of their travels, the most ambitious yet, have just been published, one written by an Englishman, the other by an Australian. The British historian Simon Schama's "Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution" (Ecco; \$29.95) follows the exiles to Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone but keeps London, and English antislavery activists, at its center; Cassandra Pybus's "Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty" (Beacon; \$26.95) follows them everywhere, including to the Australian penal colony of Botany Bay; she teaches at the University of Sydney.

Schama writes like no one so much as Dickens. Here is how he introduces the founder of England's antislavery movement, leaving his brother's house on Mincing Lane, "neither the worst nor the best address in the City of London," in 1765:

The door opened and out stepped an angular man looking older than his thirty years. His tall but meagre frame,



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hollow cheeks, lantern jaw and short curled wig gave him the air of either an underpaid clerk or an unworldly cleric; the truth is that Granville Sharp was something of both.

Schama's book is divided into two parts. The first part chronicles Sharp's career. With close colleagues, including the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson and the former slave Olaudah Equiano, Sharp led Britain's extraordinary campaign to put an end to what he called the "Accursed Thing": human bondage. It took years, but they succeeded. England took a dramatic step toward abolishing slavery on its soil in 1772, in a landmark case in which a man named James Somerset won his freedom. In 1807, the British Parliament outlawed the slave trade. The following year, the U.S. Congress did the same. In other words, England banned domestic slavery decades before making it illegal for British merchants and ships' captains to buy and sell slaves. The United States did the reverse, outlawing the overseas slave trade in 1808 but not declaring an end to slavery until Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, in 1863.

Schama points out that news of the Somerset case, as much as Dunmore's proclamation, is what led so many American slaves to flee to British lines during the American Revolution. They wrongly believed that the Somerset judgment's nuanced and limited ruling meant that "as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free." For one American refugee, the link between England and liberty was so close that he renamed himself British Freedom. Or consider "Yankee Doodle, or, The Negroes Farewell to America," a minstrel song popular in London in the seventeen-eighties:

Now farewell my Massa my Missey adieu
More blows or more stripes will me e'er take from you...
Den Hey! for old Englan' where Liberty reigns
Where Negroe no beaten or loaded with chains

But, more often than not, the price of British freedom was poverty. "I am Thirty Nine Years of Age & am ready & willing to serve His Britinack Majesty," Peter Anderson told a relief commission in London. "But I am realy starvin about the Streets." At the beginning of the war, Anderson had left behind his wife and three children in Virginia to join Dunmore's regiment. He was wounded, captured, and sentenced to be hanged. After six months as a prisoner, he escaped and foraged in the woods until he found his way back to the British Army. All this he endured only to land in London, reduced to begging. The commissioners were not sympathetic. "Instead of being sufferers of the wars," they concluded, black veterans had benefitted from it. Penniless they might be, but they had "gained their liberty and therefore come with a very ill-grace to ask for the bounty of government."

Not everyone who evacuated with the British sailed to England. Like thousands of white Loyalists, black Loyalists were relocated to Britain's northern colonies: mostly to Nova Scotia,



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New Brunswick, and Ontario. Some fifteen hundred settled in Birchtown, Nova Scotia, making it the largest free black community in North America. It was also a disaster. By the time Harry Washington arrived there, in August of 1783, there was nothing to eat, it was too late to plant, and the topsoil was too thin for anything much to grow. In 1789, the settlers were still starving. Boston King reported, "Many of the poor people were compelled to sell their best gowns for five pounds of flour, in order to support life. When they had parted with all their clothes, even to their blankets, several of them fell down dead in the streets, thro' hunger. Some killed and ate their dogs and cats."

Meanwhile, in London, Granville Sharp and his colleagues on the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor began making plans to send England's beleaguered blacks to Africa. This seems now, as it did to many people then, a preposterous plan, as if the slave trade could somehow be undone by this reverse voyage, settling freed slaves just a stone's throw from British slave-trading forts. While the emigrants waited on board ships in Portsmouth Harbor, the African-born writer and former slave Quobna Ottobah Cugoana warned that they "had better swim to shore, if they can, to preserve their lives and liberties in Britain, than to hazard themselves at sea ... and the peril of settling at Sierra Leone." But sail they did. In May of 1787, nearly four hundred reached Sierra Leone, where they settled at a place they named Granville Town, and elected as their governor a runaway slave and Revolutionary War veteran from Philadelphia named Richard Weaver. Within five months, plagued by disease and famine, a hundred and twenty-two of the settlers were dead. And, just as Cugoana had predicted, some were kidnapped and sold into slavery all over again. In 1790, a local ruler burned Granville Town to the ground.

That was not to be the end of it. In the second part of "Rough Crossings," Schama turns to the journey of John Clarkson ("the 'other' Clarkson-second born, perfectly affable, sweet-tempered Johnny"), chosen by Sharp and the elder Clarkson to head a second attempt to settle Sierra Leone, this time with the "poor blacks" who had settled in Nova Scotia. In January, 1792, nearly twelve hundred black men, women, and children found berths on fifteen ships in Halifax Harbor. Among them were British Freedom and Harry Washington. Before the convoy left the harbor, Clarkson rowed from ship to ship, handing to each family a certificate "indicating the plot of land 'free of expence' they were to be given 'upon arrival in Africa.'"

The colony's new capital, on the Sierra Leone peninsula, was called the Province of Freedom; it did not live up to its name. There was death: along with dozens of others, Boston King's wife, Violet, died of "putrid fever" within weeks of arrival. There was intrigue: in 1792, Clarkson took what he thought would be a brief trip to England, but the colony's directors, dissatisfied with his failure to turn a profit from plantation crops, never sent him back. And there was avarice: despite the



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promise of free land, Clarkson's successors demanded exorbitant rents. "We wance did call it Free Town," some weary settlers wrote to Clarkson in 1795, "but since your absence we have a reason to call it a town of slavery."

By 1799, Sierra Leone's settlers had grown so discontented, so revolutionary in their rejection of the colony's tyrannical government, that they were, in the words of one London abolitionist, "as thorough Jacobins as if they had been trained and educated in Paris." The next year, a group of rebels declared independence. They were crushed. Tried by a military tribunal, they were banished from Freetown to the other side of the Sierra Leone River. In their exile, they elected Harry Washington as their leader, just months after George Washington died at Mount Vernon, having freed his slaves in his will.

Cassandra Pybus wants to rescue Harry Washington from the "callous indifference of history," to call attention to what he shared with the first President of the United States: "a commitment to the transforming ideals of liberty and self-determination." Schama is more interested in one of Harry Washington's fellow-rebels. "Rough Crossings" begins by imagining British Freedom "scratching a living from the stingy soil" of Nova Scotia and ends with his exile outside the Province of Freedom:

We can picture him surviving . . . on a few acres, or more likely finding a way to do business with the local chiefs. And if he did indeed cling to that name, he could only do so by not crossing the river to Freetown. For he must have understood that he had had his day. Over there, no one had much use for British freedom any more. Over there was something different. Over there was the British Empire.

But picturing British Freedom is about all that we can do; apart from his name, we know almost nothing about him. (Because Freedom renamed himself, he can't be traced in records like the "Book of Negroes.") "British Freedom's name said something important: that he was no longer negotiable property," Schama writes. Names count—they mattered to the parents who named their BB-certified daughter Patience Freeman—but sometimes names aren't enough. Among Schama's many enviable talents as a historian and as a stylist is his ability to turn a name into a meditation on liberty and empire. But the asymmetry, borne of the asymmetry of the evidence, is not without consequences: the black expatriates in "Rough Crossings" have names and ages and imagined motives, while the lantern-jawed architect of their freedom, Granville Sharp, is rendered in all his Dickensian detail. Sharp is focussed; the settlers are a bit of a blur. Pybus uses a different lens. She pays scant attention to the likes of Granville Sharp. Instead, she trails the fugitives relentlessly, including the unlucky few who, convicted of petty crimes in London, were shipped thirteen thousand miles away, to Botany Bay, a place whose staggering deprivations made it worse



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than London, worse than Birchtown, worse than Granville Town, worse than the Province of Freedom. Here's a hint: in 1790, the punishment for stealing food was increased from a thousand to two thousand lashes.

What Pybus offers is a collective biography, made possible through her painstaking-breathtaking-examination of tax lists, muster rolls, property deeds, court dockets, parish records, and unwieldy uncatalogued manuscripts like the papers of General Henry Clinton. It allows her to rattle off details like this: in Botany Bay in 1788, "John Randall, the black ex-soldier from Connecticut convicted of stealing a watch chain in Manchester, was married to Esther Howard, a white London oyster seller, convicted at the Old Bailey of stealing a watch." In case it escaped your notice, that's months of eye-straining archival research on three continents in just thirty-four words. (She later, and still more casually, throws out that Randall eventually found work as a kangaroo-hunter; that by 1792 he had received a land grant of sixty acres; and that, widowed twice, he married three times and had nine children before his death, in 1822.) Men like Randall, Pybus argues, "carried to the far corners of the globe the animating principles of the revolution that had so emphatically excluded them."

Maybe. But, at journey's end, it's hard to know what to make of the travails of British Freedom or Harry Washington or John Randall. To follow them is, still, to leave American history behind. The story of the British abolition movement has been elegantly told by Adam Hochschild, in "Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves" (Houghton Mifflin; \$26.95). It is also at the heart of an excellent new biography by Vincent Carretta, "Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man" (University of Georgia Press; \$29.95). These, like Schama's and Pybus's, are rich and wonderful books. All the same, with their praise of prophets and rebels and self-made men on a global quest for liberty, some readers might conclude that English abolitionists and American runaways ought to serve as honorary Founding Fathers, as though the likes of Washington and Jefferson will no longer do. (Damn those slave-owning sons of liberty!)

In the midst of this, it's easy to forget that many eighteenth-century Americans considered the British hypocritical about slavery. After the Somerset decision, Benjamin Franklin complained:

Pharisaical Britain! to pride thyself in setting free a single Slave that happens to land on thy coasts, while thy Merchants in all thy ports are encouraged by thy laws to continue a commerce whereby so many hundreds of thousands are dragged into a slavery that can scarce be said to end with their lives, since it is entailed on their posterity!

Moreover, it was far easier for Britain, where there were few slaves to begin with, to free its slaves than it was for the



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American colonies, where there was considerable support for ending the slave trade, something many patriots had come to see as having been imposed on them by a tyrannical king, to Britain's profit and not their own. In Thomas Jefferson's mind, promising freedom to the very people whom British slave traders had enslaved constituted George III's last, and most unforgivable, act of treachery. In a breathless paragraph at the end of his original draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#), Jefferson blamed the King for the slave trade ("He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery"); for his vetoes of the colonists' efforts to abolish it ("Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce"); and for Dunmore's proclamation ("He is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them").

It was the Declaration's last, longest, and angriest grievance. The other delegates could not abide it: they struck it out almost entirely. To some, it went too far; to others, it didn't go far enough. And, as everyone knew, it was they, and not the British, who were by now most vulnerable to charges of hypocrisy. (As Samuel Johnson had wryly inquired in 1775, "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?") Best, then, to leave slavery out altogether.

Historians have hardly known what to make of Jefferson's rant. Nash deems it "patently false." Schama calls it a "tour de force of disingenuousness." But at least part of what Jefferson meant was that it was the Revolution itself that derailed the American antislavery movement. In the seventeen-sixties and early seventeen-seventies, the colonists were arguably more ardent opponents of slavery than the British were. In 1764, the patriot James Otis, Jr., declared that nothing could be said "in favor of a trade that is the most shocking violation of the law of nature, has a direct tendency to diminish the idea of the inestimable value of liberty, and makes every dealer in it a tyrant." Not long after the Boston Massacre, in 1770, John Hancock's uncle preached a sermon urging the provincial legislature of Massachusetts to support the abolition of slavery, warning, "When God ariseth, and when he visiteth, what shall we answer!" In April, 1775, just five days before a shot was heard round the world, Philadelphians founded the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage.

By no means did everyone in the colonies oppose the slave trade, and even fewer could imagine emancipation. Still, if the patriots hadn't needed to forge a union to protect their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they might have come to some agreement on ending slavery. But uniting the colonies in their opposition to the King and Parliament meant,



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by 1776, putting slavery to one side. It meant editing the Declaration of Independence. It also meant that Harry Washington, and John Randall, and British Freedom, and thousands more, decided to leave. They did not fare well.

November 7, Friday: Richard Mumford disposed of a [slave](#), Cato Mumford, whom he had inherited from his father in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), by renting Cato out for two years of service to Colonel Joseph Nightingale, a local merchant, in consideration of \$45 and the settlement of an outstanding bill, with the explicit understanding that after these two years of faithful service had been satisfactorily completed, said Cato would be granted his [manumission](#) papers. (We are allowed in this town record to see that indeed Cato and Joseph would live up to the bargain. :-)

To All Men to whom these Presents shall Come ----- Whereas Cato Mumford heretofore Servant for Life to my Honoured Father Nathaniel Mumford having been an Honest and Faithful Servant had received Encouragement from his said Master of Being Freed, Which he was prevented doing by a Sudden Death----- Therefore Be it Known That I having Purchased him with a View of Fulfilling [sic] my said Father's Intention As soon as may be Done without Considerable Loss to Me. have Agreed, and Hereby do Declare the said Cato a Free Man he Performing Two Years Service to Col. Joseph Nightingale of Providence Merchant For which I have Received of him Forty Five Dollars -- Hereby Engaging to Deliver up to him a Bill of Sale of his Which I have from the Executors of my said Father upon his Request After the Performace of said Service
In Witness Whereof I have hereunto Subscribed my Name And Affixed my Seal this Seventh Day of the Month Called November A.D. 1783.....
In Presence of us, Witnesses.
William Whipple
Jon^a Wallen
Rich^d Mumford.

Providence Nov^r 14. 1785 ~ This certifies to whom it may concern that Cato formerly a Servant to Mr. Nath^l Mumford was disposed of to Me by Richard Mumford Heir of said Nathaniel Mumford for the Space of Two Years, which time he has served Me faithfully and to Satisfaction ~ The Time having Ended Yesterday, he ought to be free & is so from the Subscriber
Recorded this 2^d. Day of November A.D. 1785 }
[squiggle] Theodore Foster Town Clerk
Jos. Nightingale



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29th day 12th month: [Friend](#) John Congdon of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) [manumitted](#) a Negro Lad Named Dick about 14 years of age and pledged that for the meanwhile he would provide for instruct and direct him. "During his Infancy," until the age of 21, Dick the former [slave](#) was to play the role of apprentice.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786
Rose		

Changes to [St. Helena](#) licensing laws meaning soldiers could not obtain [arrack](#) from the island's Punch Houses. 200 soldiers, bayonets fixed, marched on the Governor.

DRUNKENNESS

Although nearly 100 would be condemned to death, only 10 would actually [hang](#). The governor would withdraw the new liquor regulations.

ST. HELENA RECORDS



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1784

February 25, Wednesday: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) took up [Friend Moses Brown](#)'s bill for the abolition of [slavery](#). Not only would Rhode Island's slaves be gradually [manumitted](#), beginning with all children born



MOSES BROWN



after the 1st of March, but also, no resident of the state might participate in the [international slave trade](#), and every shipowner fitting out his ship for African ports would be required to post bond that slaves would be no part of his ship's cargo.

"An Act authorizing the manumission of negroes, mulattoes, and others, and for the gradual abolition of slavery." Persons born after March, 1784, to be free. Bill framed pursuant to a petition of Quakers. COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 503.



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The statute included a provision releasing slavemasters who manumitted slaves born prior to 1784 between 21 and 30 years of age (for a male) or 18 and 30 (for a female) from further obligation to financially support the freed slaves, but only when their town council was confident that the freed slave was healthy enough not to become dependent on town aid.



His brother [John Brown](#) was opposed, pointing out that if white people were not charitable enough to buy these black victims along the coast of Africa, very often the black victims of African wars would simply be offed. One Benson, a veteran of the trade, supplied the assembly with supporting anecdotes. The Middle Passage was portrayed as a rescue.

[Esek Hopkins](#) pointed out that these [Quakers](#) who opposed [slavery](#) were mere hypocrites, who readily participated in the rum industry, the sugar industry, the indigo industry, and other segments of the economy that relied heavily upon slave labor. These self-righteous posturers were as implicated as anybody else.

A more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon has come to us recently from Professor Joanne Pope Melish:



The support provisions of the 1784 emancipation law allowed slave owners to escape any further financial responsibility for slaves under forty years of age whom they [manumitted](#), which threatened to leave too many "old" slaves in their thirties to the support of the towns. A 1785 revision ["An Act repealing Part of the Act respecting the Manumission of Slaves," RI General Assembly, October 1785], reiterated in 1798 ["An Act relative to Slaves, and to their Manumission and Support: part



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of the revision of the Public Laws of the State of Rhode-island and Providence Plantations," RI General Assembly, January 1798], lowered the age of eligibility for unencumbered emancipation to thirty. Apparently some town councils, faced with rising costs for pauper support, refused to allow slave owners to manumit even eligible slaves, leading to the passage of an 1804 act providing for an appeal procedure by slave owners "aggrieved" by recalcitrant councils ["An Act in Amendment of the Act, entitled, 'An Act relative to Slaves, and their Manumission and Support,'" RI General Assembly, March 1804]. In other words, an aging slave population that would not be replenished either by birth into slavery or by importation, which had been outlawed in Rhode Island in 1774, presented an increasing financial liability, and many slave owners sought to manumit their slaves before they would be obligated to support them in their old age. The large number of manumissions may have led the slaves themselves to interpret these provisions as the "General Emancipation" act that Brown describes. Undoubtedly most slaves saw freedom under any circumstances as good news – though not all did, as Brown wryly observes, noting that a few "declared their masters had been eating their flesh and now they were going to stick to them and suck their bones."

At the first federal census in 1790, there were 427 free people of color and 48 slaves living in the city of Providence, a city of about 6,400. By 1810, four years before William Brown was born, the number of free people of color had risen to 865, just about 8.6 percent of the population of about 10,000, and the number of slaves had fallen to 6. Yet there were still 5 slaves in Rhode Island and 1 in the city of Providence in 1840, according to the Fifth Federal Census, and it was only the new state Constitution of November 1842 that finally abolished slavery entirely in Rhode Island.



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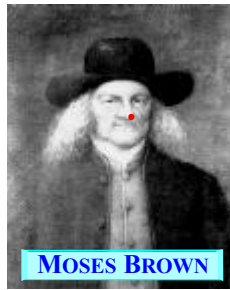
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

March 1, Monday: REPORT ON GOVERNMENT FOR WESTERN TERRITORY.

READ THE FULL TEXT

The Quakers were being largely held in contempt for their opposition to the recent struggle between the American colonials and the mother country. The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly had voted down Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s bill for the abolition of the [international slave trade](#), by a resounding margin of 2 to 1, and his bill for the abolition of [slavery](#), by instead creating a plan for gradual nominal *post nati* emancipation of Rhode Island's persons of color.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MOSES BROWN



"Emancipation in the ... Indies....": All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

One nice thing that was accomplished in the General Assembly of Rhode Island was that previously, although technically it had been illicit to bring new slaves from Africa onto Rhode Island soil, the captains of the Rhode Island negreros had been being allowed to keep their cargos of new slaves from Africa on Rhode Island soil for up to one year — so long as they promised that before the end of that year this cargo would be disposed of in the West Indies. This up-to-one-year permission was removed and from this point forward, the Rhode Island negreros would not be allowed to bring any of the new slaves back home with them, even for a short period.

Under Rhode Island's new Negro [Emancipation](#) Act, effective on this day, newborn children of slaves were to be designated as apprentices rather than as slaves, and were to be released from said indentureships when the



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females reached the age of 18 and the males reached the age of 21 (without however ever having had any of the protections awarded to white apprentices, and without their parents ever becoming themselves free). The idea was that by the time these newborns had reached an age to be released from this “apprenticeship,” they would have paid off the debt they obviously owed to the slavemaster who still owned their mother — for the lost labors of their mother while she was paying attention to her own child rather than to the needs of her master or mistress.

INDENTURE



When Rhode Island legislators began the gradual statutory abolition of slavery in their state in 1784, they declared in a preamble that slavery “had gradually obtained by unrestrained custom and the permission of the laws.”

– William W. Wiecek, “The Statutory Law of Slavery and Race in the Thirteen Mainland Colonies of British North America”



Slavery was not established by law in any American colony, but its development by custom was later recognized by legislation.

– William E. Moore, “Slave Law and the Social Structure”

MANUMISSION

(Separately, such a law was becoming effective also in the neighboring state of Connecticut. Rhode Island would, however, later repeal its law as “burthensome” to its white slavemasters — since the plantations of “The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” were where more than half of the entire amount of New England’s black slaves were situated.)

“Emancipation in the ... Indies....”: On the other part, appeared the reign of pounds and shillings, and all manner of rage and stupidity; a resistance which drew from Mr. Huddleston in Parliament the observation, “That a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons who used them. Every one of these was built on the narrow ground of interest, of pecuniary profit, of sordid gain, in opposition to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion, or to that great principle which comprehended them all.”

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April 17, Saturday: In [Concord](#), Samuel Heald's house burnt and as a result he, his son, and his grandson would perish.³⁸

Per volume 19 page 449 of the town property transactions of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), in accordance with "An Act Authorizing the Manumission of Negroes and for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery" passed at the previous Session of the General Assembly whereby it had become Lawful to emancipate and render Slaves entitled to all Rights and Privileges as though born of Free Parents, Amariah Waterman did on this date Emancipate [manumit](#) and absolutely set free the five Negro [slaves](#) who had been born and Educated in his Waterman Family, to wit Eve, about 30 years of age, Phillis, about 25 years of age, and Violet, about 18 years of age, along with Eve's not-quite-6 son Prince and not-quite-2 daughter Sarah:

To all People before whom these Presents shall come, I, Amariah Waterman of Providence in the county of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Send Greeting. Know Ye that whereas at the last Session of the General Assembly of said State held at Providence an Act was passed into a Law intitled "An Act Authorizing the Manumission of Negroes and for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery" whereby it was Enacted and Declared that it shall and may be Lawful for any person by Instrument in Writing under his or Her Hand and Seal and duty acknowledged to emancipate and set free his or her Slave who shall thereupon be entitled to all the Rights and Privileges as though born of Free Parents.

And Whereas I have had born and Educated in my Family the Three Negro Women and the Negro Boy and Negro Girl hereafter named and being convinced Reasonableness and Justice of the Emancipation and freedom of the Negroes as a Part of the Human Species and intitled to Life Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness in the Acquisition of Property of their own and in hopes and Expectation that as they are all well in Health and in the Prime of Life they will by their prudent and Virtuous Conduct Secure the Good Opinion and approbation of those with whom they may Live and thereby be enabled to obtain Happiness from their Freedom and a Comfortable Subsistence in the World and in Expectation that Myself and my Heirs will be Discharged of all Expenses for their future Support and Maintainance I do therefore by these Presents for myself my Heirs Executor and Administrators and with the Consent and Approbation of the Town Council of said Providence as Entered and Recorded in the Journals of their Proceeding on the Fifth Day of April Instant Emancipate Manumit and absolutely set free the said Three Negro Women and Negro Boy and Negro Girl viz Eve about Thirty Years of Age Phillis about Twenty Five Years of Age Violet about Eighteen Years of Age and the said Negro Boy called Prince son of the said Eve Six Years old in June next the Sixth Day and the said Negro Girl called Sarah Daughter of said Eve aged Two Years the 28th Day of July next to be henceforth as entirely and said Amariah Waterman have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Fifteenth Day of April in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Four

Signed Sealed and Delivered in presence of us

The Words And Negro Girl being first twice interlined

James Greene
Theodore Foster
Nathan Waterman

Amariah Waterman *his mark*

Providence ye at Providence April 17th, 1784. Then Mr. Amariah Waterman above named personally appeared and acknowledged the before writting Instrument to be his free and Voluntary Act and Deed

Before Me Theodore Foster Jus. Peace

Recorded this 25th Day of May AD 1784

[squiggle] Theodore Foster Town Clerk

38. Samuel Heald, born May 4, 1705 at Concord to John and Mary (Chandler) Heald, died April 18, 1785 at Concord.



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May 25, Tuesday: Per volume 19, page 447 of the town property transactions of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), from this Day and forever after Plato a Negro Man was set Free and at Liberty from Joseph McClellan and all under him.

Falmouth May 6th. 1777 These may Certify that Plato my Negro Man is Free and at Liberty from Me and all under Me from this Day and forever after....
Recorded this 25th Day of May A.D. 1784
[squiggle] *Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

Witness my Hand
Joseph McClellan.

MANUMISSION
SLAVERY

October 13, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a servant named Cato or Caesar was determined on the basis of faithful service to be worthy to be [manumitted](#).

Know all men by these Presents, that Whereas the within named Cato that fully & faithfully served according to the Condition mentioned in the foregoing Writing, so that agreeable to the promise therein Contained he is now entitled to his freedom These Presents are therefore to Witness, that the said Cato, is fully and absolutely manumitted and entirely set Free, and at full Liberty to act for himself and to acquire, possess & enjoy property as any other Free Man - Never more to be called upon as a Servant or a slave, by any Person or Persons, in Consequence of his having been heretofore liable to serve as such by Reason of anything heretofore done or passed - -
In Witness whereof I have hereto set my Hand and Seal this 13th Day of October A.D. 1784

Witnesses Eros Hitchcock
William Plumb
Recorded May 12th A.D. 1786

Mary Stiles (L.S.)
Theodore Foster Town Clerk

SLAVERY



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December 18, Saturday: At [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a black man named Prince who was desirous of obtaining his freedom was purchased for what was considered a large sum of Money from Jabez Bowen, and his Liberty and Freedom was Restored to him in the fullest and most ample Manner, on condition that he go to Georgia and faithfully be a servant there for the following Three full Years:

State of Rhode Island &c Whereas Prince a black man is desirous of obtaining his freedom and he being purchased for a large sum of Money by my Brother Oliver Bowen and by him sold to Me and I being willing to grant him what he desires Do hereby Restore to him his Liberty and Freedom in the fullest and most ample Manner on condition that he goes to Georgia and faithfully serves my said Brother Oliver Bowen as a servant for the space of Three full Years beginning the said Term at the Time he shall arrive at the said Oliver in Georgia He the said Oliver Bowen to find him good and sufficient Victuals and Cloathing for the said Term and in case the said Oliver Bowen should Decease before the Term expires then the said Prince is to Return to Me to serve the Remainder of the said Term of Three Years In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed my seal to Duplicate of this Indenture this 18th of December A.D 1784

Signed Sealed in presence of us

*Sarah Bowen Jun
Jabez Bowen Jun
Oliver Bowen Jun*

}

Jabez Bowen

Providence ye Personally appeared Jabez Bowen Esq the signer to the above Instrument and acknowledge the same to be his free Act and Deed the Day and Year above written

*Recorded this Second Day of February A.D 1785
&c Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

Before Sam Chace Jus. Peace

}

SLAVERY

MANUMISSION



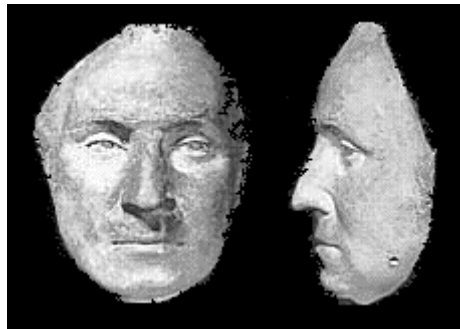
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1785

[John Jay](#) and Alexander Hamilton organized the New-York [Manumission](#) Society.

[Jean-Antoine Houdon](#), commissioned by the legislature to execute a statue of [George Washington](#), arrived at Mount Vernon; he made a life mask and painstaking measurements of Washington.



As you inspect the above piece of plaster, bear in mind please that it was probably in about this year that the mulatto [slave West Ford](#) was being born in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Some speculate that he was the son of [Washington](#) with Venus, a daughter of a slave who had been one of George's childhood playmates. The story is that during a visit by Washington to the plantation on which Venus was a slave during the previous year, this girl had been asked to serve as his bed companion.

Late in this year, [Elkanah Watson](#) purchasing a plantation in Edenton, [North Carolina](#) and four [slaves](#), and engaged for a 2d time in a commercial enterprise with a merchant of Nantes, François Cossoul, who resided on the island of Haiti.

April 12, Tuesday: Along the way, as the [New York](#) legislature dealt with such important matters as the granting of "a bounty on [hemp](#) to be raised within this State," they also laid out an agenda for gradual elimination of the local slavery system, through discontinuance of supply and [emancipation](#) of the remaining slaves:

"... And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other person to be imported or brought into this State from any of the United States or from any other place or country after the first day of June next, shall be sold as a slave or slaves within this State, the seller or his or her factor or agent, shall be deemed guilty of a public offence, and shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds lawful money of New York, to be recovered by any person," etc.

"And be it further enacted ... That every such person imported or brought into this State and sold contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act shall be freed." LAWS OF NEW YORK, 1785-



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88 (edition of 1886), pages 120-21.



W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The early ordinances of the Dutch, laying duties, generally of ten per cent, on slaves, probably proved burdensome to the trade, although this was not intentional.³⁹ The Biblical prohibition of slavery and the slave-trade, copied from New England codes into the Duke of York's Laws, had no practical application,⁴⁰ and the trade continued to be encouraged in the governors' instructions. In 1709 a duty of £3 was laid on Negroes from elsewhere than Africa.⁴¹ This was aimed at West India slaves, and was prohibitive. By 1716 the duty on all slaves was £1 12½s., which was probably a mere revenue figure.⁴² In 1728 a duty of 40s. was laid, to be continued until 1737.⁴³ It proved restrictive, however, and on the "humble petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of Bristol" was disallowed in 1735, as "greatly prejudicial to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom."⁴⁴ Governor Cosby was also reminded that no duties on slaves payable by the importer were to be laid. Later, in 1753, the 40s. duty was restored, but under the increased trade of those days was not felt.⁴⁵ No further restrictions seem to have been attempted until 1785, when the sale of slaves in the State was forbidden.⁴⁶

The chief element of restriction in this colony appears to have been the shrewd business sense of the traders, who never flooded the slave market, but kept a supply sufficient for the slowly growing demand. Between 1701 and 1726 only about 2,375 slaves were imported, and in 1774 the total slave population amounted to 21,149.⁴⁷ No restriction was ever put by New York on participation in the trade outside the colony, and in spite of national laws New York merchants continued to be engaged in this traffic even down to the Civil War.⁴⁸

Vermont, who withdrew from New York in 1777, in her first Constitution⁴⁹ declared slavery illegal, and in 1786 stopped by law the sale and transportation of slaves within her boundaries.⁵⁰

39. O'Callaghan, LAWS OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1638-74, pages 31, 348, etc. The colonists themselves were encouraged to trade, but the terms were not favorable enough: DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, I. 246; LAWS OF NEW NETHERLAND, pages 81-2, note, 127. The colonists declared "that they are inclined to a foreign Trade, and especially to the Coast of *Africa*, ... in order to fetch thence Slaves": O'Callaghan, VOYAGES OF THE SLAVERS, etc., page 172.

40. CHARTER TO WILLIAM PENN, etc. (1879), page 12. First published on Long Island in 1664. Possibly Negro slaves were explicitly excepted. Cf. MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, XI. 411, and N.Y. HIST. SOC. COLL., I. 322.

41. ACTS OF ASSEMBLY, 1691-1718, pages 97, 125, 134; DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 178, 185, 293.

42. The Assembly attempted to raise the slave duty in 1711, but the Council objected (DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 292 ff.), although, as it seems, not on account of the slave duty in particular. Another act was passed between 1711 and 1716, but its contents are not known (cf. title of the Act of 1716). For the Act of 1716, see ACTS OF ASSEMBLY, 1691-1718, page 224.

43. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VI. 37, 38.

44. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VI. 32-4.

45. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VII. 907. This act was annually renewed. The slave duty remained a chief source of revenue down to 1774. Cf. REPORT OF GOVERNOR TRYON, in DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VIII. 452.

46. LAWS OF NEW YORK, 1785-88 (ed. 1886), ch. 68, page 121. Substantially the same act reappears in the revision of the laws of 1788: LAWS OF NEW YORK, 1785-88 (ed. 1886), ch. 40, page 676.



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April 20, Wednesday: At [Providence, Rhode Island](#), William Morris on this day [manumitted](#) Set at Liberty and freed Catherine his Negro Woman, relinquishing & giving up all Right and Title to her:

*Know all Men by these Presents That I William Morris Do on this Day Set at Liberty
and free Catherine my Negro Woman and Do hereby relinquish & give up all Right and Title to her
Providence April 20th 1785.
Recorded this 25th Day of April A.D. 1785 } W^m Morris. ----
[squiggle] Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

SLAVERY

47. The slave population of New York has been estimated as follows: —

In 1698, 2,170. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, IV. 420.

In 1703, 2,258. N.Y. COL. MSS., XLVIII.; cited in Hough, N.Y. CENSUS, 1855, Introd.

In 1712, 2,425. N.Y. CENSUS, 1855, LVII., LIX. (a partial census).

In 1723, 6,171. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 702.

In 1731, 7,743. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 929.

In 1737, 8,941. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VI. 133.

In 1746, 9,107. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VI. 392.

In 1749, 10,692. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, VI. 550.

In 1756, 13,548. LONDON DOC., XLIV. 123; cited in Hough, as above.

In 1771, 19,863. LONDON DOC., XLIV. 144; cited in Hough, as above.

In 1774, 21,149. LONDON DOC., XLIV. 144; cited in Hough, as above.

In 1786, 18,889. DEEDS IN OFFICE SEC. OF STATE, XXII. 35.

Total number of Africans imported from 1701 to 1726, 2,375, of whom 802 were from Africa: O'Callaghan, DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF NEW YORK, I. 482.

48. Cf. below, Chapter XI.

49. VERMONT STATE PAPERS, 1779-86, page 244. The return of sixteen slaves in Vermont, by the first census, was an error: NEW ENGLAND RECORD, XXIX. 249.

50. VERMONT STATE PAPERS, page 505.

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1786

At Glasgow, Scotland, William Stirling of Keir [manumitted](#) a young mulatto named Charles and received 10s from John Stirling of Kippendavie (these coins could not have represented the financial worth of the ownership of Charles).



To all To whom these presents shall come William Stirling of Keir in the County of Perth in the Kingdom of Great Britain Esquire Sends greeting Know ye That the said William Stirling for divers good causes and considerations him therunto specially moving, And also for and in consideration of the sum of Ten shillings of lawful money of Great Britain by John Stirling of Kippendavie in the said County of Perth Esquire to the said William Stirling in hand well and truly paid at or immediately before the sealing of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged Hath manumitted Enfranchised and for ever sett free, And by these presents he the said William Stirling Doth Manumise, Enfranchise and for ever sett free a certain Mulatto Boy named Charles son of a Negroe Slave named Luba of and from all and all manner of servitude, slavery or Bondage whatsoever, so that neither he the said William Stirling or his heirs can, shall or will at any time hereafter claim or challenge any right title or interest whatsoever In or to the said Mulatto Boy named Charles or his future issue offspring or increase To Have and to hold such freedom Enfranchisement and



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William Armistead, the owner of James, who at this point had begun calling himself James Armistead Lafayette, was paid off at the expense of the General Assembly of Virginia, and Armistead for his service to the revolutionary cause obtained a [manumission](#) document that gave him the status of a free negro.



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March 13, Monday: Per Volume 22, page 109 of the records of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), on this day Jonathan Arnold of [Smithfield manumitted](#) a Servant in his Family, a Negro girl Named Lilly, who had arrived to the age of Twenty Five years or thereabouts:

*To all People to whom these Presents shall Come
Knew Y^e that I Jonathan Arnold of Smithfield in the County
of Providence and State of Rhode Island Yeoman Do hereby
Manumit set Free and Discharge a Negro girl Named Lilly
heretofore a Servant in my Family she being by this time arrived to
the age of Twenty Five years or thereabouts - Hereby Relinquishing
for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators all Claims
on Demand upon her or her Services in future.*

*In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set
my Name and affixed my Seal this 13th Day of March in
the Year of our LORD 1786.*

*In Presence of
Welcome Arnold } Jonathan Arnold ((L.S.))*

*Rich Ward
Recorded this 18th Day of November A.D. 1786- } Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

[SLAVERY](#)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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May 11, Thursday: [Henry Marie Brackenridge](#) was born, a son of Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He would be educated by his father and by private tutors, and then attend a French academy at St. Genevieve, Louisiana.

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Ruth Smith Hopkins](#), alleging that as a [Friend](#) she had “sometime past” set free her Negro Man Servant, so that he would “be entitled to the Privileges of a Freeman which he is and has an undoubted Right to be,” at this point needed to visit the town clerk to register for this [Toney Hopkins](#) a written Instrument of manumission to replace said previous such document, unrecorded, that he said he had lost.

This obviously innocent document of record in obviously honest confirmation of the previous benevolent action would appear for all time on pages 35 and 36 of Volume 22 of such [Providence](#) records:

To all People to whom These Presents shall come - Whereas I sometime past set free a Negro Man called Toney Hopkins heretofore a Servant [Servant??] to Me the Subscriber and gave him

———page break———

him a written Instrument evidencing the Same which writing he the said Negro- Man says is lost and being diffcult that he should be entitled to the Privileges [Privileges??] of a Freeman which he is and has an undoubted Right to be I have given him the [the??] further written Evidence thereof hereby declaring him the said Toney Hopkins a Free-man agreeable to the date set for encouraging the Manumission of Slaves in this state hereby for myself my Heir's [sic??] & Rencuncing all claim to him the said Toney Hopkins his Labour or Service In Writing whereof I have hereto subscribed my Name and put my seal this Eleventh Dat [Day??] of the 5th Month 1786 In Providence in Prefence of

Ruth Hopkins (L.S.)

Recorded this 11th Day of May A.D. 1786

(symbol)

Theodore Foster Town Clerk

MANUMISSION

That's at least what this appears to be, on its surface.

But, is this all as straightforward as it seems? This would presumably be the Ruth Smith Hopkins who was the daughter of the 2d wife of [Governor Stephen Hopkins](#) (March 7, 1707-July 13, 1785), Anne Arnold Smith Hopkins, by her previous husband, who had been adopted by Governor Hopkins, and who lived in the red



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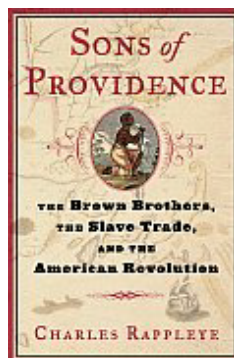
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

house just down the street from the county house in which this record was being created:



This slave being freed would presumably be Toney, a [slave](#) in this household.⁵¹ Toney had presumably been the property not of the unmarried adopted daughter but of the stepfather who was recently deceased, and whose estate was presumably at that point still in probate. But, by his will, he had freed all his slaves! Something does not compute. But here's the rub: Governor Hopkins had been disowned by the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for having refused to manumit his personal servant, pleading special circumstances. There had apparently never been any such document, as the manumission document which here she said he said was lost. **Toney, however, clearly had not been freed by Governor Hopkins or by what he had written in his will, and this adopted daughter couldn't free him because she didn't own him. This was a little white scam.** This was the [Quaker](#) daughter's one chance to set right her stepfather's neglect and clear her family of the taint of enslavement and provide to Toney his chance at freedom. The Quaker lady fibbed. Bully for her!

51. Charles Rappleye, in his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 142), instances that the 1774 census had recorded six slaves as living in the Hopkins household in Providence, Rhode Island. He also references "'a Negroe woman,'" as recorded in the minutes of the Smithfield Monthly Meeting." I wonder if he has actually looked at these holographic minutes at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island, for I am unable myself in them to make out this phrase he has alleged, "a Negroe woman."





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May 26, Friday: On pages 48-51 in Volume 22 of the records of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), appears an indenture of lease (whatever that indicates) for Prime or Prince Cushing. This “indenture of lease” is listed, in the index to the records, as a [manumission](#), that was granted by Benjamin Cushing:

This Indenture of Lease made by and Between Benjamin Cushing Junr. of Providence in the County of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Inquire on the One Part and Prime a Negro Man called called [sic] Prince Cushing now Residing in the Town County and State above said. Hatter on the Other Part Witnesseth that the said Benjamin Cushing Junr. For and in Consideration of the said Prince having heretofore lived in the Family with Me as a Servant and Served faithfully

———page break———

*Set my Hand & Seal this Twenty Sixth Day of May AD 1786
Signed & Sealed in Prefence of } per
Aaron Mason } Sarah⁺ Fuller (L.S.)
Joseph Mason } Mark*

*State of Rhode Island Providence May 26th 1786 Then the within named Sarah Fuller personally appeared and acknowledged the within Inftrument to be her Free and voluntary Act and Deed
Before me Daniel Owen Deput Govr.
Recorded this 20th Day of June AD 1786 }*

Theodore Foster Town Clerk

SLAVERY



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24th day 8th month: [Friend](#) William Peckham of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) manumitted his [enslaved](#) almost-15-year-old Negro Girl Named Rofe and 12-year-old Negro Boy Named Job. Rofe would serve as an apprentice until age 18, and Job until age 21.


Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1787

 By this year all members of the New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had written and delivered [manumission](#) papers for all their slaves.

Organization was begun following a paper given by Dr. Benjamin Rush at the home of [Benjamin Franklin](#), entitled, “An Inquiry into the Effects of public punishment upon criminals and upon society.” Although the Quakers have always had a deep influence in Philadelphia, the organization would by no means be limited to Quakers. Dr. Rush for instance was a Unitarian, and Franklin wasn’t much of any religion. The President of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons for its first 40 years would be an Episcopal Bishop, William White.⁵²

Since [Franklin](#) might be termed the grandfather of electroshock therapy on the basis of his early suggestion that persons suffering from insanity be shocked into sanity by the application of electricity, I will insert the following item here: in this year Dr. John Birch made the experiment of administering electroshock to a popular singer who was suffering from melancholia — after daily treatments for a month, he recorded, the singer was able to fulfil his engagements that summer “with his usual applause.”

Dr. Benjamin Rush was a member of the “Convention of Pennsylvania for the Adoption of the Federal Constitution.”

In this year Virginia was repealing its incorporation of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Fear of powerful and wealthy churches would induce the Virginia legislature to routinely refuse to incorporate any churches,

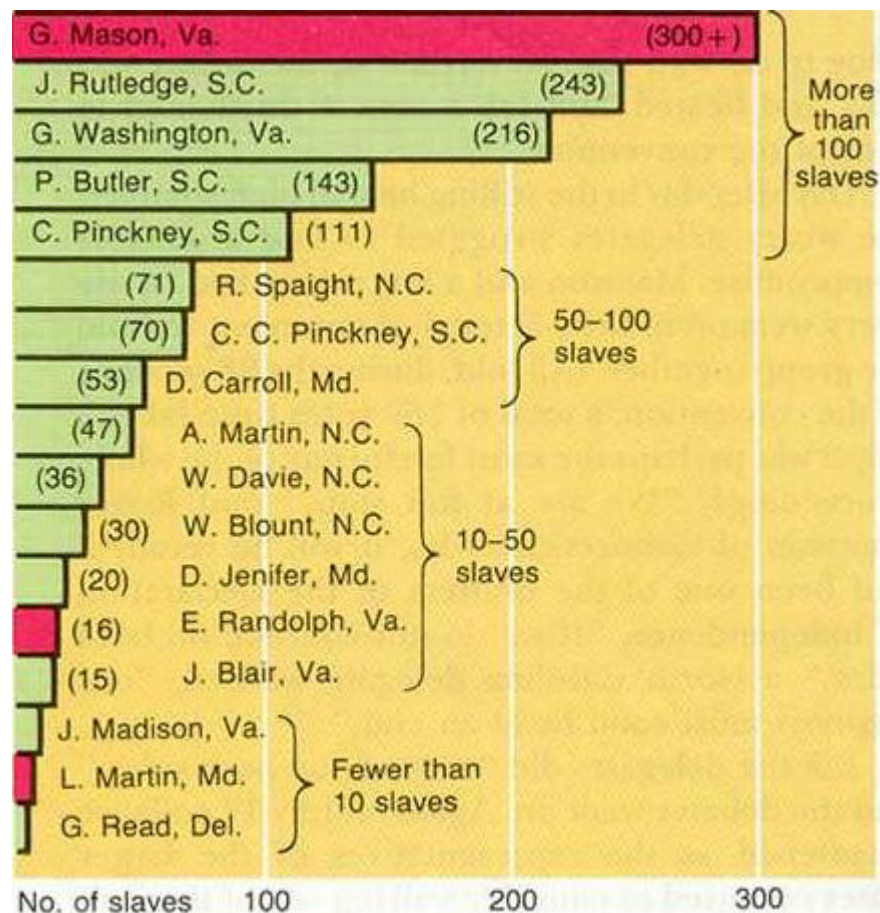
52. For those who wish to read more, there are two books by Dr. Negley Teeters of Temple University: THEY WERE IN PRISON, a history of the PA Prison Society, and THE CRADLE OF THE PENITENTIARY. Prior to this point, prison as punishment was not known. The motivation of the experiment was to create a substitute for corporal and capital punishment. This group promotes correctional reform and social justice to this day, although now it deems itself the Pennsylvania Prison Society.

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seminaries, or religious charities whatever. Such provisions for [separation of church and state](#) would make their way into the US federal constitution and would continue through a succession of Virginia constitutional revisions, into the 21st Century.

Franklin was again reelected President of Pennsylvania and went as delegate to the Philadelphia convention for the framing of a Federal Constitution. Here is an indication of the lifestyles of the people who attended this convention. Note that George Mason of Virginia, J. Rutledge of South Carolina, and [George Washington](#) of Virginia were three of the largest slaveholders in North America, and that in all, 17 delegates to this convention owned the lives of some 1,400 human beings:





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Franklin, who owned slaves and acted as a slave-trader in Philadelphia out of his print-shop, went to the constitutional convention in part as the official representative of the anti-slavery cause — and never once raised this vital issue. Fifty years later, when the sealed proceedings would be disclosed to the American public and it would be revealed that he had betrayed us in this fundamental respect, there would be the greatest outrage at his conduct, and a debate would begin which would be germane to the origin of our civil warfare, a debate as to whether [the federal Constitution](#) was a pact with Satan which ought to be dissolved. That is to say, the activities (or lack of activities, for he was possibly already on opium at the time) of Franklin at the constitutional convention would lead directly to the foundation of the Northern Disunionist faction. But he spent his valuable time at this important convention arguing for banal nonce items such as having several executives rather than one and one legislature rather than several. The more important stuff, that he was supposed to be talking about, was precisely what the guy wasn't talking about. As a practical Pennsylvania politician he had found it was sometimes useful to ally with the local [Quakers](#), if this helped him neutralize the Brit influence, and we may observe in the following quotation from his AUTOBIOGRAPHY not only this government's general attitude toward people who have been pacified but also this "antislavery delegate" Franklin's attitude toward people who have been negrofied:

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street. "Franklin," says he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening; I am to have some company that you will like;" and, taking me by the arm, he led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us, jokingly, that he much admir'd the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks, as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next to me, says, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with these damn'd Quakers? Had not you better sell them? The proprietor would give you a good price." "The governor," says I, "has not yet blacked them enough." He, indeed, had labored hard to blacken the Assembly in all his messages, but they wip'd off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and plac'd it, in return, thick upon his own face; so that, finding he was likely to be negrofied himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tir'd of the contest, and quitted the government.

We can get a glimpse, in the above, of how it would come to be that Dr. Franklin could go off to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 as the designated representative of the civil rights people of his day — and then, precisely 50 years later, when the articles of secrecy the delegates had sworn to had expired, it would be discovered that this politician had betrayed the people he was supposed to be representing by uttering not one single word at any time during that convention in opposition to the "peculiar institution" of chattel slavery.⁵³ [James Madison, Jr.](#) took very detailed minutes throughout the Convention, but they were subject to a secrecy

READ MADISON'S NOTES

conspiracy to keep the electorate in the dark, with a sworn duration period of precisely 50 years, which was adhered to by all participants. Madison had turned over his notes on the Convention to George Washington, who kept them at Mt. Vernon, and Madison's notes would not see the light of day until 1845. No member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 would publish any account of the Convention's important deliberations until two years after the death the last member of the Constitutional Convention, Madison, when the notes of Luther Martin of [Maryland](#) and of Robert Yates of New York would be published in 1838 as SECRET PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1787.

NOTES OF ROBERT YATES



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When Madison's records were opened on schedule, there was the greatest outrage. We felt totally betrayed. A Northern disunion party of sorts originated, and would constitute one of the causes of the frictions leading eventually to the US Civil War. We found out, belatedly, suddenly, that our Franklin had gone to the convention in part as the representative of the anti-slavery position, and —old, terminally ill, possibly already under the influence of opium, desiring some peace in his time— he had simply sold us out. Our guy hadn't even so much as **raised** the central issue of American slavery for **discussion**. We were so surprised, here we've got this slavemaster guy who used to keep the unwanted surplus slaves of his friends and business associates in a pen behind his print shop in Philadelphia, offering their bodies for sale to the highest bidder, and we trust him and we go and send him off to our constitutional convention to be our spokesperson against slavery — and we're so surprised and we feel so betrayed fifty years after the fact! There's now a book out that alleges that Ben more than any other human being was responsible for the American Revolutionary War. Per the book this was allegedly based upon his resentment at having been being fired as the colonial postmaster general, and publicly humiliated and scorned in Whitehall, on irrefutable charges having to do with the stealing of other people's correspondence. Well, I don't know about that issue — but, if I had to select out one American citizen who, more than any other, was responsible for the bloodshed of the US Civil War, I think I'd nominate Founding Father [Benjamin Franklin](#) for the honor. Well, maybe not. Anybody want to attempt to make a case for Nat Turner? Roger Taney?

[Slavery](#) is never directly mentioned in the US Constitution, although the document explicitly regard people coming into the nation from Africa to constitute cargo rather than to constitute prospective citizens. Also,

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. (Art. I, Sec. 2)

53. Yes, children, it was our trusted and revered Founding Father [Benjamin Franklin](#), as much as any single American, who caused the bloodletting of our Civil War. Was the guy on drugs during this convention? —No, we don't know for certain sure that he began his heavy use of opium before the year after this one. The only drug we can be quite certain he was on at this point, besides fatheadedness, was racism.

*Son of so-and-so and so-and-so, this
so-and-so helped us to gain our independence,
instructed us in economy,
and drew down lightning from the clouds.*

Incidentally, in using the trope “peculiar institution” today we tend to make an implicit criticism of enslavement. Not so originally! In its initial usages, to refer to slavery as “peculiar” was not in any way to attack it but rather proclaim it to be defensible. “Peculiar,” in this archaic usage, indicated merely that the legitimacy of the system was based not upon any endorsement by a higher or more remote legal authority, but based instead upon the “peculiar conditions and history” of a particular district of the country and a particular society and a particular historically engendered set of customs and procedures and conventions. This trope went hand in hand with the Doctrine of States Rights, and went hand in hand with the persistence of the English common law.



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This is usually telegraphed by some comment such as “Our founding fathers believed that black people were subhuman, and evaluated them as $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of a human being.” That would have been bad enough, but this section is open to another, more accurate, and more pejorist, interpretation. Consider the key words here, “Representatives ... shall be apportioned” in the light of the end of this paragraph, which assigns the number of representatives each state would have until the first census could be taken, and ask yourself the question “So, how many representatives does each state initially get in the US Congress? The formula that was used is that representation was proportional to population, except that only 60% of the slaves were counted. Representatives represent those who elect and re-elect them. Blacks, free white children, and free white women were not allowed to cast ballots. The proper critical question to ask of this passage would not be, Why were slaves counted at only $\frac{3}{5}$ ths, when free white children and free white women were counted as whole units? The question would be, Why were they counted at all? Their inclusion in the census only served to inflate the representation of the free citizens of the slave-holding states. It certainly did nothing to promote the representation of the slaves in Congress. It could easily be demonstrated that the political interests of the free white men who were casting ballots had a significant amount of overlap in that period with the political interests of free white children and free white women, but it would be significantly harder to demonstrate a significant amount of overlap between the interests of [slaveholders](#) and the interests of their slaves. Of the actual voters in slave-holding states, how many held the same political opinions as the slaves? It might be a good guess that the answer is, close to zero. So why were these voters allowed extra representation, as if they could speak for 60% of the slaves? If we want to make a slogan of it, we shouldn’t be saying that the founding fathers considered a slave to be $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of a person. We should be saying that they considered a slave a nonperson who increased someone else’s, the possessor’s, political worth by 60%. Bear in mind that what we are considering here is an era in which voting rights and property rights were still conceptually entangled — simply because in any event only men of property were entitled to cast a ballot.

Why $\frac{3}{5}$ ths? —Because on an average you can only get about $\frac{3}{5}$ ths as much work out of a slave, through a motivational system primarily consisting of punishments and the threat of punishment, that you can get out of a free person, through a motivational system primarily consisting of rewards and the prospect of rewards! (Also, very practically, because both the North and the South were willing to compromise at $\frac{3}{5}$ ths whereas the northern colonies would never have entered the Union had Southern slaves been weighed at $\frac{5}{5}$ ths and the southern colonies would never have entered the Union had their slave property been weighed at $\frac{0}{5}$ ths.)

On the popular but quite incorrect interpretation of Art. 1 Sec. 2 of the US Constitution, whatever benefit a population received from being counted, the slave population was to receive but $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of that benefit. On a more accurate interpretation, the slave population was to receive no positive benefit at all, or was to receive a negative benefit, from being thus counted, for you will notice that the benefit that accrues from counting $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the slave population is a benefit which is assigned to the free voting population of the same state, which is thus even more powerful — and even more capable of abusing those being held in captivity.

In a November 9, 2000 op-ed piece in the New York [Times](#), “The Electoral College, Unfair from Day One,” Yale Law School’s Akhil Reed Amar would argue that intent of the Founding Fathers in creating the electoral college which was so perplexing us during the Bush/Gore presidential election, like their intent in creating the $\frac{3}{5}$ ths rule, had been to protect America’s southern white men from the vicissitudes of majority rule:

In 1787, as the Constitution was being drafted in Philadelphia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania proposed direct election of the president. But James Madison of Virginia worried that such a system would hurt the South, which would have been outnumbered by the North in a direct election system. The creation of the Electoral College got around that: it was part of the deal that



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Southern states, in computing their share of electoral votes, could count slaves (albeit with a two-fifths discount), who of course were given none of the privileges of citizenship. Virginia emerged as the big winner, with more than a quarter of the electors needed to elect a president. A free state like Pennsylvania got fewer electoral votes even though it had approximately the same free population.

The Constitution's pro-Southern bias quickly became obvious. For 32 of the Constitution's first 36 years, a white slaveholding Virginian occupied the presidency. [Thomas Jefferson](#), for example, won the election of 1800 against John Adams from Massachusetts in a race where the slavery skew of the Electoral College was the decisive margin of victory.

The system's gender bias was also obvious. In a direct presidential election, any state that chose to enfranchise its women would have automatically doubled its clout. Under the Electoral College, however, a state had no special incentive to expand suffrage — each got a fixed number of electoral votes, regardless of how many citizens were allowed to vote.

With the assistance of abolitionist [Quakers](#), in this year the newly freed slaves of the city of Philadelphia formed a Free African Society. The society was intended to enable mutual aid and nourish the development of a cadre of black leaders. The immediate cause of organization of this Free African Society was that in this year the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia had segregated its colored members from its white communicants. Blacks to the back: African worshipers were sent to the church's gallery. One Sunday as the African members knelt to pray outside of their segregated area they were actually tugged from their knees, so they understood that they needed to form this new society — and out of this came an Episcopalian group and a Methodist one. The leader of the Methodist group was Richard Allen, and from his group would derive in 1816 the African Methodist Episcopal denomination.





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Pennsylvania enacted a gradual emancipation act providing that no child born in Pennsylvania after March 1, 1780 should be a slave. (It would still be possible to purchase and sell slaves in Pennsylvania after the passage of this act, and in fact we can find frequent sale ads in Pennsylvania newspapers as late as 1820. Pennsylvania slaves could not, however, any longer be legally sold out of the state. Anyone who was a slave prior to the passage of this Gradual Emancipation Act was still a slave for life, even if he or she had been a mere newborn infant as of February 1780. Slaveholders could still sell the time of young people born to slave mothers after 1780, subject to the ban on out-of-state sales, until they reached the [manumission](#) age of 28. Therefore, as late as the 1830 census, Pennsylvania still sported some 400 slaves. There were many conflicts over enforcing the law, including with slaveholders who attempted to transport pregnant slaves to [Maryland](#) so that a child would be born a slave rather than born merely a servant until the age of 28. Slaveholders initiated arguments about whether the grandchildren as well as the children of slaves would be bound to serve until age 28. "Sojourning" slaveholders from other states would raise issues of the status of slaves brought into Pennsylvania.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

July 17, Tuesday: The Northwest Territory Ordinance was completed in order to provide for government of a still-unorganized national domain. The [Reverend Manasseh Cutler](#), a botanist, and Nathan Dane, an Ohio Company land speculator, had been responsible for the bulk of the work of the creation of this Northwest Ordinance, including its prohibition of [slavery](#):

Article VI:

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.⁵⁴

In claiming the area now known as [Minnesota](#), Wisconsin, Michigan, [Illinois](#), Indiana, and [Ohio](#), the United States of America pledged that:

The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians.

Further,

Their lands and property shall neer [*sic*] be taken from them

54. Territorial Governor Arthur St. Clair would create a "grandfathering" ruling to the effect that, since this prohibition could not be an *ex post facto* one, any slaves already held in the territory could be held in continuing slavery. The ordinance did not [emancipate](#) them. Also, white settlers coming into the territory subsequently could easily evade the ordinance by converting their slaves on paper into their perpetual "apprentices."



WHAT?



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without their consent.⁵⁵



Caleb Strong was selected to represent Northampton at the federal Constitutional Convention.

At that Convention, Elbridge Gerry was one of the most vocal delegates, presiding as chair of the committee

55. In all fairness even our critics will be forced to admit that the United States of America has never in the course of its long history dishonored any treaty which it had entered into with a native tribe until it became possible to do so.



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that produced the Great Compromise but himself disliking this compromise. Ultimately he would refuse to sign [the Constitution](#) because it lacked a bill of rights and because it seemed a threat to republicanism, leading a drive against ratification in Massachusetts and denouncing the document as “full of vices” such as inadequate representation of the people, dangerously ambiguous legislative powers, the blending of the executive and the legislative, and the prospects for an oppressive judiciary. Gerry did consider that such flaws might be remedied through a gradual process of amendment.

One concession that had been made to the slave power was that the new Constitution explicitly stipulated, that no matter how the new federal congress wanted to vote to regulate the international slave trade, it would lack the authority to do anything whatever to regulate this [international slave trade](#), until at least the year 1808. Note that there is no promise, and no implication, that as of 1808 the international slave trade was to be anathema. Not at all!



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1788

October: In March, first Massachusetts and then Pennsylvania had forbidden their citizens to participate in any way in the [slave-trade](#). In this month Connecticut did the same.

"An Act to prevent the Slave-Trade."

"Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That no Citizen or Inhabitant of this State, shall for himself, or any other Person, either as Master, Factor, Supercargo, Owner or Hirer, in Whole, or in Part, of any Vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or her Vessel, with Intent to cause to be imported or transported, any of the Inhabitants of any Country in Africa, as Slaves or Servants, for Term of Years; upon Penalty of Fifty Pounds, for every Person so received on board, as aforesaid; and of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS for every such Vessel employed in the Importation or Transportation aforesaid; to be recovered by Action, Bill, Plaint or Information; the one Half to the Plaintiff, and the other Half to the Use of this State." And all insurance on vessels and slaves shall be void. This act to be given as evidence under general issue, in any suit commenced for recovery of such insurance.

"... if any Person shall kidnap ... any free Negro," etc., inhabitant of this State, he shall forfeit £100. Every vessel clearing for the coast of Africa or any other part of the world, and suspected to be in the slave-trade, must give bond in £1,000. Slightly amended in 1789. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (edition of 1784), pages 368-9, 388.

Connecticut's plan was to accomplish this great thing very gradually, without rushing so much as to interfere with anyone's agenda. Children born to [slaves](#) after 1792 would be free and all existing slave children would be [emancipated](#) when they reached the age of 25. This might indicate, to the unwary, that by the time that the captives of the [La Amistad](#) would arrive in that state's prison system, slavery there would have been a thing of the past. However, Connecticut's approach would be so utterly gradualistic that it would never emancipate any females who had been, at the time of the enactment of this legislation, over 21 years of age, or any males who had been over 25 years of age! (There still would be, according to the US Census, even in 1840, a small number of slaves in Connecticut. This New England state actually would not be clear of human enslavement until, "free at last," Death would come to collect its oldest surviving slave — in the Year of Our Lord 1848!)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed **slavery**, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

How could Connecticut's elimination of slavery have possibly been made more gradual? For instance, in this year, because [Rhode Island](#) would no longer register a vessel for an enslaving voyage, Cyprian Sterry of [Providence](#) simply got aboard his vessel and went with it down the bay and down the sound to a port with a customhouse along the Connecticut shore — and there obtained clearance papers for the projected voyage to the coast of Africa!

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Connecticut, in common with the other colonies of this section, had a trade for many years with the West Indian slave markets; and though this trade was much smaller than that of the neighboring colonies, yet many of her citizens were engaged in it. A map of Middletown at the time of the Revolution gives, among one hundred families, three slave captains and "three notables" designated as "slave-dealers."⁵⁶ The actual importation was small,⁵⁷ and almost entirely unrestricted before the Revolution, save by a few light, general duty acts. In 1774 the further importation of slaves was prohibited, because "the increase of slaves in this Colony is injurious to the poor and inconvenient." The law prohibited importation under any pretext by a penalty of £100 per slave.⁵⁸ This was re-enacted in 1784, and provisions were made for the abolition of slavery.⁵⁹ In 1788 participation in the trade was forbidden, and the penalty placed at £50 for each slave and £500 for each ship engaged.⁶⁰

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In the Eastern States, where slavery as an institution was already nearly defunct, action was aimed toward stopping the notorious participation of citizens in the

56. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW*, etc., page 124.

57. The number of slaves in Connecticut has been estimated as follows: —

In 1680, 30. *CONNECTICUT COLONIAL RECORD*, III. 298.

In 1730, 700. Williams, *HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA*, I. 259.

In 1756, 3,636. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW*, etc., page 140.

In 1762, 4,590. Williams, *HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA*, I. 260.

In 1774, 6,562. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW*, etc., page 140.

In 1782, 6,281. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW*, etc., page 140.

In 1800, 5,281. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW*, etc., page 141.

58. *CONNECTICUT COLONIAL RECORD*, XIV 329. Fowler (pages 125-6) says that the law was passed in 1769, as does Sanford (page 252). I find no proof of this. There was in Connecticut the same Biblical legislation on the trade as in Massachusetts. Cf. *LAWS OF CONNECTICUT* (repr. 1865), page 9; also *COLONIAL RECORD*, I. 77. For general duty acts, see *COLONIAL RECORD*, V 405; VIII. 22; IX. 283; XIII. 72, 125.

59. *ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT* (ed. 1784), pages 233-4.

60. *ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT* (ed. 1784), pages 368, 369, 388.



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slave-trade outside the State. The prime movers were the Rhode Island Quakers. Having early secured a law against the traffic in their own State, they turned their attention to others. Through their remonstrances Connecticut, in 1788,⁶¹ prohibited participation in the trade by a fine of £500 on the vessel, £50 on each slave, and loss of insurance; this act was strengthened in 1792,⁶² the year after the Haytian revolt. Massachusetts, after many fruitless attempts, finally took advantage of an unusually bold case of kidnapping, and passed a similar act in 1788.⁶³ "This," says Belknap, "was the utmost which could be done by our legislatures; we still have to regret the impossibility of making a law *here*, which shall restrain our citizens from carrying on this trade *in foreign bottoms*, and from committing the crimes which this act prohibits, *in foreign countries*, as it is said some of them have done since the enacting of these laws."⁶⁴

Thus it is seen how, spurred by the tragedy in the West Indies, the United States succeeded by State action in prohibiting the slave-trade from 1798 to 1803, in furthering the cause of abolition, and in preventing the fitting out of slave-trade expeditions in United States ports. The country had good cause to congratulate itself. The national government hastened to supplement State action as far as possible, and the prophecies of the more sanguine Revolutionary fathers seemed about to be realized, when the ill-considered act of South Carolina showed the weakness of the constitutional compromise.

61. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (ed. 1784), pages 368, 369, 388.

62. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT, page 412.

63. PERPETUAL LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1780-89, pages 235-6.

64. QUERIES RESPECTING SLAVERY, etc., in MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS, 1st Series, IV. 205.



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1789

At the age of 19, [Robert Voorhis](#) became emotionally attached to “an agreeable young female (an orphan) by the name of ALLEY PENNINGTON, a native of Cecil county, ([Maryland](#))—she first expressed her attachment to me, and a willingness to become my partner for life, provided I could obtain my freedom, nor can I say that I felt less attachment for one with whom I was confident I could spend my life agreeably—she was indeed the object of my first love, a love which can only be extinguished with my existence; and never at any period previous was the yoke of bondage more goading, or did I feel so sensibly the want of that freedom, the deprivation of which, was now the only barrier to my much wished for union with one I so sincerely and tenderly loved. As my master had uniformly expressed an unwillingness to grant me my freedom, on any other terms than receiving a suitable compensation therefor, my only alternative now to obtain it, was to apply to one with whom I was most intimately acquainted, and to whom I thought I could safely communicate my desires, as he had in more than one instance, expressed much regard for me, and a willingness to serve me—to him I proposed that he should pay to my master the stipulated sum (Fifty Pounds.) demanded for my freedom, and that the bill of sale should remain in his hands, until such time as I should be enabled by the fruits of my industry to repay him, principal and interest, and allow him suitable compensation therefor for his trouble—to this proposal he readily assented, and not only expressed his willingness but his approbation of my much desired union with my beloved ALLEY. My request was immediately complied with, the Fifty Pounds were paid by my good friend (as I then supposed him,) to whom I was by bond transfered as his lawful property, and by whom I was given to understand that I might then seek business for myself, and turn my attention to any that I should conceive the most profitable, and consider myself under no other bondage than as a debtor, to the amount paid for my freedom. The name of one who had manifested so much what I supposed real and disinterested friendship for me, but who finally proved the author of almost all the wretchedness, which I have since endured, ought not to be concealed—it was JAMES BEVENS.” Robert and Alley would marry and over the next few years would have two children, while James was busy earning the £50 that, it had been promised, would gain him his precious [manumission](#) papers. He would of course be cheated by the white man he had trusted.

HERMITS
SLAVERY

For several years, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been paying off its [slaveholders](#) for the [manumission](#) of their slaves (allow us to assist you with the financial burden of this).



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141



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June 10, Wednesday: A worthy accompaniment to the new Bill of Rights of the US Constitution came out of just about nowhere in Delaware and caught us all by surprise:

Whereas I Richard Fisher of Ghent County in the Delaware state do think it Wrong and oppressive to keep Negroes in Bondage do therefore by these Presents Manseparte and absolutely Set free the following Negroes that are In Bondage to me (Viz) Negro man named Frank and a Negro woman Named Sue or Suanne to be free and at their Liberty, from the date of these Presents as also a Negro boy Called Isaac about three Years Old to be free and at his liberty when he arrives to the age of Twenty one Years, and I do hereby Warrant and defend the freedom of the aforesaid Negroes against my Heirs Executors and Administrators and from every other Person Claiming by from or Under me or them or any of them.

In Witnefs whwereof I have hereunto Set my hand and affixed my Seal this 10th. day of June 1789 ———

*Signed Sealed & Deliverd. } Richard Fisher {Seal}
in the Presence of—— }*

Thos: White

*his
James X Negrotus
marker*

MANUMISSION

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Whereas I Richard Fisher of Kent County in the Delaware State do think it Wrong and oppressive to keep Negroes in Bondage do therefore by these Presents Manseplate and absolutely Set free the following Negroes that are in Bondage to me (Viz) Negro man named Frank and a Negro woman Named Sue or Susanna to be free and at their Liberty, from this date of these Presents as also a Negro boy called Isaac about three years Old to be free and at his liberty when he arrives to the age of Twenty one years, and I do hereby Warrant and defend the freedom of the aforesaid Negroes against me my Heirs Executors and Administrators and from every other Person claiming by from or Under me or them or any of them

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my Seal this 10th day of June 1789 —

Signed Sealed & Delivered
in the Presence of }

Thos. White

James F. Register
marked

Richard Fisher Seal

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1790

Although slaves were gradually being [manumitted](#) in [Rhode Island](#), they were commonly becoming merely the servants of their previous owners. For instance, when a child was born free in this year to [slaves](#) in [North Kingstown](#), on a farm near the “Devil’s Foot Rock,” he would nevertheless be bound under the law as an involuntary servant until the age of 21. He would grow up with his slave mother and two “free” siblings but would retain little memory of his father, a slave on another farm in the neighborhood. By the convention of the time he would take the family name of his mother’s owner, Giles Pearce,⁶⁵ and would be known as [Cato Pearce](#).⁶⁶



At the age of 17, the [enslaved](#) John Jea began to preach the Christian faith. He would soon obtained [manumission](#) papers and become both a sailor, upon the Atlantic Ocean, and an itinerant preacher, most closely affiliated with Methodism.

From a “discourse” delivered by the Rev. James Dana of the First Congregational Church in New Haven CT to the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom:

65. Giles Pearce is not recorded as owning [slaves](#) but according to the census his relative Joshua Pearce of [North Kingstown](#) held two slaves in 1782, four in 1790, and three in 1800. Presumably the four in 1790 were Cato, his mother, and his two siblings, and the three in 1800 were Cato and his two siblings after his mother had run away — and presumably Joshua, an elderly man, was allowing his younger relative Giles to make use of their services.

66. A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF CATO PEARCE, A MAN OF COLOR: TAKEN VERBATIM FROM HIS LIPS AND PUBLISHED FOR HIS BENEFIT (Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1842).



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... Wretched as you may suppose their condition was in Africa, the nefarious commerce of foreigners may have been the principle cause of that wretchedness.

... The imaginary expectation that death may transport them to their own country is their chief consolation.... Their cries will sooner or later reach the ears of him to whom vengeance belongeth.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



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July 14, Wednesday: In France this was, of course, the 1st anniversary of Bastille Day. [Alexander von Humboldt](#) and Georg Forster were in Paris for the celebration. Humboldt would return to his studies. Forster would join the revolution and, four years later, die in disgrace and misery.



At some point during this year a federal grand jury, in its first session, returned an indictment of murder against [James DeWolf](#) (1764-1837) of [Bristol](#), son of Captain Mark Anthony DeWolf (1726-1792), for having thrown



The Family Crest

a woman overboard when she exhibited symptoms of the [small pox](#). The indictment read “James DeWolf, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil ... did feloniously, willfully and of his malice aforethought, with his hands clinch and seize in and upon the body of said Negro woman ... and did push, cast and throw her from out of said vessel into the Sea and waters of the Ocean, whereupon she then and there instantly sank, drowned and died.”



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(The murderous James DeWolf, protected of course by his influential uncle Simeon Potter and other family members, would never be required to answer to this indictment.)



TRIANGULAR TRADER

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), per Volume 22, page 290 of the town records, John T. Clark on behalf of the firm of Clark & Nightingale, distillers engaged in the Triangular Trade, [manumitted](#) “Quam a Negro Man late a Servant to us for life”:

Know all Men to who these Presents shall come that We Clarke & Nightingale of Providence in the County of Providence Merchants, for & in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Spanish Milled Dollars to us in Hand paid by Quam a Negro Man late a Servant to us for life & for divers other good Considerations us thereunto moving, have manumitted & set free, the said Negro Man named Quam hereby for us & our Heirs, Relinquishing all Claim or Title to the said Negro Man his services or Labour forever hereafter In Witnes whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names as the Firm of our House this fourteenth Day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & Ninety ~ ~

Clark & Nightingale

Witness Sam Arnold

SLAVERY

We wonder at the magnificent gentility of these white folks engaged in the Triangular Trade, in setting free this man of color who was their servant for life, and we also wonder — **how old** might Quam have been at the point at which he was thus made free?



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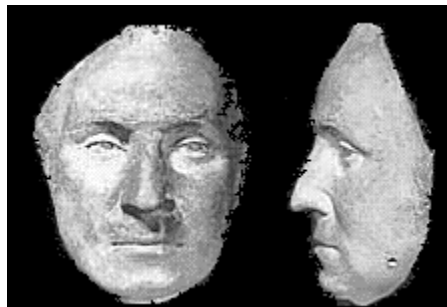
November: President [George Washington](#) and Mistress [Martha Washington](#) brought eight of their domestic slaves to work in the President's House in Philadelphia. Since the slave ledgers they kept at Mount Vernon generally failed to list the births or deaths of [slaves](#), such information being of no particular importance, the ages we have assigned are approximate:

- MOLL - 51, single, maid to Martha Washington and probably nanny to her grandchildren.
- [HERCULES](#) ("Herculas," "Uncle Harkless") - late 30s, widower with three children (two at Mount Vernon), principal cook, reportedly one of the finest chefs in the country.
- RICHMOND - 13, Hercules' son, scullion (kitchen worker).
- AUSTIN - early 30s, married with wife and five children at Mount Vernon, probably waiter for the family meals and part-time stable worker.
- [ONEY JUDGE](#) - 16, single, half-sister to Austin, maid and body servant to Mrs. Washington.
- GILES - early 30s, probably single, stable worker.
- PARIS - 18, single, stable worker.
- CHRISTOPHER SHEELS - 15, body servant to Washington, nephew of BILLY LEE, Washington's previous body servant.

Although George Washington is generally credited with "freeing his slaves in his will," not one of these eight would ever receive a [manumission](#) document. Most of the slaves at Mount Vernon and the Washingtons' other plantations, and in the President's House in Philadelphia, actually were "dower" slaves, owned not by the Washingtons but by the estate of Martha Washington's first husband. She had the use of them during her lifetime, and then, after her death in 1802—upon her wish since she did not at all sympathize with their known desire to be free, a desire that to her had always been incomprehensible and preposterous— all approximately 150 of these dower slaves would pass into the ownership of her grandchildren.

The slaves in the President's House in Philadelphia slept in three distinct areas. We suppose that Hercules, Richmond, and Christopher slept in a room in the attic of the main house, while Moll and Oney slept with Mrs. Washington's grandchildren in two rooms over the kitchen and Giles, Paris, and Austin slept in a room Washington had had created between the smokehouse and the stable, behind the kitchen.

Within a year, George Washington would decide that Richmond was lazy, and that the teenage Paris had become insubordinate, and that Giles, so seriously injured that he could no longer ride a horse, had become useless, and the three would be sent back to Mount Vernon to labor under supervision. The total number of slaves the Washingtons had in Philadelphia was down from eight to five.



December 4: A petition before Connecticut's General Assembly:

The humble petition of Edward Carter Negro in behalf of self and fellow sufferers Humbly sheweth that insured by an Act of the Legislature of this state and what was ... greater encouragement the hopes of emancipating himself from slavery and his country



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from the tyranny of Britain did on the seventh day of May in the year 1777 enroll himself in the service of his country in the fourth company and regiment of Connecticut ... and from that period until the peace faithfully served in the Connecticut line in the Continental army ... undergoing the misery and hardships incident to the war ... constantly consoling himself with the prospects of freedom for himself and Country and your petitioner begs leave further to show that at the [end] of the war having a wife and family whose freedom and his own he had gained by the [service]; and being an inhabitant of a ... town where [there] were numbers of his own exemption and whose condition were like his own it seemed absolutely necessary to gain a [subsistence] for his family that he should change his situation and having nothing [wherewith] to purchase lands gained lease of a landholder in the town of Willington in this state to erect a [home] on his lands and your petitioner with considerable expense of labours had on land erected a small building to shelter himself and family from the ... weather. But by authority of said town of Willington has been taken from him habitation aforesaid ... deprived of a shelter for himself and family and hath no means whereby to produce one; is suffering in a most deplorable and suffering situation ... [Connecticut Archives, Miscellaneous, Second Series, 1686-1820. I:73, Connecticut State Library]

EMANCIPATION

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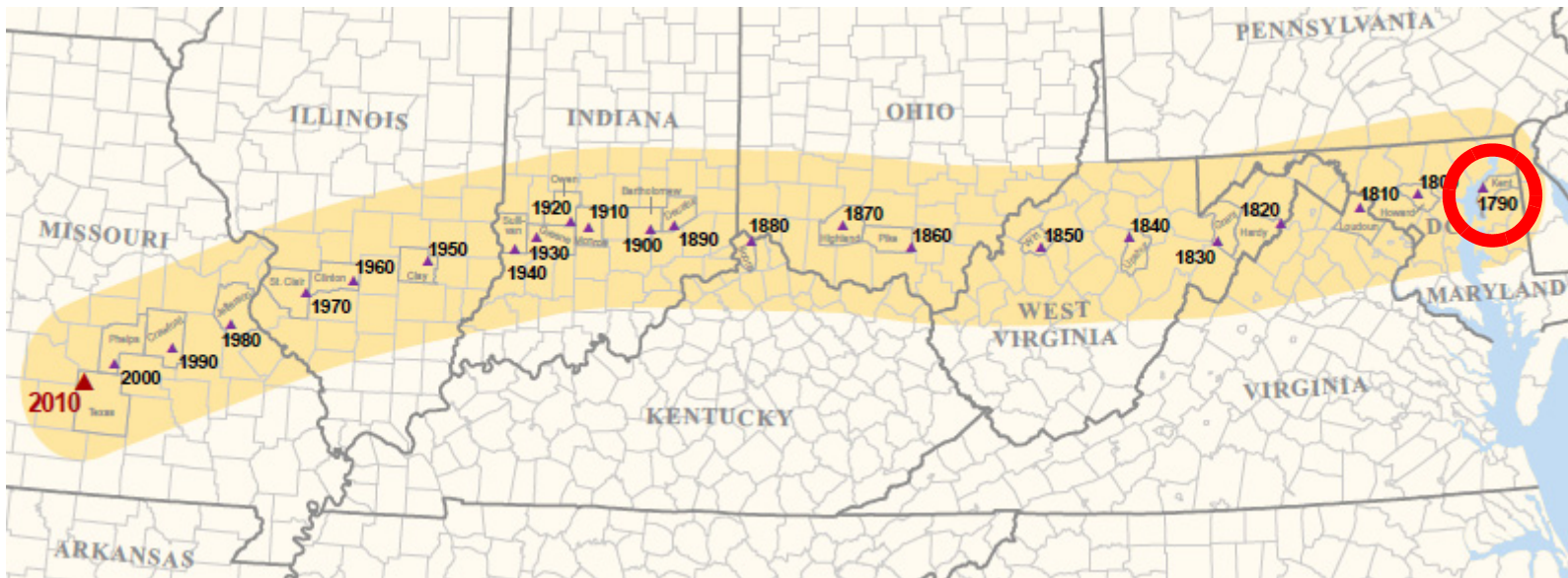
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1791

John Carroll became the 1st Roman [Catholic](#) bishop in the USA. (As the Archbishop of [Baltimore](#) he would of course own [slaves](#) — but as a regular good guy, before his death in 1815 he would have [manumitted](#) the last of them.)

As of this period the center of the human population of the USA was a little town just about a day's travel inland from [Baltimore](#). By the year 1820 this center of population would have relocated some 127 miles, as the result of a general westward expansion almost exactly along the 39th parallel, to an unimpressive glen the woods some 16 miles south of Woodstock VA: more than four miles per year. As of 1860 this center of population would lie in a field 20 miles to the south of Chillicothe OH: about seven miles per year. (Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)



Robert Carter III, master of Nomoni Hall, where there were nearly 500 slaves, on Virginia's Northern Neck, declared human slavery to be contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and to religion, and began to [emancipate](#) his many slaves.⁶⁷ (The process would be completed after his death in 1804.) Melvin Patrick Ely would review Andrew Levy's biography of this first emancipator in the Sunday Washington [Post](#) for April 24, 2005. Here are excerpts:

Breaking the Chains

THE FIRST EMANCIPATOR: THE FORGOTTEN STORY OF ROBERT CARTER,
THE FOUNDING FATHER WHO FREED HIS SLAVES
By Andrew Levy. Random House.

In 1791, Robert Carter III, the master of Nomony Hall plantation on Virginia's Northern Neck, began to emancipate his many slaves. In the years that followed, 500-600 African Americans



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received their freedom. The Old South would witness other group liberations, but never one so sweeping as this. Now Andrew Levy, who teaches English at Butler University, has taken up two related challenges in his intriguing but flawed new book: to resurrect and explain Carter's act of emancipation and to discover why this extraordinary liberator is virtually unknown to Americans today.

Far from being the "founding father" of the subtitle, Carter emerges as an outsider by nature who nevertheless remained a member of the planter elite. In one run for Virginia's House of Burgesses, Carter received only seven votes. Yet he was named to the royal governor's council, and he played chamber music and discussed the world within a rarefied circle in Williamsburg that included the governor and a young Thomas Jefferson.

Levy's careful reading of Carter family papers yields a vivid narrative of the future emancipator's evolution. Alienated both from the royal government and many of his selfish Virginia peers, Carter nevertheless went through the Revolutionary War without seriously questioning the morality of slavery. In late spring 1777, feverish after a smallpox inoculation, he saw a "most gracious Illumination" and abandoned deism. Carter then "tested every major faith" and wrote "small but passionate defenses of the poor and enslaved." He shared communion with humble folk both white and black and joined the Baptist church. By 1780, he forbade overseers to whip his enslaved laborers. Still, he was prepared to sell blacks, whether as punishment for escaping or to make good his prodigal son's debts. Within a few years, he had drifted away from the Baptists and toward the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg, whose faith encompassed numerology and purported conversations with denizens of other planets; Carter "joyously marginalized himself."

In 1791, Carter began the legal process that would emancipate, one small group at a time, the hundreds of black souls he owned, with whom he had come to empathize. Just as significant, he rejected Jefferson's belief that liberated slaves ought to be moved away from areas of white settlement. Instead, Carter offered to rent parcels of his land to his former slaves, even displacing white tenants to do so. In 1793, he left Virginia for

67. When William, Duke of Normandy had crossed the English Channel in 1066 to contest for the crown of England, he brought with him a clan of Norman knights known as Cartiers. According to the tapestry which records the Battle of Hastings, when William was in danger of being surrounded and overwhelmed by English soldiers, it was the Cartiers who rushed to his defense. By the time England founded Jamestown, Virginia in 1607, Cartier had become Carter and the family was elite. Around 1612, the Carter business cartel became intrigued at the potential of the emerging tobacco trade. John Carter was born in 1613 at Edmonton in Middlesex, England. He got to the Virginia Colony in 1635 from Essex in England and settled along the Corotoman River, which flows into the Rappahanock River near Chesapeake bay in Lancaster County, Virginia. This was where he founded the Corotoman Plantation. He became a colonel in the militia and helped drive the remaining natives from the region by 1640. With the support of his wealthy relatives and associates in England, he had the resources to outfit negreros. Noticing that Africans of the Ibo culture were excellent subsistence farmers in a semi-tropical environment, he purchased Ibos to provide the agricultural labor force at Corotoman. He produced numerous progeny by five wives, the most significant being Robert "King" Carter by his 2d wife Sarah Ludlow. He died on June 10, 1669 at Corotoman Plantation and was buried in Christ Church Cemetery in Lancaster County, Virginia. By 1700 "King" Carter was the richest white man in the English Colonies of North America, controlling nearly 300,000 acres of tobacco plantation scattered across the Northern neck of Tidewater Virginia with a labor force of about 1,500 slaves. His son Robert Carter Jr. produced in 1728 an heir named Robert Carter III. "King" Carter raised his grandson, who was educated at Cambridge University, inherited 78,000 of these acres scattered around Tidewater Virginia, and established his headquarters at Nomini Hall.



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Maryland; there he lived out his life near his wife's family, whom he preferred to his own Virginia kin. A sometime Baptist preacher to whom Carter delegated the work of liberation continued releasing group after group of Carter slaves well into the 1820s, long after their emancipator's death. As Carter had hoped, the gradualness of the procedure seems to have tempered, though not eliminated, white neighbors' misgivings.

Levy pays some attention to the role Carter's slaves played in their own liberation; once freed, they turned down his offers to sign on as employees, which "aggrieved" Carter. But the author also accepts and even amplifies the traditional view of free blacks as virtually helpless – "easy targets for random violence" and harassment by whites. The evidence he himself marshals suggests a much more complicated reality. Local courts, for example, acquitted one free black man suspected of helping a slave escape. They also heard a black woman charge a white man with assault; lodging such a public accusation was hardly the act of one who felt cowed.

Levy attributes instances of free-black self-improvement and interracial cooperation on Virginia's Northern Neck to the example set by Carter's mass emancipation. (In fact, similar things occurred elsewhere in the Upper South as well.) The author suggests that gradual elimination of slavery was a viable option in old Virginia – and that Americans have willfully ignored Robert Carter's story because it exposes our failure to follow in his footsteps. Rather than take Carter's example to heart, Levy writes, white Southerners circled the wagons in defense of slavery while Yankees embraced abolitionism and, ultimately, a "great sacred war" of liberation.

Levy's argument – that the Civil War could have been averted if only leaders in both the North and South had behaved more sensibly and generously – had its heyday three generations ago; it is seldom broached today. At times, Levy himself seems not to believe it. He is more persuasive when he suggests that history lost sight of Carter because he differed so markedly from those founding fathers who "conducted a conversation with posterity." Carter wrote little about his interactions with slaves and "wanted to be forgotten." His relegation to obscurity may not be as willful as Levy fears.

Carter's mysterious life, then, becomes an inspiring vignette of moral self-redemption. Yet even if Carter had behaved less eccentrically than he did and had applied himself to converting his fellow slaveholders, would many of them have followed his example? I doubt it. Levy also undermines his case for the road not taken when he depicts Carter, inaccurately, as the "only one" in the Virginia elite who "showed no fear of free blacks." Still, those persistent misgivings about slavery in the Upper South could not overcome the reluctance of many whites to live in a biracial society of free people; nor, for most white citizens, did moral qualms outweigh the tragic convenience of keeping 4 million people in bondage – the count at the beginning of the Civil War. Among those who did seek a way out, Robert



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Carter remains both an emotional puzzle and the moral exemplar Andrew Levy proclaims him to be.

Melvin Patrick Ely is a professor of history and black studies at William and Mary and the author of *ISRAEL ON THE APPOMATTOX: A SOUTHERN EXPERIMENT IN BLACK FREEDOM FROM THE 1790S THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR*, which won the Bancroft Prize for 2004.



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1792

Paris sent an army to restore order in Saint Domingue, only to have its military commanders favor and support the rebellious [slaves](#).

Governor Robert Brooke of [St. Helena](#) drew up a code of laws for the control and protection of [slaves](#) which limited the authority of the master and extended the authority of the magistrates. Further importation of slaves was forbidden.

ST. HELENA RECORDS

Although Connecticut had passed, in 1788, a law gradually abolishing slavery there, and although that law had specified that infants born to that state's [slaves](#) after this year were to be free and all others were to be [manumitted](#) when they reached the age of 25, and although this might indicate to some unwary readers that slavery would have ended in Connecticut effectively at the very least by 1813, indicating that when the captives of [La Amistad](#) arrived in that state's prison system, they would be arriving in a state that knew nothing of human slavery — such an appreciation would unfortunately be an inaccurate one. In fact Connecticut's gradualistic approach would **never** emancipate any females who had been over 21 years of age at the time of its passage, and would **never** emancipate any males who had been over 25. Thus there **still** would be, according to the US Census, **even in 1840**, a small number of slaves in Connecticut. This state actually would not be clear of slavery until death would come to the last of its slaves, "free at last," in the Year of Our Lord 1848.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

At the age of 22, [Robert Voorhis](#) was betrayed by James Bevins, the white man he had trusted, who had loaned him £50 so that this [slave](#) could obtain his [manumission](#) papers and marry and have a family: “It was late one evening, an evening never to be forgotten by me, while sitting in the midst of my innocent and beloved family, amused with the prattle of my eldest child, and enjoying all the felicity which conjugal love and parental affections are productive of, that this monster in human shape (Bevins) accompanied by another, entered, seized and pinioned me! And gave me to understand that I was intended for a Southern market!! It is impossible for me to describe my feelings or those of my poor distracted wife, at that moment! It was in vain that I intreated, in vain that I represented to Bevins that he had already received a very great proportion of the sum paid for my freedom—to which the ruffian made no other reply, than pronouncing me a liar, dragged me like a felon from my peaceable domicil— from my beloved family—whose shrieks would have pierced the heart of any one but a wretch like himself!” He was shipped to Charleston in irons and there he was sold in the slave auction.

[HERMITS](#)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

February 15, Wednesday: On September 14, 1796, some four and a half years after the fact, Isaiah Burr of [Warren](#) and [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would appear before the Town Clerk of [Providence](#) to certify that, in consideration of a payment of sixty spanish milled Dollars received, he had on this day in the past sold a piece of the property of his deceased father, to wit a black boy named Jack, to Bacchus Overing to have and to hold for and during the natural Life of Said Jack. This transaction was duly recorded on page 144 in Volume 25 of the town records:

*Know all Men by these presents that I Isaiah Burr
of Warren in the State of Rhode Island Inkeeper [sic] for and in
Consideration of the Sum of sixty spanish milled Dollars the
Receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge have bargained granted &
sold and by these Presents do grant, bargain and sell unto
Bacchus Overing all my Right, Title and Interest in and to a
black Boy named Jack the Property of my Father deceased, and all the
Right, Title and Interest of all and any other Person claiming under
my aforesaid Father to have and to hold the said Boy Jack as the pro-
perty of the said Bacchus and his Executors and assigns for and du-
ring the natural Life of the Said Jack, and I do hereby further covenant
and agree to and with the said Bacchus his Executors and assigns
that I will warrant and defend him in possession of the said Boy
Jack and I hereby bind my Executors and Heirs by these presents
against the Claims or Demands of any Person whatever.
Given under my Hand and Seal this fifteenth Day of February
1792.
Sealed and delivered in the presence of
Robt T. Tuckmuty } *Isaiah Burr.*
Newport Rhode Island Feb 15th 1792.
Received [sic] of the within named Bacchus Over-
ing the Sum of sixty Dollars being the Conside-
ration within named. } *Isaiah Burr.*
Robt T. Tuckmuty.
Recorded September 14th AD 1796.
Witness Jer. Tillinghast Town Clerk*

SLAVERY

MANUMISSION

We note several interesting elements in this record. First, would the delay of some four and a half years have been the period of time during which Bacchus Overing was coming up with the sixty spanish milled Dollars? (I cannot think of any other explanation, offhand.) And we immediately note the utterly strange fact, that within the body of the note the family name of Bacchus Overing was omitted — does this utterly strange fact signal to us that the purchaser Bacchus was himself a man of color? (I cannot think of any other explanation.) Now putting two and two together, —could it be that this Bacchus Overing was the father of this “black Boy named Jack the Property of my Father deceased”, —that he was purchasing his own son, to set his son free?



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1793

December 16, Monday: A Pennsylvania document entitled “Henry Wynkoop Esq to Phebe Tony & Tom”:

Know all then by these presents that I Henry Wynkoop of Northampton Township in the County of Bucks Esquire for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving and of my own motion without any pecuniary consideration have manumitted and set free my Negro Woman Slave named and registered by the Name of Phebe, also my Negro Man named and Registered by the Name of Tony (both above the age of twenty eight years) and also my Negro Man Tom registered by the Same Name and under the age of Twenty eight years and by these presents do manumit and set free the said three Slaves, Phebe Tony and Tom for ever. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this sixteenth day of December in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety three. ~ Henry Wynkoop [Seal]

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

} Jas. Linton
Wm Linton

Bucks fr? [Seal] Before me the Subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Bucks Henry Wynkoop Esquire acknowledged the above Manumission to be his Act and Deed. Witness my Hand & Seal Decr 16th 1793.

Francis Murray

Bucks fr Recorded in the Rolls Office for the County of Bucks in Lease Book No. 1 Page 232. Witness my Hand & Seal of office ~ Decr 16th 1793

Wm Linton D. Recorder⁶⁸

MANUMISSION

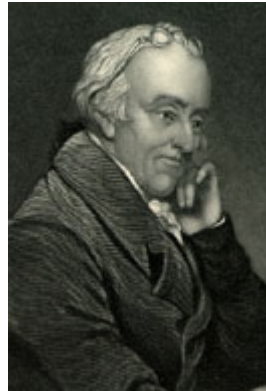


MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1794

➡ Dr. Benjamin Rush [manumitted](#) his long-term [slave](#) William Grubber (image not provided).



[Thomas Jefferson](#) withdrew temporarily from public service and converted his Virginia plantation over from the growing of [tobacco](#) to the growing of wheat as its main cash crop. He redesigned his [Monticello](#) plantation house, enlarging it from 8 to 21 rooms.⁶⁹ To make this expansion possible, he had the upper story removed and the east walls demolished. He then tacked on a series of rooms, a new front, and the famous dome, which happens to have been the initial one added to any American home. He based his design on an illustration in Andrea Palladio's *I QUATTRO LIBRI* depicting the ancient temple of the vestal virgins in Rome, [Italy](#). The image of Monticello that appears on the Jefferson nickel is in fact not the carriage or visiting entrance to the house but its West Front, what we today would call its back door, opening onto its back yard. He had the interiors of this homely edifice prepared according to the standards of Roman neoclassicism.

At some point (perhaps in this year, perhaps not) [Jefferson](#) designed a privy that was indoors at his [Monticello](#) plantation house. His [slaves](#) outdoors were to haul on ropes beneath the flooring in order to empty and reload his earth closet, which consisted of a wooden box having a hole cut in the seat above a hole in the flooring, with a pan of wood ashes on a set of rails beneath the flooring.⁷⁰

The slave whose duty it was to empty the tub of this necessary would have been referred to as the “necessary tubman,” since “necessary” was a euphemism for “privy,” or, shortly, as a “tubman.” In the cities, the wastes termed “night soil,” collected at night by such tubmen, were being sold as fertilizer to nearby farms. This practice would continue until the beginning of the 20th Century. According to Ted Steinberg's *DOWN TO EARTH: NATURE'S ROLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY* (Oxford UP, 2002), as late as 1912 “tubmen in Baltimore cleaned 70,000 privy vaults and cesspools, then sold the night soil in 1000 gallon containers to farmers.” To the very best of my understanding, tubmen might be slaves or they might be free, but were always black due to the degraded nature of the occupation — if anyone should come across even one instance of a non-black tubman, they should publish this finding.⁷¹

69. [Jefferson](#)'s original drawings of the first version of his ideal plantation house, a structure of relative modesty, demonstrate that he was disfavoring the Georgian architecture then popular in Virginia. He was relying upon his memory of one of the newer townhouses in Paris, the Hotel de Salm, a structure with a dome. In the south of France he had seen the Maison Carrée, which had been a Roman temple, and had been greatly impressed: “Roman taste, genius, and magnificence excite ideas.”

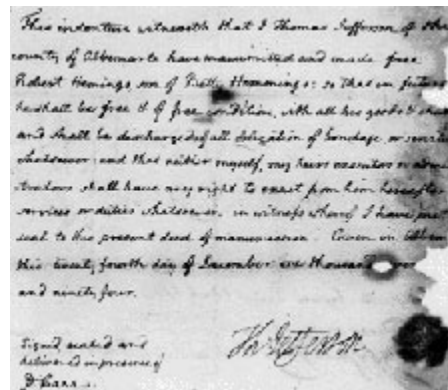
70. [Jefferson](#) would also design two outhouses located at his retreat at Poplar Forest in Virginia which were conventional in function, although octagonal in construction.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

During this year daddy [Thomas manumitted](#) Robert Hemings (1762-1819).⁷²



2d day 9th month: The [Quaker](#) families of Friends Peter and Martha Davis and Friend Joseph Healy (Healey) lived near Hopkinton, [Rhode Island](#). Friend Peter had been born in like 1712 and had become quite elderly while Friend Joseph was a widower with ten children, still in his 40s. Joseph had become a Quaker by conviction. Peter's 1st wife Content had been born in like 1717 and had died in 1781. His 2d wife Martha had been born in like 1721. After Friend Peter had married this 2d wife, she had begun bearing children despite being in her 60s. At some point for some reason it began to be suspected that there was an ongoing sexual liaison between fecund Martha and this nearby lonely widower. Therefore, on this day Friend Joseph Healy legally bequested, upon two daughters of Friend Martha Davis of Wefterly named Mary (born the 11th day of 4th month, 1782 with the mother at the age of about 61 and the daughter at this point 11 years of age, who in the future would be known as Mary Davis Healy) and Martha (born the 4th day of 3rd month, 1790 with the mother at the age of about 69 and the daughter at this point 4 years of age, who in the future would be known as Martha Healy), the princely sum of £300. Furthermore, Friend Joseph was declaring that this woman, although she was married to another man, Friend Peter Davis, and although she was decades older than him, had the standing of "his intended wife." Furthermore, he was "about to Intermarry With the afore said Martha Davis Mother to the aforesaid two Children Infants aforesaid" — yes, Intermarry, an unusual word choice. Further, "all their said Ten Children" were going to be considered "Eql in their portions in the Whole of the Estate" — and so were any additional children that might in the future be born to their union.

Were any more children born of this union? Yes, incredibly, this Quaker record book ([South Kingstown](#)

71. This adds an interesting perspective to the noble life of [Harriet Tubman](#). She evidently bore that family name as an occupational name, a synonym for "nightsoil-collector," in the manner in which a white family might know itself as Cooper (barrel-maker) or Fletcher (arrow-maker). One may imagine that the humor of the situation — that they were being carried north to freedom by a tubman and were therefore analogous to human wastes — would not have been lost on the black escapees whom this Underground Railroad conductor escorted out of the South.

72. In sum total, during his lifetime Jefferson would manumit this Robert Hemings and, in 1796, James Hemings (1765-1801), and then per the terms of his will in 1826/1827 freedom became available also to Joseph (Joe) Fossett (1780-1858), Burwell Colbert (1783-1850+), Madison Hemings (1805-1856), John Hemings (1776-1833), and Eston Hemings (1808-1856). However, in 1804 and 1822 three other of his slaves would leave Monticello with his tacit consent, to wit James Hemings (1787-????), Beverly Hemings (1798-????), and Harriet Hemings (1801-????). We note that the only slaves Jefferson ever freed were members of the Hemings family and that after his death, at the disposal of his estate, the other 130 slaves at Monticello would be remaindered to the highest bidders. Although [Sally Hemings](#) herself would be able to avoid being sold at this estate sale, since her lover did not free her either during his life or in his will we do not understand how she managed to avoid this final humiliation — perhaps she was able to carry this off through sheer force of presence!



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Monthly Meeting, Births, Deaths, Marriages 1740-1820, on file in the records of the New England Yearly Meeting stored at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island) shows that a Peter Davis Healy was born to Joseph and Martha on the 11th day of the 8th month, 1795 —when Martha had reached the age of about 74— and then, incredibly, a Hannah Healy was born to Joseph and Martha on the 3d day of the 10th month, 1798 — when Martha had attained the ripe old age of about 77 (birth and death dates are routinely recorded elsewhere in this same volume)!⁷³

Friend Peter Davis would die on the 22d day of the 12th month 1812 at more than 100 years of age and his body would interred in the burying ground of the Friends in Richmond alongside the bodies of his 1st wife Content and his 2d wife Martha (Friend Joseph Healy is not buried in this graveyard, but in Hopkinton).

KNOW all men by thefe preafants that I Jofep Healy of Hopkinton in the County of Wafhington yeoman am holden and firmly bound unto Mary Davis & Martha Davis Infants and Daughters of Martha Davis of Wefterly in the County afore said in the penal Sum of Three Hundred pounds Lawful money to be paid to the Said Mary Davis and Martha Davis the Infants aforesaid or to their Certain attorney Heirs Executors Administrators or afsigns for the Which payment Well and truly to be maid I bind my Self my heirs Executors and Administrators and Every of them firmly by thefe prefents Sealed With my Seal Signed With my hand and Dated this Second Day of the Ninth Month in the Year of our Lord one Thoufand Seven Hundred and Ninety four 1794 [flourish]

THE CONDITION of the above Obligation is Such that Whereas the said Jofeph Healy is about to Intermarry With the afore said Martha Davis Mother to the aforesaid Two Children Infants aforesaid Who have agreed that What Eftate they have both Rail and perfonal Shall be occupied and improved by the said Jofeph Healy and the said Martha Davis his Intended Wife During their Natural Lives if they think beft and as the said Jofeph Healy hath Eight Children and the said Martha Davis alfo the before named two it is agreed that all their said Ten Children and if they Shall have any More Shall be made Equal in their portions in the Whole of the Eftate of the said Jofeph Healy and of the said Martha Davis his intended Wife With What they may Add Except the Houfe hold goods viz What She now hath and What he now hath her part if any remains after their Dearths to be and belong to her Children only and his part of the houfehold Goods if any Shall remain after his Dearth to be and belong to his Children only

NOW if the said Jofeph Healy his Heirs Executors or administrators Shall Well and truly keep and perform said

73. Searching the internet for records of the oldest woman known to have a baby, I have found a record of a 66-year-old woman from Romania, Adriana Iliescu. However, she gave birth in 2004 by C-section and had undergone fertility treatment for nine years before becoming pregnant by artificial insemination (the baby weighed only three pounds at birth, and required intensive care). Previously, the oldest known woman to give birth had been a 65-year-old Indian woman, Satyabhama Mahapatra from Nayagarh in Orissa, who gave birth in 2003 after being impregnated with an egg from her 26-year-old niece that had been fertilized by her husband.

If this doesn't seem plausible, then perhaps there is another woman, a younger one, named Martha Davis, who somehow has gone unrecorded. A possibility would be that this Martha Davis was a daughter of Friend Peter Davis with his 1st wife, Friend Content Davis — except that there is no such child on the record. Another possibility would be that the Davis family had a young Narragansett female slave back in the kitchen, that they had assigned the name “Martha Davis” or “Indian Martha” or something, a person whose existence nobody really wanted to acknowledge — the word “intermarry” would fit in with this last possibility.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

*agreement at all times both before and at his deceas then the
above obligation Shall be Void and of no Effect but in Default
thereof to be and Remain in full force and virtue in Law
[flourish]*

Jofeph Healy {seal}

Signed and Sealed in preafants of [flourish]

Jofeph Collins }

Simeon Perry }

*It is Concluded that the above Written bond be Recorded
in friends book of Records belonging to South Kingston
Monthly Meeting for the advantage of the above Named
Two Children in Case the original Should be Loft or Miflayed
Jofep Healy*



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1796

Already, in 1794, [Thomas Jefferson](#) had [manumitted](#) a [Monticello](#) slave named Robert Hemings (1762-1819). In this year he manumitted also James Hemings (1765-1801), and then per the terms of his will in 1826/1827 freedom would become available also to Joseph (Joe) Fossett (1780-1858), Burwell Colbert (1783-1850+), Madison Hemings (1805-1856), John Hemings (1776-1833), and Eston Hemings (1808-1856). However, in 1804 and 1822 three other of his slaves would leave Monticello with his tacit consent, to wit James Hemings (1787-????), Beverly Hemings (1798-????), and Harriet Hemings (1801-????). We note that the only slaves Jefferson ever freed were members of the Hemings family and that after his death, at the disposal of his estate, the other 130 slaves at Monticello would be remaindered to the highest bidders. Although [Sally Hemings](#) herself would be able to avoid being sold at this estate sale, since her lover did not free her either during his life or in his will we do not understand how she managed to avoid this final humiliation — perhaps she was able to carry this off through sheer force of presence!

On [Monticello](#)'s Mulberry Row, a road lined with mulberry trees, the center of the plantation's light industry, at this point had grown to the point that it boasted seventeen buildings, such as a stable, joinery, blacksmith shop, nailery, utility sheds, and dwellings for slave and free laborers.

One of the surviving structures is now used as a public toilet (it is, and this goes without saying, a racially integrated toilet).



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Political Parties Then and Now

ROUND 1	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS	FEDERALISTS
1792		Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, et al. representing the North and commercial interests
1796	Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, et al. representing the South and landowning interests	
1817-1824	James Monroe's "factionless" era of good feelings, ho ho ho	
ROUND 2A	DEMOCRATS	NATIONAL REPUBLICANS
1828		John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, representing the North and the commercial interests, and in addition the residents of border states
ROUND 2B	DEMOCRATS	WHIGS
1832	Andrew Jackson, representing the South and landowning interests, plus wannabees such as our small farmers, backwoods go-getters, the "little guy on the make" in general	John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, representing the North and the commercial interests, and residents of border states, and in addition the anti-Jackson Democrats
ROUND 3	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1856		Abraham Lincoln, William Henry Seward, representing Northerners, urbanites, business types, factory workers, and (more or less) the abolitionist movement
ROUND 4	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1932-1960	F.D.R., representing Northeasterners, urbanites, blue-collar workers, Catholics, liberals, and assorted ethnics	Representing businesspeople, farmers, white-collar types, Protestants, the "Establishment," right-to-lifers, moral majoritarians, and in general, conservatism of the "I've got mine, let's see you try to get yours" stripe.

May 28, Saturday: The first [manumission](#) on record in Jamaica occurred during this year. (The next would not occur until 1800:)

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
May 28, 1796	Robert Davison	Pally Ohlson & her 2 children, Peg and William	10 shillings
January 1, 1800	Thomas Goldwin, Power of Attorney	Bessy al Bessy Foxen	£65
June 15, 1805	Caleb Powell	Mary Powell	10 shillings



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
June 25, 1805	Charles Rose Ellis	Charlotte & her 6 children, Elizabeth Dodd, Jane Dodd, Nancy Dodd, Charlotte Dodd, John, Sarah	£700
April 1, 1807	Sarah Baird	Bessy	10 shillings
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	James Allan	£110
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	John Allan	£139 11/-
October 8, 1812	Mary Richards	Hannah Richards & child, Mary Payne Golden	£160
March 20, 1813	William Henry Parker	Edward Cragie, Maria Williams	£90
June 4, 1813	Robert Jacobs	Joe al Joseph Jacobs Diamond	10 shillings
June 4, 1813	Henry Glassford Power of Attorney	Henry Palmer Moore	£160
August 16, 1814	Executors of Thomas Matthews's will	Henry	no value



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1797

The [Maryland](#) slavemaster Aaron Anthony moved with his slaves to Holme Hill Farm on Tuckahoe Creek in Talbot County. His slaves included females named Betsey and Harriet ancestors of Frederick Douglass.

Publication of THE COLUMBIAN ORATOR, a collection of short takes in favor of such generalities as patriotism, education, temperance, freedom, and courage and in opposition to such generalities as oppression and [slavery](#), excerpted from various speeches, dialogs, plays, and poems by Caleb Bingham. In the following excerpt from NARRATIVE, the dialog Frederick Douglass refers to between a master and his slave is in Bingham's prefatory discourse upon the art of oratory:

I was now about twelve years old, and the thought of being **a slave for life** began to bear heavily upon my heart. Just about this time, I got hold of a book entitled "The Columbian Orator." Every opportunity I got, I used to read this book. Among much of other interesting matter, I found in it a dialogue between a master and his slave. The slave was represented as having run away from his master three times. The dialogue represented the conversation which took place between them, when the slave was retaken the third time. In this dialogue, the whole argument in behalf of slavery was brought forward by the master, all of which was disposed of by the slave. The slave was made to say some very smart as well as impressive things in reply to his master-things which had the desired though unexpected effect; for the conversation resulted in the voluntary emancipation of the slave on the part of the master.

MANUMISSION

January 30, Monday: When [slaves](#) who had been [manumitted](#) in North Carolina and had moved to Philadelphia –Jacob Nicholson, Jupiter Nicholson, Job Albert, and Turner Pritchett– petitioned the federal Congress because their families back home were being sold back into [enslavement](#) (because under state law their former white owner had not had prior permission from the government to [manumit](#) them), [James Madison, Jr.](#) recommended that these families receive zero assistance from the federal government. First things first — States' Rights — it wasn't going to be any role of our federal apparatus to interfere with the manner in which individual states chose to manage their own affairs!



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1798

[New Jersey](#) repealed its 1786 law of [manumission](#). It raised the upper age limit for the manumission of [slaves](#) from 35 to 40 years, and required the signatures of two witnesses on the manumission document (P.L. 1798, chap. 727, p. 364).

Betsey Stockton was born in Princeton as the property of Robert Stockton, a local attorney. She would be presented to Stockton's daughter and son-in-law, the Reverend Ashbel Green, then President of Princeton College, as a gift. (In that new capacity, she would be permitted to attend evening classes at the Princeton Theological Seminary, manumitted, and accepted into membership by the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missionaries.)

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1799

James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, died in Edinburgh, [Scotland](#).



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

May 3, Friday: On page 4 of Volume 27 of the records of deeds and mortgages for the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the heirs of Joseph Brown (to wit Obadiah, Elizabeth, and Mary Brown and Richard and Eliza Ward) prepared a Power of Attorney for Obadiah as their Lawful Attorney to show the Town Council, in order to obtain its consent for their liberating, manumitting, and feting Free a 24-year-old black Woman named Phillis, ownership of whom they had recently inherited from their father:

[flourish] *Manumission*

{{stamp}} *Heirs of Joseph Brown Deed to Phillis Brown. -*
Know all people by these presents, that W^e. Elizabeth
Brown, widow of Joseph Brown late of Providence in the
State of Rhode Island &c. merchant deceased and Mary
Brown, Richard Ward & Eliza Ward, who together with
Obadiah Brown are the only surviving Heirs at Law to
the Estate of the said Joseph Brown, do authorize, constitute
and appoint the said Obadiah Brown our Lawful Attorney
for the purpose of appearing before the Honorable the Town
Council of said Providence and there according to Law to lib=
erate, manumit and set free a Certain black Woman named
Phillis, late the servant of the said Joseph Brown and now
the servant of the said widow and Heirs: as fully + completely
as we could do ourselves if Presents. [sic]

[flourish] *And we do engage to hold firm + Valid whatsoever*
may be done by our said Attorney by Virtue hereof.
In Witnefs to these presents, we have hereunto set
our Hands and seals at said Providence, this third Day of
May, a D. One Thousand Seven Hundred + ninety nine.
Signed, Sealed and delivered } *Elizabeth Brown ((L.S.))*
in the presence of us } *Mary Brown ((L.S.))*
Geo. Tillinghast } *Richard Ward ((L.S.))*
Isaac Greendwood } *Eliza Ward ((L.S.))*
Providence Ye. In Providence May 3^d a D. 1799.
Personally appeared Elizabeth Brown, Mary Brown, Richard
Ward + Eliza Ward subscribers to the foregoing Instrument
and acknowledged the same to be their free Act and Deed
with their hands + Seals annexed. *Before me, Geo. Tillinghast, Jus. Peace*

[flourish] *Whereas Obadiah Brown Esquire appeared before*
this Council and produced with him Phillis, servant of the
Heirs of Joseph Brown deceased for the purpose of having her
made free: the Council on due inquiry, do adjudge that
the said Phillis is under thirty years of Age, to wit, of the
Age of twenty four years, and that she is of sound Body
and Mind, and the Council do consent, that the said
Phillis be manumitted and made free.
Done at a Town Council holden [sic] *at Providence*
on the Sixth Day of May a D. 1799.

[flourish] *Witnefs, Geo. Tillinghast T. Clk.*—

MANUMISSION
SLAVERY



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

May 6, Monday: On page 5 of Volume 27 of the records of deeds and mortgages for the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Obadiah Brown, acting on his own behalf and on behalf of the other heirs of Joseph Brown (to wit Elizabeth and Mary Brown and Richard and Eliza Ward), and having in his hand a written Letter of Attorney, did Liberate, manumit, and fet Free a fervant Black Woman named Phillis Brown — in the fullest and completest manner that the fame may or can be done:

[flourish] *Know all Men by these Presents, that I the within mentioned Obadiah Brown for myself, and also in the behalf of the within named Elizabeth Brown, Mary Brown, Richard Ward and Eliza Ward, by virtue of the within written Letter of Attorney do Liberate, manumit, and fet Free the within mentioned fervant Black Woman named Phillis, in the fullest and completest manner, that the fame may or can be done.*
In Witnes whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at said Providence this Fifth day of May. aD. One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety nine.

*Signed, Sealed and delivered
in presence of us* } *Obadiah Brown* ((L.S.))
Geo. Tillinghast }
Jos. Balch.

Providence Ye. Providence, May 6th 1799. Personally appeared Obadiah Brown Esq^r. and Acknowledged the above Instrument by him subscribed, to be his free voluntary Act and Deed. Before me, Geo. Tillinghast, Jus. Peace
Recorded May 7th aD 1799 }
Witness Geo. Tillinghast Town Clerk

MANUMISSION
SLAVERY



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

December 14, Saturday: During his lifetime [George Washington](#) had suffered intermittently from an ailment that he himself had termed [consumption](#) (we now know “consumption” as pulmonary [tuberculosis](#)). On this day he died of a throat [infection](#) (referred to at the time as quinsy) after making a tour of Mount Vernon on horseback during severe winter weather, and after being bled several times by his physician.



“For 2400 years patients have believed that doctors were doing them good; for 2300 years they were wrong.”



— David Wootton, BAD MEDICINE:
DOCTORS DOING HARM SINCE HIPPOCRATES,
Oxford, June 2006

No ministers were called to his deathbed and no prayers were offered. Although he had provided in his will that upon the death of his wife Martha the family’s [slaves](#) were to be [manumitted](#), and although this will instructed his executors to set up a special fund for the support of aged and infirm former slaves (lucky slaves, to be the property of a truly swell guy :-)) — there has been no evidence as yet uncovered that the executors of his will actually ever did any of this.



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Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1794	George Jacques Danton	he had been convicted of not having made adequate use of the guillotine	"Show my head to the people. It is worth seeing."
1798	Giovanni Casanova	having spent his life collecting sequentially and in tandem 132 pubic scalps	"I have lived as a philosopher and died as a Christian."
1799	George Washington	fearing being buried alive (a common fear for that period), he was being heartily reassured by his physician	"'Tis well."
1806	Charles Dickinson	he was dueling with Andrew Jackson	"Why have you put out the lights?"
1809	Thomas Paine	his physician asked whether he wished to believe Jesus to be the son of God	"I have no wish to believe on that subject."
... other famous last words ...			




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19TH CENTURY

1800

 [Denmark Vesey](#) used \$600 of his winnings from a town lottery to purchase his freedom.

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"The capacity to get free is nothing; the capacity to be free, that is the task."


— André Gide, *THE IMMORALIST*
translation Richard Howard
NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7



From this point he would work as a free carpenter in Charleston SC. Peter Hinks has commented that: "A black man in Charleston in the early 1820s would have had a number of opportunities to hear the bold Denmark Vesey speak his mind for he was a prominent and relatively affluent member of the free black community, was a class leader in the African Church, and was renowned for vehemently stating his opinions openly in his shop which was frequented by many people."

Men must not only be dissatisfied;
they must be so dissatisfied they will act.

Per a New York Times review of a recent biography of Vesey: "To those taken with Christianity, he quoted the Bible. To those mindful of power, he spoke of armies of Haitian soldiers in waiting. To those fearful of the spirit world, he enlisted one Jack Pritchard —universally known as Gullah Jack— a wizened, bewhiskered conjurer whose knowledge of African religious practices made him a welcome figure on the plantations that surrounded Charleston."

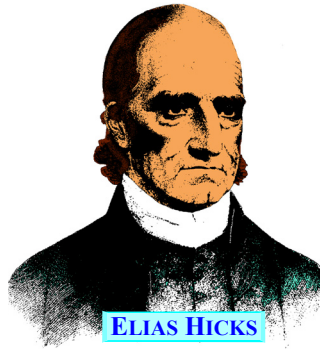
 By the turn of the 19th century "virtually all" [Quakers](#) had [manumitted](#) all their [slaves](#) — except in some obscure cases in which slavemasters were still attempting to

"stout it out"



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ELIAS HICKS

(to use one of Friend Elias's favorite idioms), such cases continuing

"under care"

as local meetings labored continually with the individuals in question and the very special conditions that had created each such case.

In the first years of the new century a very distinct costume was worn by the Quakers. Not only were all colours but grey and brown and white eschewed by strict members of the sect, but black was considered worldly. Everything they wore was of the best quality, most durably made and most neatly adjusted. Beaver hats with brims especially broad were worn by Quaker men for the greater part of the century. In the words of an English essayist:

"A Quaker's hat is a more formidable thing than a Grandee's,"

and

"Broad Brim"

is one of the most familiar soubriquets by which members of the Society of Friends are known. Short clothes were worn by more than usually conservative Quaker gentlemen throughout the thirties.... The coat is cut high, but is made without a collar and the plain buttoned waistcoat is also high and collarless.... Only one to the persuasion born could master the subtle differences in the garb of the two factions, the Orthodox and [Hicksite](#) Friends. To the worldly eye the most obvious distinction seems to be that the Orthodox Quakers wear unorthodox garments, while the followers of Hicks dress in ordinary apparel.... The Orthodox members were at one time so strict in matters of dress that even buttons were forbidden as unnecessary ornaments. It has been narrated that on one occasion a Friend was publicly rebuked at a Meeting in Philadelphia for a breach of this regulation, whereupon the spirit moved Nicholas Waln, a famous preacher of his day, to remark that

"if religion consisted of a button, he did not care a button for religion."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





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In Georgia in this year, additional restraints were found to be necessary to prevent the education of slaves:

That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizos, whether composed of all or any of such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and of a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of mental instruction in a confined or secret place, &c. &c., is (are) declared to be an unlawful meeting; and magistrates, &c. &c., are hereby required, &c., to enter into such confined places, &c. &c., to break doors, &c., if resisted, and to disperse such slaves, free negroes, &c.&c.; and the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblies may inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, &c., as they may judge necessary, for deterring them from the like unlawful assemblage in future.

— BREVARD'S DIGEST, 254

The market value of an enslaved human being in the US, which had fallen to half of what it had been in 1775, was beginning at this point to rebound. From \$100, it had fallen to a low of \$50 on average. Over the next half-century, under the influence of the large-scale specialist [cotton](#) plantation, the market value of an enslaved human being in the US would increase by an order of magnitude, from \$50 to \$500, and then go on increasing until it had reached in 1850 almost another order of magnitude higher than what it had been at its previous peak in 1775. That is, a slave had cost a US citizen about \$100 in 1775 and in constant dollars would cost \$800-\$1,000 in 1850. The effect of the 1808 ban on the import of fresh slaves from Africa had been to increase the



value of slaves bred at home. Specialist breeding plantations had sprung up, which by what will politely be termed Draconian measures were able to increase the fecundity of slave women from 10-15% per year to 25-40% per year, and the primary product of these breeding plantations was not bales of [cotton](#) lying on the dock but young people standing on the block.⁷⁴ Why was it impossible to free the slaves by purchasing them, as had



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been done in England? Because by the period in which this was being argued by [Waldo Emerson](#) and others, this would have cost over \$2,000,000,000.⁶⁰, an amount equal to the entire expenditures of our federal government over an entire decade

South Carolina would enact a law in this year that required that any slaves who were manumitted possess, or receive from their manumitting masters, “the capacity... to function in a free society...” The goal was to end such abuses as the “freeing” of the aged, the infirm, and those considered by the slavemaster to be useless due to bad or depraved character.⁷⁵ After the 1831 Turner rebellion, most southern states would be passing such laws restricting (or prohibiting) [manumission](#). By the 1850s only Delaware, Missouri, and Arkansas would be allowing masters to free slaves without requiring their departure from the state.⁷⁶

74. This fact has been indignantly and hotly challenged. On this there is, however, scant room for debate. Those who challenge it seem to be angry deniers with their heads up their collective asses. The abolitionists had it exactly right that selling slaves out of states like Virginia into states like Louisiana was essential to the sustained profitability and viability of slavery in border states. Hence the term “breeding state,” which status Virginia’s leaders in the 1832 slavery debate made no attempt whatever to deny. The white [slaveholders](#) themselves regularly referred to dark enslaved women of child-bearing age as “breeding wenches.” A slave woman’s reproductive potential was forthrightly calculated as part of her retail worth and slaveholders generally regarded their investment in new generations of children as a capital investment. No legal restrictions whatever were placed on selling children from parents, except in Louisiana where the Code Noire attempted to intercept the selling of children under the age of 10 away from their mothers, and where in 1829 it was made illegal to import a slave child under the age of 10 without importing its mother along with it. We can witness the reproductive value of slave women by contrasting the hiring price for a slave woman with her purchase price. (The hiring rate would represent a woman’s productive labor only, because the person hiring her services would not come to own any child she would produce during her period of hire, while her higher selling price would include her reproductive potential as well as her labor.) In Virginia in 1860, a slave female’s average annual hiring rate was \$46, about 44% of a slave male’s \$105. By way of contrast, a woman’s average 1859 selling price of \$1,275-\$1,325 was almost 94% of a man’s, of \$1,350-\$1,425. Consider the following document in the probate records of Vicksburg MI, a document which was created by the court during a suit over control of an estate (Isaac Robert vs. Benjamin L.C. Wailes, Guardian of the Heirs of E.H. Covington dec’d. November 1839, Warren County Courthouse). The issue before this court was whether the administrator was doing all he could to increase the value of the estate on behalf of its minor heirs:

“Alexander Covington [the current administrator], sworn, says he is a planter, resides near the place of E.H. Covington [the deceased] and has been well acquainted with the plantation of E.H. Covington for nine years and with the negroes for twenty years, that there about 30 working hands on the place that the land is extremely broken has been in cultivation for 12 or 13 years and part of it is very poor, that the hollows are not susceptible of cultivation, that an average of 5 bales to the hand with a sufficiency of corn would, according to his opinion and management be a good crop, that his policy is not to make large crops but to raise young negroes, that that was the policy pursued by E.H. Covington in his lifetime, and has been pursued by Mr. Howell [the overseer] in his management, that it would be more to the advantage of minors having such an estate as the one managed by Mr. Howell to raise young negroes than to force the production of large crops.”

Witnesses for both sides in the dispute attested to the success of the defendant’s “breeding” business. Success was estimated in terms of the number of infants. It was achieved by feeding the breeding females enough to keep them healthy, by encouraging them to “breed freely,” and by only forcing the breeders to work half days — not merely while pregnant but also while in the process of becoming pregnant.



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February 15, Saturday: By means of a document remarkable for the freedom of its spelling, a Slave mulatte Man Named Jerimiah or Jeremiah Eafton was as of this day [manumitted](#) & Set Free of & from all bondage Servitude & [Slavery](#) whatsoever, in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#), by the Yeoman Nicholas Eafton as duly witnessed by Benjamin Mott and David Buffum. The document, folded twice from top to bottom, appears to be sealed by means of Yeoman Easton's thumbprint or fingerprint.⁷⁷

*To all People to whom these presents Shall come
I Nicholas Eafton of Portsmouth in the County
of Newport in the State of Rhode Island Yeoman
Send greeting Know ye That I the s^d Nicholas do
Manumit & Set Free a mulatte [sic] Man Named Jerimiah
Eafton who is my Slave, of & from all bondage Ser-
vitude & Slavery whatsoever & I the s^d Nicholas
for my self my heirs Executors [sic] or administrators
do hereby forever enounce [sic] & Disclame [sic] all propriety [sic]
in & right to to [sic] the person Labour & Service of the
s^d Jerimiah hereby declaring him to be forever
a free man, in Witnes Whereof I the s^d Nicholas
do hereunto Set my hand & Seal at Portsmouth this 15th day
of February one thousand Eight hundred & the Twenty
Forth [sic] of the Independance [sic] of America [sic]*

witnes Benjⁿ Mott Nicholas Eafton ((mark))
David Buffum

75. Refer to Marina Wikramanayke, *A WORLD IN SHADOW: THE FREE BLACK IN ANTEBELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA* (U of South Carolina P, 1973, pages 31-40).

76. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”

77. It is said that this manumission document in the collection of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society is an especially significant one in that it dates to 1824, “sixteen years after the Gradual Emancipation Act.” If it did date to 1824, it would indeed be of that significance, but it does not date to 1824. It dates to February 15, 1800, well before the Gradual [Emancipation](#) Act. The “Twenty Forth” in the document does not refer to the Gregorian year, but to the fact that 24 years had elapsed since the colonies, in 1776, declared their freedom from England.



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1801



January 1, Thursday: The Dutch East India Company was dissolved and the Netherlands East Indies became a Dutch colony.

In his Palermo observatory, Giuseppe Piazzi became the 1st person to discover an [asteroid](#). He would name this object Ceres (Ceres had been the Roman goddess associated with Sicily).

Although on this day the 124 personal [slaves](#) of the deceased [George Washington](#) were formally and collectively [manumitted](#), in all likelihood the escaped cook [Hercules](#), by this time living covertly in New-York, would never learn that he had thus become free, and would never qualify for his own personal freedom document.

The Act of Union of Great Britain (England + [Scotland](#)) and [Ireland](#) came into force, with the 3-cross Union Jack hoisted on the Tower of London to the firing of guns as the official flag of that United Kingdom. Hereafter, the nation would be styled The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the 3-cross Union Jack its symbol. George III assumed the title King of Great Britain and Ireland. The [Irish](#) Parliament was abolished — theoretically, but of course only theoretically, two islands were to form one nation. For instance, due to this union, it began to be a flaming question in British politics whether any Catholic would ever be allowed to hold any government office.

The 1st census put the population of England and Wales at 9,168,000, of Britain at nearly 11,000,000 (75% rural) — the Irish population meanwhile was at 5,000,000.

London, population 864,000.

Paris, population 547,000.

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1802

September 1, Wednesday: James Thomson Callender, in a gazette known as the Richmond Recorder (the Drunge Report of that era), outed the sexual relationship between [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [Sally Hemings](#), one of his lighter-skinned young house slaves in his [Monticello](#) plantation house, who, although fully enslaved, was actually, through the misbehavior of the preceding generation, a half-sister of Jefferson's dead wife, sired upon one of the black women there (by Jefferson's father-in-law John Wayles).





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Callender, it seems, was disgruntled at not receiving federal employment after having done some pamphlets for the Jeffersonians, and had switched to the opposite political camp, taking with him some privileged information as to private affairs and accommodations.



In defense of the widower Jefferson for thus sexually using a dependent person, it has been offered by suckup historians that “Dashing Sally” must have looked quite a bit like his dead wife, causing him to adore her, and, that since this widower had promised his wife that he would never remarry, it was understandable that the man would need to seek sexual gratification through one or another illicit liaison.



As Joseph J. Ellis recently pointed out, “Our heroes –and especially Presidents– are not gods or saints, but flesh-and-blood humans, with all of the frailties and imperfections that this entails.” (And yes, since you ask, Professor Ellis **was** speaking of President Jefferson rather than of President William Jefferson Clinton!)



The president would never need to make any public response to these accusations, which he was well aware



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were widespread, since no Special Prosecutor would ever be appointed by his Department of Justice. Also, what the hey, it wasn't like slavery was against the law or anything. (Under the law of the time it was even impossible to commit rape upon a woman of color, whether she belonged to you or to some other white man or, for that matter, even if she was a free black person possessing manumission papers. A black woman simply had no right to bodily privacy which any white man was bound to respect.)

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1803

 According to JOURNAL OF THE LIFE OF JOSEPH HOAG, CONTAINING HIS REMARKABLE VISION,⁷⁸ [Friend](#) Joseph Hoag (1762-1846) of Charlotte, Vermont during this year experienced a prevision of a US Civil War that would be fought over the issue of human [slavery](#).

In this timeframe [North Carolina](#) was acquiring an undeserved rep as the “Rip Van Winkle” state — it was making so little progress (the appearance was from other states) that it seemed to be asleep.

Near Little Meadow Creek where 12-year-old Conrad Reed had in 1799 discovered his 17-pound doorstep of gold ore, on his father’s farm in Cabarrus County, [North Carolina](#), the [slave](#) Peter dug up a 28-pound nugget that turned out to flux into a gold bar worth more than \$6,600 — the money would enable the wide-awake farmer to purchase a number of [slaves](#) like Peter.



The [Quaker Yearly Meeting](#) of [North Carolina](#) coped with the illegality of [manumission](#) by continually petitioning the state legislature, while formally transferring ownership of slaves from the individual [Friend](#) to the monthly meeting and appointing the former enslaver meanwhile as the former slave’s “guardian”:

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an early point, the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the

78. This autobiography and journal of the years of the life of a Conservative Quaker minister until 1830 would in 1845 be entrusted to Friends Hannah H. and Ezra Battey, whose daughter Narcissa Battey would transcribe it, and in 1860 after considerable editing by Friend William Hodgson it would be published. It would be republished in 1861 under direction of the “Kingite” monthly meeting of the New England Yearly Meeting and then reprinted in London in 1862 by A.W. Bennett “from the authorised American edition.” The materials are now in box RG5 at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.



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nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830 anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly



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meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.

The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing (often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500 in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Carolina Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White



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"mete with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A "fringe" of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850 the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends' efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin. As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends "well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites."⁷⁹

79. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Juley's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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1804



On the mulatto [slave](#) West Ford's 21st birthday, he was given [manumission](#) papers and a sketch was made of his appearance.

Refer to <http://www.westfordlegacy.com/home.htm>.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

In Tidewater Virginia, Robert Carter III, the great emancipator who had begun to free his roughly 500 slaves in 1791, at this point died, and the process of [manumission](#) of all [slaves](#) on all his plantations was brought to completion.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

In [Rhode Island](#) the main point of white concern in regard to [manumission](#) was, ever and always, who was going to pay for the maintenance of the manumitted black slave, should that slave turn out to have been granted his walk-away papers on account of age or illness, or other incapacity to make himself useful to his white owner. The governing impulse was that the black people existed only for the benefit of the white people, and most definitely not ever vice versa:



The support provisions of the 1784 emancipation law allowed slave owners to escape any further financial responsibility for slaves under forty years of age whom they [manumitted](#), which threatened to leave too many "old" slaves in their thirties to the support of the towns. A 1785 revision ["An Act repealing Part of the Act respecting the Manumission of Slaves," RI General Assembly, October 1785], reiterated in 1798 ["An Act relative to Slaves, and to their Manumission and Support: part of the revision of the Public Laws of the State of Rhode-island and Providence Plantations," RI General Assembly, January 1798], lowered the age of eligibility for unencumbered emancipation to thirty. Apparently some town councils, faced with rising costs for pauper support, refused to allow slave owners to manumit even eligible slaves, leading to the passage of an 1804 act providing for an appeal procedure by slave owners "aggrieved" by recalcitrant councils ["An Act in Amendment of the Act, entitled, 'An Act relative to Slaves, and their Manumission and Support,'" RI General Assembly, March 1804]. In other words, an



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aging slave population that would not be replenished either by birth into slavery or by importation, which had been outlawed in Rhode Island in 1774, presented an increasing financial liability, and many slave owners sought to manumit their slaves before they would be obligated to support them in their old age. The large number of manumissions may have led the slaves themselves to interpret these provisions as the "General Emancipation" act that Brown describes. Undoubtedly most slaves saw freedom under any circumstances as good news — though not all did, as Brown wryly observes, noting that a few "declared their masters had been eating their flesh and now they were going to stick to them and suck their bones."

At the first federal census in 1790, there were 427 free people of color and 48 slaves living in the city of Providence, a city of about 6,400. By 1810, four years before William Brown was born, the number of free people of color had risen to 865, just about 8.6 percent of the population of about 10,000, and the number of slaves had fallen to 6. Yet there were still 5 slaves in Rhode Island and 1 in the city of Providence in 1840, according to the Fifth Federal Census, and it was only the new state Constitution of November 1842 that finally abolished slavery entirely in Rhode Island.



May 23, Wednesday: [Slavery](#) was abolished in [Canada](#).

MANUMISSION	EMANCIPATION
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[David Mack \(III\)](#) was born in Middlefield, Massachusetts, the initial child of General David Mack, Jr. (1778-1854) with his 1st wife Independence Pease Mack (1776-1809). The lad would be prepared for college so early that he would need to first wait a year — whereupon his parents would place him with a French family to speak that language exclusively.



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1805



The Legislature of Virginia having been meeting for five years in secret session to figure out how to get rid of free people of color, convicts, and other persons who might be tempted to take part in a general [servile insurrection](#), prohibited any further emancipation of [slaves](#) except on the condition that the [emancipated](#) persons should immediately depart from Virginia. If any emancipated person should be found lingering within the state for more than one year, they were to be auctioned back into slavery by the overseers of the poor and the proceeds of their auctioning would contribute to the enlargement of the Literary Fund.

An early attempt to curtail [slavery](#) in our national capital failed when the federal Congress defeated a resolution to achieve gradual emancipation in the [District of Columbia](#) through [emancipating](#) enslaved children as they reached their maturity.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."

– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141



January 21, Monday: The borders of Livorno were re-opened after the passing of the yellow fever epidemic.



January 22, Tuesday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) renewed his contract with Cappella Nazionale del Potere Ejecutivo, [Lucca](#).

Henry Clay signed a contract with John Fisher for the construction of a mansion for his family at Ashland near Lexington, Kentucky.

It was such a relatively warm day at the winter camp of the Lewis and Clark expedition, that they occupied themselves in attempting to chop their boat free of the ice — so that it might be more securely stored.

The General Assembly of Virginia was still struggling with what it considered to be the state's major problem –free blacks– and was in its 5th year of secret session when it arrived at the following secret resolution:

Resolved, That the Senators of this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed, and the Representatives be requested, to exert their best efforts for the obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of



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such people of color as have been, or shall be, emancipated, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety....

SERVILE INSURRECTION



Another noticeable fact ... is the state of fearful insecurity in which the residents of a slaveholding community must feel that they are living. The late assertion of Gov. Wise, that "We, the Virginians, are in no danger from our slaves or the colored people," – or that of Senator Mason, "We can take care of ourselves," – or that of Miles, of South Carolina, "We are impregnable," – betrays the depth and extent of their fear by the very attempt to conceal it; like timid boys "ejaculating through white lips and chattering teeth," *Who's afraid?* In the wide-spread panic of 1800, the slaveholders appear to have been excessively puzzled to ascertain what could have induced their slaves to engage in such a conspiracy. They, of course, could not have originated such a plot, and had been, in their opinion, so well-treated that *they* could have no motive to wish for their freedom. It was at first rumored that Gabriel had in his possession letters written by white men; then, that the conspiracy of the negroes was "occasioned by the circulation of some artfully written hand-bills, drawn up by the noted Callender in prison, and circulated by two French people of color from Guadaloupe, aided by a United Irish pretended Methodist preacher"; then, "that the instigators of the diabolical plan wished thereby to insure the elections of Adams and Pinckney, and that the blacks, as far as they were capable, reasoned on the Jeffersonian principles of emancipation." They were, at last, unwillingly compelled to believe that the whole plot originated with slaves, and was confined to them exclusively, and that, like all other human beings, deprived by arbitrary power of all their just rights, they were determined to be free.



January 23, Wednesday: Publication of the Piano Sonata op.13 by Johann Nepomuk Hummel was announced in the Wiener Zeitung.



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1806



Free blacks in Virginia had occasionally acquired ownership of [slaves](#) as gifts or as inheritance from whites. During the 18th century, these black slaveholders had usually [manumitted](#) their charges after holding them for only brief periods. At this point Virginia's repression of free blacks was altering this arrangement. Free blacks had become subject to arbitrary expulsion from Virginia at the whim of county officials, so those who owned slaves began, as a way to demonstrate their reliability to the state, to hold them for longer periods. They also fully realized that their charges, a group that often included family members, would as nominal slaves be insulated from the dangers that confronted the state's free black population.



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1807



In accordance with [Quaker](#) practice, the Hopkins family in Anne Arundel County, [Maryland](#) [manumitted](#) the [slaves](#) on its tobacco plantation “Whitehall.” This meant considerable sacrifice — such as no funds for the higher education of their son [Johns Hopkins](#).





Following [Oney Judge](#)’s escape, her younger sister [Delphy](#) had been substituted as the wedding present to [Martha Washington](#)’s granddaughter Eliza Custis. In this year Eliza Custis Law and her husband manumitted Delphy and her children.



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1808

 [William J. Brown](#) would allege, when he would publish his autobiography in 1883,  that in this year the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly had enacted a “General Emancipation” law, by which those who were still [enslaved](#) in that state were offered their freedom while those who turned down that offer of freedom were to be maintained out of the property of their owner when they should come in old age or illness “to want” or to need “assistance.” That of course would be a false memory: no legislation even remotely resembling this had actually been enacted during this Year of Our Lord six years prior to Brown’s birth. All such matters were handled, always, in the best interest of the white people, with the best interest of the people of color being at best a distant second consideration. The question arises, however, of how this grandson of a slave came to form such a false appreciation of the history of his state. The explanation would seem to be that during this year some provisions had been made, to balance out the responsibility of civil government versus the responsibility of the private white slavemaster, for the maintenance of emancipated slaves who had subsequently become burdensome. Professor Joanne Pope Melish explains this delicate matter in a precise manner:



Brown’s version provides a fascinating glimpse of how public policy concerning slavery ... could be represented quite differently to slaves by their owners, or could have consequences that would lead slaves to interpret it quite differently. The support provisions of the 1784 emancipation law allowed slave owners to escape any further financial responsibility for slaves under forty years of age whom they [manumitted](#), which threatened to leave too many “old” slaves in their thirties to the support of the towns. A 1785 revision [“An Act repealing Part of the Act respecting the Manumission of Slaves,” RI General Assembly, October 1785], reiterated in 1798 [“An Act relative to Slaves, and to their Manumission and Support: part of the revision of the Public Laws of the State of Rhode-island and Providence Plantations,” RI General Assembly, January 1798], lowered the age of eligibility for unencumbered emancipation to thirty. Apparently some town councils, faced with rising costs for pauper support, refused to allow slave owners to manumit even eligible slaves, leading to the passage of an 1804 act providing for an appeal procedure by slave owners “aggrieved” by recalcitrant councils [“An Act in Amendment of the Act, entitled, ‘An Act relative to Slaves, and their Manumission and Support,’” RI General Assembly, March 1804]. In other words, an aging slave population that would not be replenished either by birth into slavery or by importation, which had been outlawed in Rhode Island in 1774, presented an increasing financial liability, and many slave owners sought to manumit their slaves before they would be obligated to support them in their old age. The large number of manumissions may have led the slaves themselves to interpret these provisions as the “General Emancipation” act that Brown describes. Undoubtedly most slaves saw freedom under any circumstances as good news – though not all did, as Brown wryly observes, noting that a few “declared their masters had been eating their flesh and now they were going to stick to them and suck their bones.”



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At the first federal census in 1790, there were 427 free people of color and 48 slaves living in the city of [Providence](#), a city of about 6,400. By 1810, four years before William Brown was born, the number of free people of color had risen to 865, just about 8.6 percent of the population of about 10,000, and the number of slaves had fallen to 6. Yet there were still 5 slaves in Rhode Island and 1 in the city of Providence in 1840, according to the Fifth Federal Census, and it was only the new state Constitution of November 1842 that finally abolished slavery entirely in Rhode Island.



Because of the near impossibility of the [manumission](#) of [slaves](#) in [North Carolina](#), the [Quakers](#) there began to implement a procedure by which ownership of slaves could be transferred to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, which would agree to take such persons under its care. "Care," in this instance, normally included assistance in resettlement to Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, or Haiti.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an early point, the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830 anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic



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European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.



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The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing (often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500 in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Carolina Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White "met with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A "fringe" of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850



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the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends' efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin. As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends "well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites."⁸⁰



January 1, Friday: "[Mounseer Nongtonpow](#)," a poem expanding upon a Charles Dibdin song, published by the publishing firm of [William Godwin](#) (M.J. Godwin) and illustrated by a Godwin protégé William Mulready, that some once supposed to have been authored by that publisher's child [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#).

Herman Willem Daendels, appointed as governor by the French-controlled Dutch government, arrived in the Dutch East Indies.

The Code [Napoléon](#) went into effect in Spain and Holland.

Princess Elisa of Lucca reduced her court orchestra to a string quartet which included [Nicolò Paganini](#) and his brother.

Sierra Leone was made a British Crown Colony.

As of this day it supposedly became impossible legally, sort of, to import any more [slaves](#) into the United

80. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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States of America.⁸¹

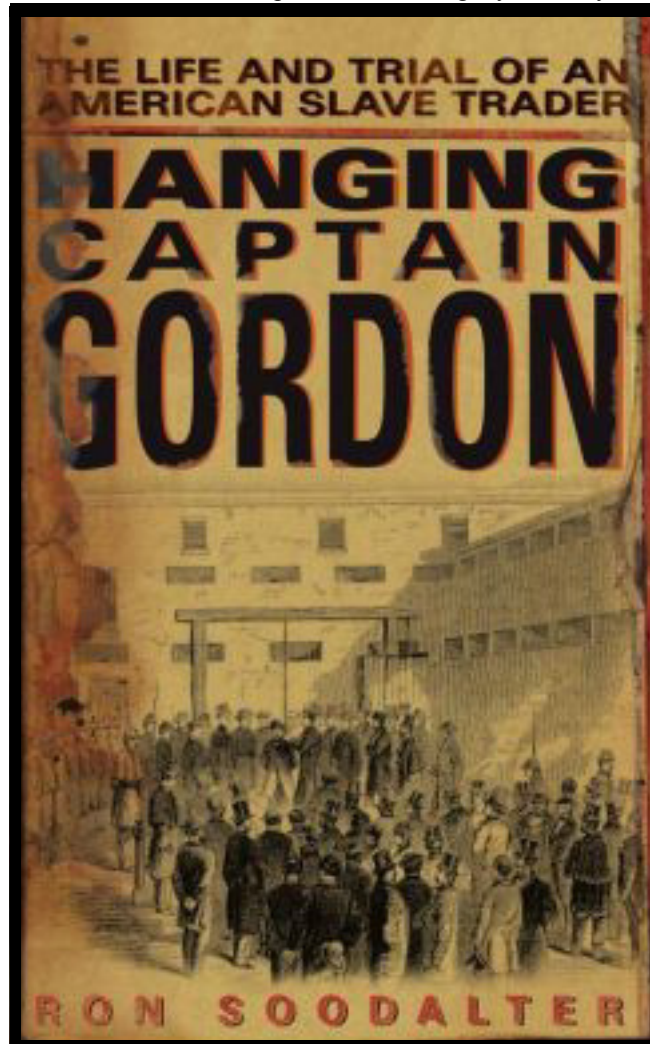
81. You will notice the manner in which Section 9 of the US Constitution is persistently misrepresented in our history textbooks. Where Section 9 explicitly prohibits the new federal Congress from restricting the [international slave trade](#) before 1808, saying that “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight,” our popular historians gloss this in our high schools as a victory for human liberty. This was instead a sop that had been thrown to the American enslavers. It categorically prevented the new federal government from interfering with their resupply of slaves prior to 1808 no matter how many votes there came to be, by decent and honorable Representatives, to duly restrict such an insidious traffic. Our popular historians present this concession to slavery, falsely, as if it were a 1787 declaration that as of 1808 the international trade in slaves was constitutionally declared to be outlawed. A built-in protection for slavery has been portrayed falsely in scholarly loose talk as an assault upon it. Yes, the federal congress did indeed in 1807 enact legislation making engaging in the international slave trade be a capital offense. However, we must take into account the fact that 1.) many [slaveholders](#) voted in favor of this new legislative approach, the fundamental economic motivation for this being that this legislation interfered with the international trade by others to the advantage of the national trade by themselves. This increased the value of the new crops of human property which they were themselves raising on their plantations, for sale within the nation. We must also take into account the fact that 2.) although the new legislation defined the offense as [piracy](#), a capital offense calling for [hanging](#), it also created a series of five loopholes through which almost anyone captured in the trade might expect always to escape unscathed. In other words, the hanging part of it was a straightforward sham. In fact between 1807 and 1861 not a single culprit “pirate” would get hanged! In 1862 one such bold “pirate” would be hanged — exactly **one** such criminal in the **entire** history of this legislation — but if you examine this one case, you will see that what he would be hanged for in 1862 was the crime of pride, in that he had neglected to make available to himself any one of these five built-in loopholes.

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(Please note: in this assertion, the words “impossible” and “legally” entirely alter each other’s implications.)



Although importation of slaves into the United States was banned by this act which Congress –becoming for the first time enabled to overcome the constitutional restriction– had passed in 1807, making slave import into a capital crime, some 250,000 additional enslaved persons would be illegally imported between this year and 1860. Although nowadays we congratulate ourselves by paying extraordinary attention to the “success stories,” the sad fact is that the combined total of escapes (vanishingly few, mostly of unattached young males of the border states) and [manumissions](#) (vanishingly few) would come nowhere close to making a dent in such a rate of continuing “recruitment.”



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"There has never been a document of culture,
which is not simultaneously one of barbarism."

– Walter Benjamin's THESES ON THE
PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY (1955)



»Es ist niemals ein Dokument der Kultur,
ohne zugleich ein solches der Barbarei zu sein.«

– THESEN ÜBER DEN BEGRIFF DER GESCHICHTE (1940)

Although this international slave trade had been made a capital crime, nobody would hang for such a crime for a long, long time. There were too many too carefully built-in escape clauses. In fact, only one unfortunate would ever be hanged, and the hood would not be pulled over the head of this slave importer until the Year of Our Lord 1862!

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

During this year the Reverend Absalom Jones would be proposing, to his African Episcopal congregation in Philadelphia, that all Americans should celebrate an annual holiday of Thanksgiving. This former slave would propose January 1st as the annual date of this Thanksgiving, it being the date on which the further importation of slaves into the US had at least ostensibly been made a federal capital crime. (Execute that turkey!)

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about electricity:

6th day 1st of 1st M 1808 / The year commences but poorly as to the inward condition of my mind. if there was but a living up to the light afforded, there would not be those secret condemnations which I allmost continually feel – This evening curiosity lead me to an house, to try the curious effect of electricity. I received Several Shocks for the first time in my life – Set a little while with my H the latter part of the evening -⁸²

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





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August 8, Monday: *Manumission of Abigal* } *State of New Jersey, Middlesex County. These are to certify to whome it may concern, that I Ephraim Pyatt, of the township of Piscataway, State and County aforesaid, Do [manumit](#) and set free my Negrow Woman, Abigal, who is under the age of forty years and above the age of twenty one years & who appears to be of sound mind and not under any bodily incapacity of obtaining her support, and I have this day obtained a certificate for said Abigal, signed by Edward Griffin & Ephraim Runyan, two of the Overseers of the Poor for the township of Piscataway, in sd [said] County and Samuel & John Randolph, two of the Justices of the Peace for the County & State aforesaid, for her freedom. Given under my hand & seal this eighth day of August in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eight, 1808—*

Ephraim Pyatt {L.S.}

Witness present.
Edward Griffith,
Ephraim Runyon, }

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John F. Randolph:

Manumission of } State of New Jersey, Middlesex County
Abigail. — These are to certify to whom it may
concern, that I Ephraim Pyatt, of the township of
Piscataway, State and County aforesaid, do manumit
and set free my Negro Woman, Abigail, who
is under the age of forty years and above the age of twenty
one years & who appears to be of sound mind and not com-
petent by her own incapacity of obtaining her support, and
I have this day obtained a certificate for said Abigail,
signed by Edward Griffith & Ephraim Rumyan, two of
the Overseers of the Poor for the township of Piscataway,
in P. County and Samuel & John Randolph, two of the
Justices of the Peace for the County & State aforesaid, for
her freedom. — Given under my hand & seal this eighth
day of August in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred
and eight, 1808.

Ephraim Pyatt, Clerk

Witness present
Edward Griffith,
Ephraim Rumyan,
John F. Randolph.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 8th of 8 M 1808 / Clouds of depression seem'd to hang
around this Afternoon, but in the company of my H & Sisters this
eveng they seem'd much dispelled

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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August 22, Monday: On page 432 of Volume 30 of the Record of Deeds for [Providence, Rhode Island](#) there is a record of the [manumission](#) of a certain negro [enslaved](#) boy Robert on this date — a boy who had been promised three years earlier that, should he faithfully serve and obey his master Jabez Bowen, Jr. for those three years, he would then be entitled to his liberty and to be manumitted and forever thereafter to be made free. Robert having well and faithfully served his Providence slavemaster Bowen for the agreed three years, on this day was indeed fully and entirely manumitted and set free, and entirely released from every future claim of personal service or other whatsoever, and declared free. (In the document, the words “and doth hereby” appear twice in sequence, and are lined out in the first occurrence with a double line as shown below.) Although there is no reference in the document itself to any such person as “N. Brown,” we note that in the directory to this volume of deeds and mortgages the perpetrators of this freeing of “Robert, (Negro Boy)” have been indexed at the time as being indeed not only Jabez Bowen Jr. but also N. Brown! —There’s something of a story here, that maybe isn’t going to get told!

Whereas by an Obligation of the sixteenth of August one thousand and eight hundred and five the subscriber on condition a certain negro Boy Robert the slave of the subscriber should faithfully serve and obey the subscriber for three year [sic] from the said period, he the said Robert should be entitled to his liberty and to be manumitted and forever thereafter to be made free. Now the said Robert having well and faithfully served the subscriber for the agreed space of time the said subscriber in fulfilment of said contract on his part doth fully and entirely manumit and set free forever the said Robert, and entirely release him from every future claim of personal service or other whatsoever ~~and doth hereby~~ and doth hereby declare the said Negro Boy Robert free

Recorded August 22^d 1808

Jabez Bowen Jun.^r (L.S.)

Witness Nathan W. Jackson

T. Elk

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd 22nd of 8th M / On waking up this Morning we found ourselves "in our own hired House" as the Apostle says, & not an unpleasant habitation neither [The remainder of this entry has an X over it] we found our breakfast relished well & were by the bounty of our friends & what we were able to provide ourselves, favord with a plenty of Coffee, crackers, & flour & Indian Bread, this was our first Meal & if this be a presage of the succeeding Meals of our lives we may calculate on a pleasant Passage But Alas I dare not calculate on pleasant things, but wish to keep in remembrance the Wormwood & Gall that when its draughts are administered we may not be unacquainted with its effect, of which I fully expect my full share & pray for resolution to Support —

Brother John Dined with us. our repast was a peace of Boiled Bass &c - before we finished we had some roast veal sent from father R's which was acceptable tho' not at this time necessary, that however ought not to lessen the obligation on our part.



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*So we get along from season to season, & time alone can determine
the issue
Sister Elizabeth took a dish of tea with us, & dear Aunt Patty
& Hannah set in the evening*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1811



By this year the Florida planter and miscegenator Zephaniah Kingsley owned some 100 slaves and 700 orange trees, and was growing 200 acres of cotton. He [manumitted](#) one of his three slave mistresses, “Anna Kingsley” and her three mulatto children. His children had to this point at least nominally been his slaves. In a collection of his writings edited by Daniel W. Stowell, *BALANCING EVILS JUDICIOUSLY: THE PROSLAVERY WRITINGS OF ZEPHANIAH KINGSLEY* (Gainesville FL: UP of Florida, 2000), we learn how such a thing might occur.

SLAVERY



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141



August 8, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th of 8 Mo// We have had an uncommonly favor'd meeting.- Clarke Rodman for the first time appear'd in Public, in a fine words - then E Coggeshall in a most engaging manner was concern'd to encourage all to a faithful discharge of duty, especially such as had Small gifts to offer - Lydia Almy was also concern'd in a few words. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

I Richard Jones of Gorham in Ontario County & State of New York do hereby manumit that I manumit and discharge from my service my negro woman named Jane and this writing is to be a perpetual bar from my heirs or representatives holding said Jane as a slave. Canandaigua 8th August 1811.

Richard Jones.

In the presence of

Henry Fellows Daniel D. Barnard } State of New York : On the eighth day of August one thousand eight hundred and eleven Daniel D. Barnard to me personally known appeared before me and being by me duly sworn deposed that he saw Richard Jones to him personally known execute the above certificate wherefore let it be recorded. John C. Spencer master in chancery.

A true copy of the original Recorded 8th August 1811 at 2 O'clock p.m. and examined.

James A. Mower {ss}

I Richard Jones of Gorham in Ontario County & State of New York do hereby certify, that I manumit and discharge from my service my negro woman named Jane and this writing is to be a perpetual bar from my heirs or representatives holding said Jane as a slave. Canandaigua 8th August 1811.

In presence of

Richard Jones.

Henry Fellows Daniel D. Barnard. } State of New York. p. On the eighth day of August one thousand eight hundred and eleven Daniel D. Barnard to me personally known appeared before me and being by me duly sworn deposed that he saw Richard Jones to him personally known execute the above certificate wherefore let it be recorded. John C. Spencer master in chancery.

A true copy of the original Recorded 8th August 1811 at 2 O'clock p.m. and examined.

James A. Mower {ss}



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1813



Although Connecticut had long before passed a law abolishing slavery, and although that law had specified that newborns would be free and all others were to be [manumitted](#) when they reached the age of 25 –or by this year of 1813 at the latest– and although this might indicate to some unwary readers that slavery would have ended in Connecticut effectively at the very least by this point in time, indicating that when the captives of the [La Amistad](#) arrived in that state’s prison system as pawns in the [international slave trade](#), they would be arriving in a state that knew nothing of human slavery — such an appreciation would unfortunately be entirely inaccurate. In fact Connecticut’s “gradualistic approach” to the elimination of human [enslavement](#) would never emancipate any enslaved females who had been over 21 years of age at the time of the law’s passage, or any enslaved males who had been over 25! Thus there still would remain according to the US Census, even as late as 1840, a small number of slaves in Connecticut. This state actually would not be clear of slavery until death would come to the last of its slaves — “free at last” in the Year of Our Lord 1848!

(The discerning reader will note the use of exclamation points above, indicating amazement.)



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1814

➡ A young Virginian, having inherited some [slaves](#), considered [manumitting](#) them. Edward Coles wrote to a family friend about this, [Thomas Jefferson](#), and received a tongue-lashing. What did this young man think he was pulling off, “abandoning this property, and your country with it”? No, young man, face up to your responsibility to the white race, and your responsibility to the black race, and **own those slaves!** (Coles would ignore this advice from his mentor. Although you will not learn this in any of your textbooks, he **did** free his slaves.)



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”

– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141



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While the mulatto slave boy Eston Hemings Jefferson was six years old, just about old enough to leave behind his childish amusements and begin his life of labor for his slavemaster white father, this father wrote “The amalgamation of whites with blacks produces a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in the human character, can innocently consent.” Did [Thomas Jefferson](#) mean that his mulatto son whom he had sired upon his house slave [Sally Hemings](#) amounted to a living degradation of the white race? Of course not; Jefferson’s attitude was a “directional” or “Me White You Wrong” attitude. What he meant was that the amalgamation of a black man with a white woman would decidedly degrade the white race **but that by the same token** the amalgamation of a white man with a black woman would be a sperm donation decidedly improving that breed (in contradistinction to the term “degradation” employed by Jefferson, we can hypothecate some such unexpress term as “amelioration of blackness,” or perhaps “demelanization”).



“Don’t think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed.”

— [Dwight David Eisenhower](#)

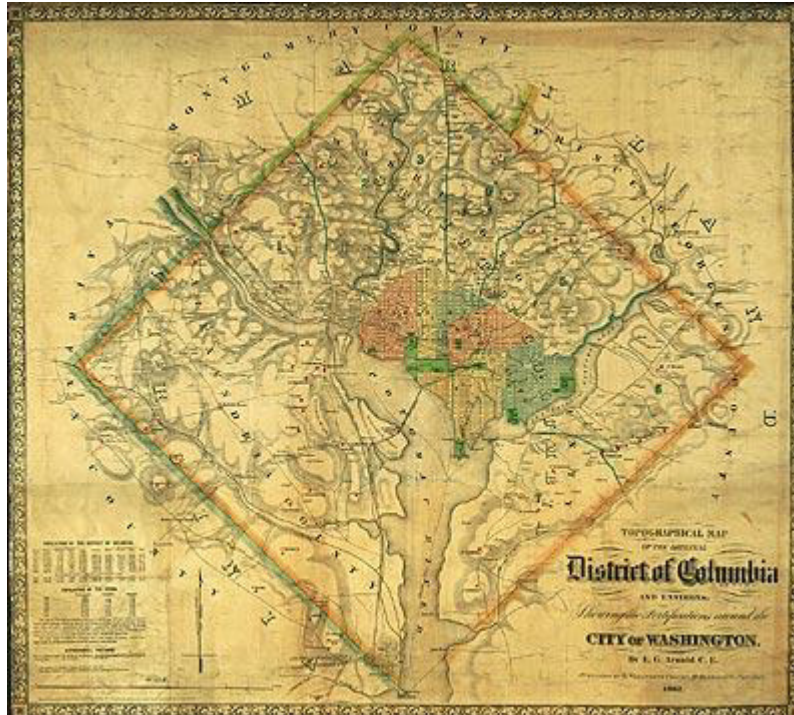


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It would be in this year that British forces would burn [Washington DC](#) (August 24th). Of course they had no good reason for attempting to restore our national capital to the pristine swamp it had been before!



DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Further to the south, in North Carolina, the Quaker Yearly Meeting had been coping with the illegality of [manumission](#) by continually petitioning the state legislature, while formally transferring ownership of slaves from the individual [Friend](#) to the monthly meeting and appointing the former enslaver meanwhile as the former slave's "guardian." In this year the North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically "owned" almost all the slaves of its members, and this had come to amount to 350 individuals:

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an early point, the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830



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anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who



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continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.

The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing (often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500 in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Caroline Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White "met with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A "fringe" of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had



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moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850 the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends' efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin. As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends "well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites."⁸³

83. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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March 7, Monday: French troops engaged a combined Prussian-Russian force at Craonne northwest of Paris. After a battle marked by blunders on both sides, the Allies retreated north to Laon.

Luigi Cherugini's Chant guerrier was performed for the initial time, as part of the patriotic play La Rançon de Du Guesclin by Arnault, in Paris.

This material having to do with the [manumission](#) of a Kentucky family of [Slaves](#) consisting of "Pheby & Suck Billy Easter and little Phebe" is from page 163 of Deed Book C of Bullitt County by Anne Livingston (Livingst1@aol.com):

Emancipations: Crenshaw, Snelling, Weathers, Simmons
Know all men by these presents that we, James Crenshaw, Jonathan
Simmons and Sarah Withers are held and firmly bound unto the Justices
of the County Court of Bullitt in the penal sum of three hundred pounds which
payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves our Heirs administrators.
The Conditions of the above obligation are such that if the said Crenshaw,
Simmons and Sarah shall maintain feed and clothe any of the following
Negroes To Wit: Pheby & Suck Billy Easter and little Phebe and all their
increase whom James Crenshaw has this day emancipated by a deed dated 9
Feb 1814 and shall Indemnify and prevent said Negroes or any of them from
ever becoming chargeable in any wise to the County should they or any of them be or
hereafter become infirm or decrept then this obligation to be void otherwise to remain in
full force and virtue in Law.
Witness our hands & Seals this 7th day of March 1814
[signed] James [X] Crenshaw
Jonathan Simmons
Sarah Weathers
Witnesses
Wm. Weathers
Rachel [mark] Charles
[a signature that looks something like "gew J Treni wru"]
Recorded 24 Nov 1814 Bullitt County KY Court

These documents are so utterly mysterious!



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1815

➡ By the time Archbishop John Carroll of [Baltimore](#), the 1st such [Roman Catholic](#) prelate in the USA, had died during this year, he had [manumitted](#) each of his black [slaves](#).

➡ April 1, Saturday: *To all to whom these preasants shall come Greeting*
Whereas Kettle Sutton of Pencader hundred Newcastle
County and State of Delaware Farmer, did purchase
of his Sister Sarah Sutton, of this same place for a valuable
consideration in Money, and become lawfully seized of and
in a certain colored boy named David Williams, now
aged ten years the first day of March last post —
Now Know Yea, that I Kittle Sutton afforesaid in conformity
to the Laws customs and usages of the State of Delaware
and for other good causes and consideration one thereunto
moving, have Manumitted liberated and sett free, and by these
preasants do manumitt liberate and sett free from slavery
the said David Williams afforesaid from and after he shall
arrive to the age of thirty years whitch will happen on the
first day of March in the year of our LORD one Thousand
eight hundred and thirty five, and I do for my self any
heirs Executors Administrators or afsignes hereby quitt all
claim to the servises of the said david Williams afforesaid
and from the claims of all and every person or persons
whomesoever, I do declare the said David Williams absolutely
Free to all intents and purposes after the expiration of the said
term of twenty years from the first day of March last post
In testimony of whitch I have hereunto sett my hand
and Seal this first day of April in the year of our LORD
one Thousand eight hundred and fifteen 1815—
Signed Sealed — — } Kittle Sutton {Seal}
& Delivered in presence of }
Geo. - - Purie
Margaret Peirce
Newcastle County /s I George Purie Esq one of the founders of the
Prase in and from said County do hereby certify that the above Manuiss-
ion signed Sealed and delivered to be deposited with in my Possession
Given under my hand and Seal the day and year above written
Geo - - Purie

MANUMISSION

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day [sic] 1 of 4th M 1815 / Peter Hoxie took tea set the evening & lodged wuth us - We had also at tea Father ^& Mother

HDT

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting
 Whereas Little Sutton of Pencader hundred Newcastle
 County and State of Delaware Farmer, did purchase
 of his Sister Sarah Sutton, of the same place for a valuable
 consideration in Money, and became lawfully seized of and
 in a certain colored boy named David Williams, now
 aged ten years the first day of March last past
 Now Know Ye, that I Little Sutton aforesaid in conformity
 to the Laws customs and usages of the State of Delaware
 and for other good causes and considerations me therein
 moving, have Manumitted liberated and set free, and by these
 presents do manumitt liberate and set free from slavery
 the said David Williams aforesaid from and after he shall
 arrive to the age of thirty years which will happen on the
 first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand
 eight hundred and thirty five, and I do for my self my
 heirs Executors Administrators or assigns hereby quit all
 claim to the service of the said David Williams aforesaid
 and from the claims of all and every person or persons
 whomsoever, I do declare the said David Williams absolutely
 free to all intents and purposes after the expiration of the said
 term of twenty years from the first day of March last past
 In testimony of which I have hereunto set my hand
 and Seal this first day of April in the year of our Lord
 one thousand eight hundred and fifteen 1815

Signed Sealed -
 & Delivered in presence of

Geo. Pever
 Margaret Peirce

Little Sutton

Peace in and for said County I George Pever Esq one of the Justices of the
 Peace in and for said County do hereby certify that the above Manumission
 was signed sealed and delivered to be recorded as such in my presence
 and that the said David Williams is now above written



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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Rodman & Neighbor Mumford. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



June 8, Thursday: This material having to do with the [manumission](#) in New Orleans, Louisiana of a mulatto [Slave](#) woman “Lucy about thirty years of age” whom William Snelling desired to take back with him to their home of Kentucky is from page 232 of Deed Book C of Bullitt County:

Be it known that this day before me John Lynd Esquire, notary Public in and for the City of New Orleans duly commissioned personally appeared William Snelling of Christian County, State of Kentucky, owner of a Mulatto slave named Lucy about thirty years of age a native of Bullitt County in said State. Now in this place in the service of this appearer and about to depart with him for Kentucky aforesaid and the said appearer declared that in order to recompense the faithful services of said slave he does by these presents emancipate and manumit her this said mulatto Lucy hereby declaring her to be from henceforth a free person and for himself and his heirs renouncing all right of ownership or other which he had of in and to said mulatto previous to the passing of this act and he further declared that neither he nor his heirs shall or will at any time hereafter call in question or oppose the verdict of this act nor ever claim the said woman as a slave before any Court of Justice.
Then done and passed at New Orleans this twenty second of March one thousand eight hundred and fourteen in presence of George Pollock / Pollock and Samuel Herman. Witnesses who hereunto sign their names with the appearer and me notary in faith Hereof I affix the impression of my Seal of office.
[signed] Wm. Snelling
John Lynch, Notr. Public
In presence of George Pollock and Saml. Herman
I James Halbert, Clerk of the County Court of Bullitt County in the State of Kentucky do certify that on this 8th day of July 1815 the within Instrument of Writing purporting to be a Deed of Emancipation given and granted by William Snelling to a mulatto woman Lucy was produced to me in my office by the said Lucy and that --- truly recorded the same together with the testimony thereby attached as well as this Certificate given under my hand this 8th day of July 1815
James Halbert

These documents are so utterly mysterious!

The Congress of Vienna closed. Great Britain retained Malta, Heligoland, and most of its other overseas conquests. The Bourbons, Braganças, [Pope Pius VII](#), and the Italian princes were all restored. Switzerland was declared neutral. The Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg were united. The Duchy of Warsaw went to Russia. Lombardy and Venice went to Austria. Prussia obtained the Rhineland and part of Saxony. Hanover obtained East Friesland and Hildesheim. Krakow became an independent republic. The charter of the [German Confederation](#) was signed, creating a loose union of 34 sovereign states and 4 free cities with a Federal Diet in Frankfurt-am-Main under the presidency of Austria.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th of 6 M 1815 / Our Meeting in consequence of the strangers who attended it was larger than usual & Rich'd Mott preached very Sweetly & quite to my satisfaction - his opening



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was the "New Name & the White Stone" which enlarged on very interestingly. father Rodman near the close deliverd a short but pertinent & to my mind Savory testimony
At the close of the Meeting John Winslow of Portland appointed a Meeting for the People of colour without previous consulting friends of this Meeting & the hour proposed 7 OC PM & the time altogetther being improper & some other circumstances renderd it a very exercising case & very little information was given by friends however at the time considerable number of White & blacks collected & John preached till almost 10 OClock & I thought on the whole he was in a degree favor'd & Truth presented from re [illegible] - I had the house lighted as one of the committee for the purpose & determined to help out a trying case as well as I could

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 27, Thursday: There was a [manumission](#) on the island of Jamaica:

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
July 27, 1815	Mary Taylor	Frank	£80
July 25, 1815	Edward Bullock	Ann al Mary Ann	£90
January 16, 1816	Trustees of Vere Free School	Mary Ann Shand & her child Margaret Ann Kohler	£140
February 1, 1816	Mary Douglas	Patrick Douglas	10 shillings
April 2, 1816	Catherine Denniss	William Norman	£50
November 25, 1817	Francis Elliott	Charles Clarke	10 shillings
March 10, 1817	Thomas Prescott	Julian Kein	10 shillings
June 4, 1817	Thomas Anderson	Thomas Anderson, Daniel Anderson	no value
July 2, 1817	Jacob Lopez Fonseca & ux.	Mary Lalote	£32
June 3, 1817	William Jno James & Hugh James	Eleanor Hackett & her children Samuel Malcolm Facey, James Malcolm Facey	£200
July 1, 1818	Rebecca Cohall	William Hall	10 shillings

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27th of 7 M / In the first Meeting R Davis bore a short testimony & was concluded by Fatthebr Rodman - In the last Monthly htere was considerable buisness - Wm Mitchell & Mary Wilcox published their intentions of marriage & Aza ARnold & Abby Dennis {illegible} - theirs in a meeting appointed for the [—] 3 OC Pm {too faint to understand } & I believe a low time



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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to most present.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 28, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 28 of 7 M / Attended the meeting for consumation of Aza Arnolds & Abby Dennis Marriage - which was large & solid the young folks succeeded well. D Buffum A Robinson & Ruth Weaver & Hannah Dennis had short testimonyms.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1818

 July 1, Wednesday: A [manumission](#) was recorded on the island of Jamaica:

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
March 10, 1818	Mary Edwards	Sophia Jones & her unnamed female child	£120
April 3, 1818	William Rhodes James	Frances Samuels	£120
April 21, 1818	George Russell	Alexander Bruce	£60
April 27, 1818	Lawrence Hunter & ux.	Mary Goodwin	£140
May 7, 1818	Henry Cerf	Amelia	£60
June 11, 1818	Ann Dudley	William Brooks	10 shillings
July 1, 1818	Rebecca Cohall	William Hall	10 shillings
August 1, 1818	David Boyd & ux.	Anne Hood	£160
August 22, 1818	John McGillivray	Robert Ann Mary	10 shillings
December 16, 1818	Executors of James Codrington	Sally McDonald	£100
December 23, 1818	John Woff	Susannah Johnston Woff	no value



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1819

➡ March 20, Saturday: In [London](#), the shopping mall was being invented — Burlington Arcade began to offer “employment to industrious females” in boutiques “for the gratification of the public.”⁸⁴

The Governor of [St. Helena](#) having suggested that any [slaves](#) born on or after December 25, 1818 be [manumitted](#) and the former owner charged with the costs of their upbringing in consideration of the fact that although the island belonged to the East India Company it should conform with British government policy as well as may be, the governor’s plan was enacted into law. Owners would be allowed to reimburse themselves by indenturing the children to their service until the boys reached the age of 18 and the girls 16.

➡ August 4, Wednesday: A will was recorded in Brown County, Ohio that divided 1,197 acres into 31 lots and assigned them to “150 Negroes who were emancipated by the will of Samuel Gist.”⁸⁵

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 8th M / With my H & John rode this morning to [Portsmouth](#) - left them at Uncle P Lawtons & went to the Meeting House to Attend the Select Quarterly Meeting which was a season of favor, precious favor & encouragement to the hearts of some present, under a sense that Israels Shepherd was extending help & strength to the Church, & tho’ the hands of some may hang down yet holy truth was spreading in this land - We lodged at Uncle Peters & next Morning We attended the Quarterly Meeting at large. -

In the first Meeting Thos Anthony was engaged in a lively powerful testimony which I have no doubt reached the witness in many minds present Anne Almy followed in a lively & pertinent Supplication & the meeting concluded after a Short testimony from Wm Almy. - In the last Meeting our frd Thos Anthony spread a concern before us to pay a religious visit to several Quarterly Meetings in N York State which was united with - We dined at Anne Anthonys & toward night rode home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 5-November 10: According to a report by the Columbia Abolition Society to the 16th American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, George Haydon had recently been [manumitted](#) upon the death of Izard Bacon and had made his way among a group of emigrants from Virginia to Columbia, Pennsylvania:

A certain Izard Bacon, of Virginia, by his will, manumitted all slaves which he should die possessed of; and an act of assembly

84. It would not be until 1828 that “The Arcade” would be built in beautiful downtown Providence to offer employment to industrious Rhode Island females in boutiques for the gratification of the public.

85. [Samuel Gist, Esq.](#) of Virginia and London (1717-1815) had owned a [slave](#) plantation in Hanover County, Virginia before returning to England during the Revolutionary War. In England he had done well in business. In his will the 98-year-old had freed perhaps 350 slaves and provided funds for their relocation, the building of homes, and the establishment of schools and homes. His executors would make similar purchase of land elsewhere in Ohio, for the benefit of other contingents of his [manumitted](#) slaves.



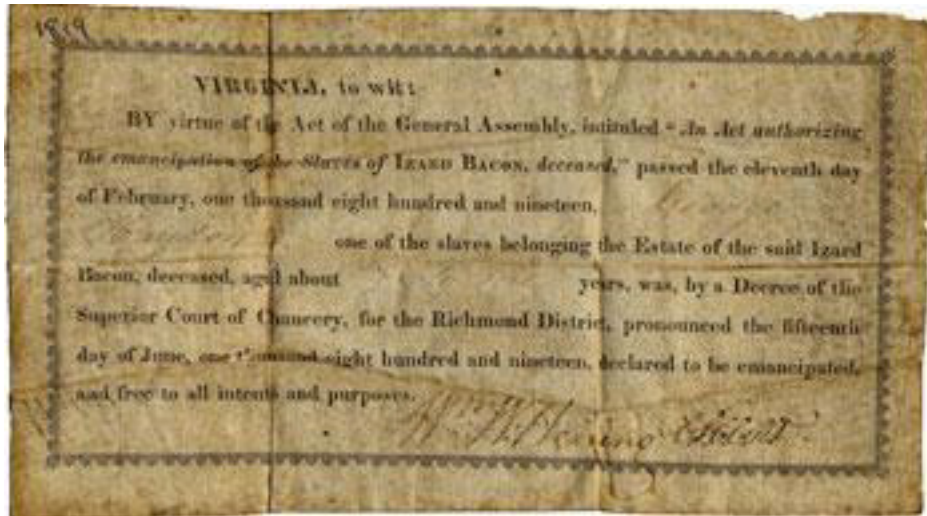
WHAT?



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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being necessary to confirm their title of freedom, such an act was accordingly obtained, and pursuant thereto an order from the Supreme Court of Chancery, for their removal out of the state. They were accordingly conducted to this place by a nephew of one of the trustees, and placed under the care of our acting committee: they are in number fifty-five, of whom sixteen are minors; such of the latter as were not too small to leave their parents, have been bound out, but to find suitable places for the adults is yet a desideratum.



December 23, Thursday: The legislature of Virginia received a petition from Judith Hope, who had been born in about 1803 to the [slave](#) Tenar Hope –and had therefore been born a slave– but then both she and her mother had been purchased by her father Caesar Hope, an emancipated black man who worked as a barber, and then Caesar had died leaving under Virginia law this child as the slave of its own mother. Despite the statute that an emancipated slave needed to leave the state within 12 months or their new freedom would be forfeit, she desired that there not be “a separation from every friend and natural connexion upon earth” when and if her mother and slavemaster would provide her with [manumission](#) papers. (Judith would petition the legislature four additional times and although the legislature seems never to have acted on any of these petitions, would be emancipated by her mother in 1828 and yet manage somehow to live out her life in Virginia as a free woman of color.)

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 12 M / Our meeting was pretty well attended & to me a season of some favor & I believe most present was sensible of some solidity & reverence. - A few words towards the close were delivered by a new beginner - Richd Mitchell & wife dined with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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1820



To prevent slavemasters from dumping old, sick, and crippled [slaves](#) at the door of the public poorhouse, South Carolina adopted a measure to prohibit the [manumission](#) of slaves unable to care for themselves.



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1821



January 23, Tuesday: The *Nautilus* sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia for Africa with 33 blacks, intent on creating a colony for manumitted slaves in West Africa (this vessel was owned by the American Colonization Society).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



December: In the case of Hall v Mullin, the Supreme Court of Maryland reasoned that a slave, being property, could not conceivably himself or herself own property: property doesn't own, it is owned. It therefore construed that in the case of a will's bequest of property to a slave, the intention of the deceased, to have been coherent and plausible, must have been to manumit. Good thinking, guys, you let slaves own property — and pretty soon they'll be owning their own slaves. Best keep your distance from **that** can of worms.



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1822



July 3, Wednesday: [Charles Babbage](#) published his proposal for a “difference engine” for the mechanical calculation of logarithms and trigonometric functions. Construction of an operational version would proceed under British Government sponsorship from 1823 to 1832 but the enormous geared device would not be completed.

The [Charleston Courier](#) noted recent global and local events:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1822.

The Treaty with France, published in this morning's *Courier*, is copied from the *National Intelligencer* of the 28th ult. in which paper it appears both in French and English — but as we have no *accents* amongst our types, it was impossible for us to give it correctly in the French language. In the French copy, the signature of M. HYDE DE NEUVILLE precedes that of Mr. ADAMS.

Execution. — DENMARK VESEY, (a free black man) ROLLA, BATTEAU, NED, PETER, and JESSE, (slaves) convicted of an attempt to raise an insurrection in this state, were executed, pursuant to sentence, yesterday morning, between the hours of 6 and 8 o'clock.

Officers of the *Charleston Bible Society*, for 1822-3:

Gen. C.C. PINCKNEY, President.

Rev. Dr. FURMAN, Senior Vice-President.

DENMARK VESEY

HANGING

After this conspiracy, since Vesey had purchased his [manumission](#), South Carolina would extend its prohibition of the manumission of [slaves](#), which had been a protective ordinance applied only to those who were too old, sick, or crippled to any longer care for themselves, effective immediately, into a categorical and total prohibition of any manumission.

SERVILE INSURRECTION



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

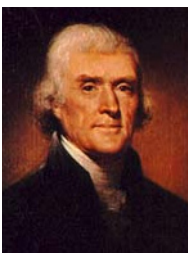
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1824

➡ Pioneers from Virginia and New York founded Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[George Long](#) was chosen professor of ancient languages in the new University of Virginia at Charlottesville, Virginia (until becoming professor of Greek at University College in London in 1828). While in the United States of America, he would be the frequent guest of President [Thomas Jefferson](#), rector of that university.⁸⁶

During [Lafayette](#)'s visit to Virginia, James Armistead Lafayette was able to bask once again in a white man's reflected glory. (A recognized veteran of the Revolutionary struggle, and a free man in a free land, we need to bear in mind that still as a black this man was not being considered as or treated as a citizen.)



In Florida, a fourth mulatto child was born to the union of the white planter Zephaniah Kingsley with his black wife Anna Kingsley. Since in 1811 Kingsley had made out [manumission](#) papers in the name of Anna, this fourth child was of course born free. Kingsley also would acknowledge paternity of five children by two other of his enslaved or formerly enslaved mistresses, "Flora Kingsley" and "Sarah Kingsley," and those of these five who had not been born free, he would likewise manumit. Kingsley had been up to, in Florida what [Jefferson](#) had been up to, in Virginia. Eventually the racial situation would harden and Kingsley would need to urge his mulatto heirs to emigrate "to some land of liberty and equal rights, where the conditions of society are governed by some law less absurd than that of color."

86. With his 1st wife Harriet Gray of Virginia, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Selden, a judge of the Supreme Court of Arkansas, he would produce four sons and a daughter who would die in infancy. (Harriet had brought two daughters with her into her new marriage. She would die in 1841 and George Long would marry two more times.)



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 December 18, Saturday: New-York mayor Philip Hone decided to back the [Delaware and Hudson Canal](#).

Supply and demand. During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Bella Dolores*, master Guerrero, on its only known [Middle Passage](#), was arriving at its destination port of Havana, Cuba with an unknown number of fresh [slaves](#) on board.





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Yet another [servile insurrection](#) was in this year being put down in Jamaica:

1640-1713	seven slave revolts in the islands of the British West Indies
1655	With Jamaica in transition between Spanish control and English control, some 1,500 slaves escaped into the mountains to form maroon communities.
1656	Juan de Bolas led many of the escaped slaves in the maroon communities of the mountains of Jamaica down to the plains and the coast with a deal in which the English granted pardon and freedom. Many maroons, however, would elect to remain in the mountains.
1668	“Lobby’s rebellion” on Jamaica — several hundred black slaves escaped to the mountains.
1725-1740	1st Maroon War on Jamaica
March 1, 1738-1739	The 1st Maroon War on Jamaica ended in a treaty guaranteeing freedom for the maroons, the deal being that henceforward they would capture and turn in for a reward any new slave or bond-laborer escapees.
1760	slave uprising on Jamaica
1776	slave uprising on Jamaica
1784	slave uprising on Jamaica
1795-1796	2d Maroon War on Jamaica
1823	slave uprising on Jamaica
1824	slave uprising on Jamaica
1831	slave uprising on Jamaica



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There appears below a record of [manumissions](#) on Jamaica, an island upon which until this date a £100 bond had been required by the churchwardens as security against a manumittee becoming a parish object of charity. The Act “for the removing of impediments to the manumission of Slaves by Owners having only a limited interest,” in this year in which yet another slave uprising was being suppressed, stipulated that “Whereas it is now required by law, in all cases of manumission by deed, that a Bond should be given to the Churchwardens of the parish for payment of an annuity of £5 for the maintenance of any slave intended to be manuminised, and such bond is in many cases unnecessary. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid That it shall not be necessary to give such a bond to the churchwardens, provided that in lieu thereof the Slave, intended to be manuminised, shall be produced to the magistrates and Vestry of the Parish where such Slave shall reside, or it shall be otherwise shown to their satisfaction that the manumission is not given for the purpose of relieving the Owner from the obligation of maintaining an Aged or infirm Slave, a certificate thereof shall be given by the Vestry, and shall be annexed to, and entered in the Secretary’s Office with the Deed of Manumission.” Each such deed paper received in the Secretary’s Office required a 5/- Stamp, and the Office receipt required an additional stamp worth 2/6. The fee for recording of deeds, whether manumissions or otherwise, was 2/6 a sheet (a sheet consisting of 160 words), and therefore of course the charge for recording a manumission depended upon the number of words the Instrument contained.



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We note that the ages of these persons receiving [manumission](#) are never placed on the record:

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
May 28, 1796	Robert Davison	Pally Ohlson & her 2 children, Peg, William	10 shillings
January 1, 1800	Thomas Goldwin, Power of Attorney	Bessy al Bessy Foxen	£65
June 15, 1805	Caleb Powell	Mary Powell	10 shillings
June 25, 1805	Charles Rose Ellis	Charlotte & her 6 children, Elizabeth Dodd, Jane Dodd, Nancy Dodd, Charlotte Dodd, John, Sarah	£700
April 1, 1807	Sarah Baird	Bessy	10 shillings
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	James Allan	£110
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	John Allan	£139 11/-
October 8, 1812	Mary Richards	Hannah Richards & child, Mary Payne Golden	£160
March 20, 1813	William Henry Parker	Edward Cragie, Maria Williams	£90
June 4, 1813	Robert Jacobs	Joe al Joseph Jacobs Diamond	10 shillings
June 4, 1813	Henry Glassford Power of Attorney	Henry Palmer Moore	£160
August 16, 1814	Executors of Thomas Matthews's will	Henry	no value
July 27, 1815	Mary Taylor	Frank	£80
July 25, 1815	Edward Bullock	Ann al Mary Ann	£90
January 16, 1816	Trustees of Vere Free School	Mary Ann Shand & her child Margaret Ann Kohler	£140
February 1, 1816	Mary Douglas	Patrick Douglas	10 shillings
April 2, 1816	Catherine Denniss	William Norman	£50
November 25, 1817	Francis Elliott	Charles Clarke	10 shillings
March 10, 1817	Thomas Prescott	Julian Kein	10 shillings
June 4, 1817	Thomas Anderson	Thomas Anderson, Daniel Anderson	no value
July 2, 1817	Jacob Lopez Fonseca & ux.	Mary Lalote	£32
June 3, 1817	William Jno James & Hugh James	Eleanor Hackett & 2 children - Samuel, Malcolm Facey, James Malcolm Facey	£200
March 10, 1818	Mary Edwards	Sophia Jones & her unnamed female child	£120
April 3, 1818	William Rhodes James	Frances Samuels	£120
April 21, 1818	George Russell	Alexander Bruce	£60
April 27, 1818	Lawrence Hunter & ux.	Mary Goodwin	£140



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
May 7, 1818			Henry Cerf	Amelia	£60
June 11, 1818			Ann Dudley	William Brooks	10 shillings
July 1, 1818			Rebecca Cohall	William Hall	10 shillings
August 1, 1818			David Boyd & ux.	Anne Hood	£160
August 22, 1818			John McGillivray	Robert Ann Mary	10 shillings
December 16, 1818			Executors of James Codrington	Sally McDonald	£100
December 23, 1818			John Woff	Susannah Johnston Woff	no value
October 4, 1819			Richard Jackson	Thomas Jennings	£180
January	19	1819	Mary Adelaide Caross	Margaret Saratine	10 shillings
April	27	1819	George Russell	Mary Bruce	£50
September	10	1819	John Goldson Budd	Eliza Goldson Budd	10 shillings
April	23	1819	Mary Williams et al	Louisa Miller	£100
February	1	1819	John Miller	Frances Miller, Henry Miller Andrew Miller	£50
March	1	1819	William Thomas Barnes	Edward Bennett	10 shillings
August	16	1819	Mary Gale Robertson & al	Benjamin	£140
May	1	1819	George Robert Johnson Jr.	Polly Gordon	10 shillings
?	?	1819	William Gale	Quaco	10 shillings
September 15, 1820			Bienvenida Judah et al	Elizabeth Bryan, Beatrice, Betsy & her child Henry	10 shillings
April	18	1820	George Harral	James Wright	10 shillings
December	30	1820	Georgette Denis Pellon	Marie Pierre Sucrinne	no value
May	19	1820	Kean Osborn Esq., & al	Patrick Kelly, Another slave	valued £150
January	18	1820	James [Sh]lipair	Morther Willis	£5
February	24	1821	Richard Ellis	Harry Day	£300
October	17	1820	David McNish	David, William	no value
November	20	1820	Henry Portlock Roberts	Mary Hancock & child Maria Pearce	10 shillings
April	3	1821	Robert Crasswell Gabay & ux.	William Murray	£50
December	30	1820	According to the will of Sarah Nibbs Gordon	Kitty al Catherine Gordon	no value



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
January	23	1821	Ann Moss	Jane Gardner, Tammy Seaton, Eleanor Love-more, William Dawson, John Wysenburg, Charles Lovemore	10 shillings
September	22	1820	Henry Oneal	John Ellis	10 shillings
November	27	1820	Edward Tyrrell	Mary Tyrrell, Edward Tyrell	£50
April	5	1820	Mary Hunter	Lucy Porter & her 6 children, Robert Bradley, Elizabeth Jump, Ann Jump, Henry Jump, William Jump, Mary Hunter, Edward Marshall	no value
May	19	1820	Sarah Spence	Thomas Farquharson	10 shillings
September	1	1820	Robert Waugh	John Brown	£100 Sterling
August	10	1820	Isaac Nunes Da Costa jr.	Alfred al. Alfred Moore	10 shillings
March	3	1820	Thomas Samson	Quaco	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Elizabeth Messum	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Ruthy Huggins	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Nancy Lambert	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Sarah Huggins	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Frances Samson	10 shillings
January	1	1820	John Kelly	Jane Roberts	10 shillings
December	30	1820	Guethoncoeur Boisquehonene	Margaret	10 shillings
October	17	1820	Sarah Cole	Sarah Ann James	£180
December	18	1820	Ann Sarah Bailey Mytin	Catherine Thomas	£18
September	21	1820	Ruth Austin	Alick Lawrence	10 shillings
June	8	1820	Benjamin Scott	Fanny al Frances Davis	£80
August	1	1820	Rachael Thomas	Maria Freeman & child, Mary Baker, Freeman	10 shillings
May	19	1820	Kean Coburn & ux.	James Knight	no value
August	16	1820	James Mackean Smith	James Baircliffe	10 shillings
January	30	1821	Ann Clark Gott	Robert al Jn. Russell Cruikshank	10 shillings
September	7	1820	John Russell	Eliza Clarke	10 shillings
May	20	1820	Edmund Francis Green	Mary Hamilton & her child Nancy	£160
November	1	1820	Robert Allwood & ux	Susanna Miller	£5 Sterling
December	14	1820	Janett Bogle	James Hay	£160 Cy.



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
December	14	1820	George N Darley	Diana Thomson	£60
September	28	1820	James Fraser	Nelly al Eleanor Fraser	no value
November	10	1820	Rachael Whitehead	Isabella al Isabella Roe	10 shillings
September	16	1820	Thomas Freeman	Thomas Handley Brook	10 shillings
March	15	1820	Alexander McCallum	Alexander Gray	£140
October	6	1820	William Reeves	Ann Charlton	10 shillings
August	18	1820	Timothy Banton Mullings	William Mullings	£140
January	12	1821	Alexander Menzies & ux.	Elizabeth Burke	10 shillings
December	11	1820	Sarah Beal Willacy	Lisbon	10 shillings
February	10	1820	George Allan	Elizabeth Price	10 shillings
March	15	1820	Margaret Grant	June Hall	10 shillings
January	30	1821	Sarah Mitchell Sansom	Harry al Harry Henrey	10 shillings
January	27	1821	Geremiah Weakes & ux.	Elizabeth Hall	£90
March	22	1821	John McDorman	George Gardner	10 shillings
January	12	1821	Eleanor Good	Rose	£40
January	20	1821	Mary Hall	Eleanor Bartell Ballantine	£140
February	10	1821	Susanna Gall	Patience & Susanna Thomas	no value
February	23	1821	Hon. James Lewis	Mary Brue	no value
February	10	1821	John Hill Berry	Mary Ann Hill Berry & 3 children, John Hill Berry, William Hill Berry, George Hill Berry	10 shillings
February	23	1821	Do	Lucy Jones	no value
July	1	1821	Mary Hunter	William Shea, John Marshall	no value
February	23	1821	Martha Fisher	Jemmy al James Fisher, John Fisher	£30
September	26	1821	Elizabeth Truxton & Bency Wilson	Mimba al Phillis Thomas & child Ann Dorman al Ann Hope	10 shillings
February	8	1821	Samuel Walker & ux. & al	Abigail Stormer	£25
April	2	1820	Sir Simon Horton Clarke, Bart. Power of Attorney	Elizabeth McDonald & children, James Lobban, Alexander Lobban, Mary Lobban, Margaret Lobban	£315
January	2	1821	William Henry Hall	Edward Neilson	£50
June	12	1820	Sir Home Popham	July	£100



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
March	6	1821	Alexander Ackman & ux.	Eleanor Carter Spalding	£140
July	?	1820	Jasper Taylor Hall Power of Attorney	William Wright, Eliza Tierney, Jenny Wright, Mary Clannside	no value
March	10	1820	John Lewis	Kate	10 shillings
February	22	1820	Melchior Graham	Eliza Cross & 3 children, Elizabeth, Mary, William George	no value
March	11	1821	Rebecca Stewart	Thomas Stewart, Rebecca Murray	10 shillings
March	1	1821	Andrew Bogle	Aimable	10 shillings
March	13	1821	William Smith Cruikshank	William Smith Cruikshank, Frances Smith Sadler	10 shillings
March	20	1821	Rose Roche	Richard Hughes	no value
March	12	1821	Rev. F.I.H. Rodrigues de Araeys	Marie Noel & son, Alphonse	no value
February	21	1821	Samuel Rogers	Ider Brown, Ororo Brown & her 2 children,, Colly Brown, Godfrey Brown	10 shillings
March	30	1821	Leah Phoinning	Sarah Dias Phoinning	10 shillings
March	17	1821	John Escoffery	John Valteau	10 shillings
November	20	1820	Mary Gambel	Mary Ann Carter	10 shillings
March	14	1821	Bryan Edwards, p attornies.	Laetitia	£140
March	24	1821	Eleanor Hughes Willacy	Mary	10 shillings
March	1	1821	Mary Eliza Davis	Leah Ann Thomas	10 shillings
March	9	1821	William Rainsford	Benjamin Fenby	£100
March	19	1821	Alexander McCallum	Ann McCallum	no value
March	29	1821	Mary Taylor	Hazzard al William Bartholomew	£100
April	2	1821	Frances Cross	Robert Higgins	10 shillings
August	29	1820	Charlotte McPherson & others	Ann Gylliatt & 7 children, Rosy Ann Gylliatt, John Anderson, Samuel Anderson, Jeanette Anderson, Mary Anderson, James Anderson, Robert Anderson	£700
September	29	1820	Thomas Napier	Eleanor al Eleanor Thomas	10 shillings
?	?	1820	Gracey Halhead	Margian Halhead	10 shillings
October	6	1820	Jane Williamson	Margaret Williamson	£140
March	21	1821	Patrick McDonnell & wife	Mary Watson	10 shillings
September	20	1820	Elizabeth Hammond	William Hammond	10 shillings



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
April	21	1821	Jean Baptiste Cadou	Jean Baptiste Cadou	10 shillings
April	13	1821	Charlotte G. Bullock	Kitty Bullock	10 shillings
December	23	1820	William Davis	Lucretia White	10 shillings
February	1	1821	William Grant	Elizabeth Thayter & 2 children, James Grant, Edward Grant	10 shillings
February	1	1821	Exors of Alexander Kinlock according to will	Elizabeth Kinlock & child, Helen Kinlock	£150
April	21	1821	Susanna Edwards	James Lamb	£42
April	29	1821	William Laws	John Harris	10 shillings
February	12	1821	Janet Brown	Edward Ashley	no value
May	3	1821	Exor Of Adelaide Penaud according to will	Adelaide Bethsy	no value
February	14	1821	Milbrough Elrington Power of Attorney	Molly al Mary Spencer	50/-
March	24	1821	Thomas Nicholson Swigle	Frances Millward Hammond	no value
June	8	1820	James Minot	Faithful	10 shillings
May	13	1821	Hon. James Lee	Edward James Lee	10 shillings
May	10	1821	Elizabeth Perkins	John Dormont	10 shillings
March	26	1821	Charles Duke Bailey	Sarah Blake, Jane Dawkins, George Dawkins	10 shillings
November	22	1820	Stephen Denton Power of Attorney	Rachael Harriot	£300
November	10	1821	Louis Horace de Jannon & ux	Nerine	no value
November	22	1820	Stephen Denton Power of Attorney	John Pool	10 shillings
April	18	1820	Andrew White	James Gillespie	10 shillings
August	5	1820	Mary Field Stevenson	Mary Ann Lynch	10 shillings
January	24	1820	Samuel Dare	William Bell	no value
August	5	1820	William Bonaby	Cassander al Susannah, Williams Bonaby	10 shillings
May	12	1821	James Smith	William Selby	no value
November	11	1820	Ann Barton & others	Louisa Phillips Bayley	10 shillings
April	3	1821	John Williams	Mary	10 shillings
June	2	1821	Elizabeth Reid	Jennett James	10 shillings
January	20	1820	Robert Alexander	Jonathan Worrall	10 shillings



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
February	3	1821	Judith Waters	Eleanor Tingling Hammonds	£33
April	27	1821	James Johnston	Margaret Hay, John Hay	£200
April	11	1821	James Johnston	Sappho & 2 children, James Hay, William Hay	£260
January	22	1821	James Hunt	Jack al John Sewell	£110
January	27	1821	William Finlay & wife	Margaret Johnson	£80
March	30	1821	Robert Thomas Downer	Alexander, George, Jane, Sarah, Richard	£200
April	11	1821	Esther Da Costa	Cecelia Anderson	£32
March	28	1821	Executor of Lewis Mazel according to will	Edmond	no value
March	21	1821	Elizabeth Sarah Ann Taylor	Hannah Jones	£5
April	17	1821	William Frankson & al	Thomazina Moore	10 shillings
April	4	1821	Mary Lewis	Henry Bryan	10 shillings
February	15	1821	Andrew Arcedeckne Power of Attorney	Rebecca Huntington	£140
February	15	1821	Andrew Arcedeckne Power of Attorney	Catherine Sim & child, Jessie Grant	£260
January	10	1821	Charles Seymore Cockburn	John Burnside	£200
April	6	1821	Jean Baptiste Cadou	Julie	no value
November	11	1821	Sarah McQuestin	Memory	10 shillings
July	15	1829	George Preston	William Hunt	10 shillings



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1827



Matters came to a head, between [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) serving as a Public Friend, and the elders of her home meeting:

At twenty-five years of age, surrounded with a little family and many cares, I felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty, and engaged in the ministry in our Society, receiving every encouragement from those in authority, until a separation among us, in 1827, when my convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us, resting on truth as authority, rather than "taking authority for truth." The popular doctrine of human depravity never commended itself to my reason or conscience. I "searched the Scriptures daily," finding a construction of the text wholly different from that which was pressed upon our acceptance. The highest evidence of a sound faith being the practical life of the Christian, I have felt a far greater interest in the moral movements of our age than in any theological discussion. The temperance reform early engaged my attention, and for more than twenty years I have practised total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. The cause of peace has had a share of my efforts, leading to the ultra nonresistance ground – that no Christian can consistently uphold, and actively engage in and support a government based on the sword, or relying on that as an ultimate resort. The oppression of the working-classes by existing monopolies, and the lowness of wages, often engaged my attention; and I have held many meetings with them, and heard their appeals with compassion, and a great desire for a radical change in the system which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. The various associations and communities tending to greater quality of condition have had from me a hearty God-speed. But the millions of down-trodden slaves in our land being the greatest sufferers, the most oppressed class, I have felt bound to plead their cause, in season and out of season, to endeavor to put my soul in their souls' stead, and to aid, all in my power, in every right effort for their immediate emancipation. This duty was impressed upon me at the time I consecrated myself to that gospel which anoints "to preach deliverance to the captive," "to set at liberty them that are bruised." From that time the duty of abstinence as far as possible from slave-grown products was so clear, that I resolved to make the effort "to provide things honest" in this respect. Since then our family has been supplied with free-labor groceries, and, to some extent, with cotton goods unstained by slavery. The labors of the devoted Benjamin Lundy, and his "Genius of Universal [Emancipation](#)" published in [Baltimore](#), added to the extra exertions of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others in England, including Elizabeth Heyrick, whose work on slavery aroused them to a change in their mode of action, and of William Lloyd Garrison, in Boston, prepared the way for a convention in



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*Philadelphia, in 1833, to take the ground of immediate, not gradual, emancipation, and to impress the duty of unconditional liberty, without expatriation. In 1834 the Philadelphia A.S. [Anti-Slavery] Society was formed, and, being actively associated in the efforts for the slaves' redemption, I have travelled thousands of miles in this country, holding meetings in some of the slave states, have been in the midst of mobs and violence, and have shared abundantly in the odium attached to the name of an uncompromising **modern** abolitionist, as well as partaken richly of the sweet return of peace attendant on those who would "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke."*



Meanwhile the state supreme court of North Carolina was declaring illegal the local [Friends](#) tactic, of transferring ownership of the [slaves](#) of individual Quakers to their monthly meeting and then paying wages to these erstwhile slaves in order to avoid the illegality of [manumission](#), and the Quakers were needing to seek out some other coping mechanism:

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an early point, the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830 anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the



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wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who



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moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.

The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing (often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500 in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Caroline Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White "mete with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A "fringe" of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio



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Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850 the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends' efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin. As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends "well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites."⁸⁷

87. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QuAKERS, AFRIcAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

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➡ January: The brown children of [Sally Hemings](#), Eston and Madison, who had not like the very light Beverly and Harriet been able to steal themselves away into white anonymity, were [manumitted](#) in the will of [Thomas Jefferson](#).⁸⁸ During this month Jefferson's estate went on the market at an asking price of \$70,000 for the mansion with its 5,682 acres.



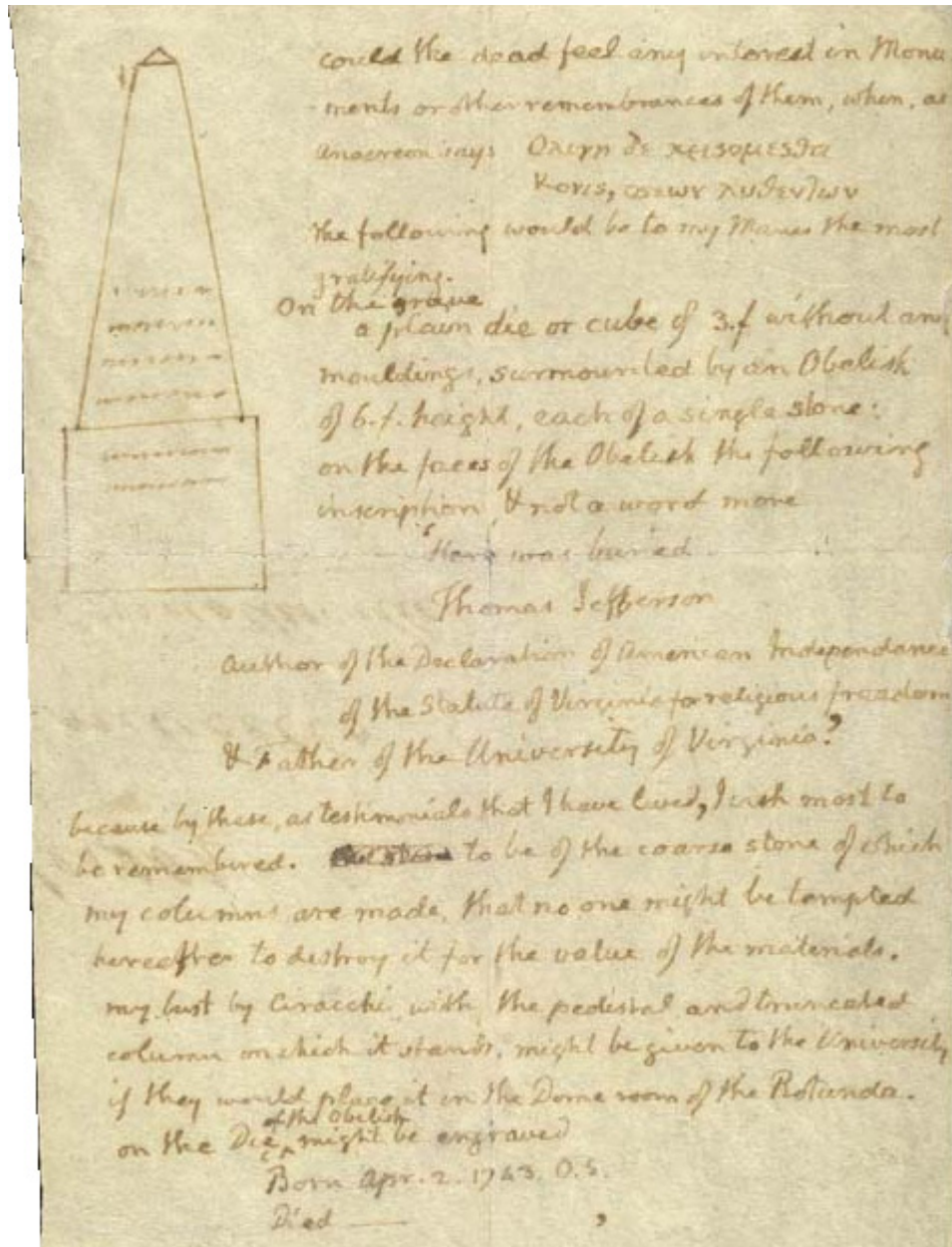
[Monticello](#)'s furnishings and slaves were auctioned, and in the years that followed various sightseers would visit the home, finding "souvenirs" of Jeffersoniana among any remaining items, including plants, architectural elements, and chips off his limestone gravestone.

88. Jefferson had lived so profligately that he could not afford to be similarly generous with those of his slaves who were not his relatives or personal progeny — even had he so desired.

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After his death a family member would discover the above sketch prepared by Jefferson, containing instructions for his tombstone. Jefferson had desired that his grave be marked by an obelisk inscribed with the three accomplishments for which he most wished to be remembered, “and not a word more.” This original limestone tombstone is now on Francis Quadrangle at the University of Missouri. It is about 3 feet high. No inscription which had been carved on it is any longer legible. A question of interest is, what was the inscription if any on this original tombstone? (The photographs which follow were taken by my niece Zakiyyah binte Wahab, who is currently a student at the University of Missouri. The bronze tablet she has photographed and photo-enhanced for me is obviously nothing more than a stone lie, since the blocks of material it points itself at are clearly not limestone at all and clearly have not been chipped away at by generations of souvenir-seeking Monticello tourists, and since the inscription this bronze plaque alleges to have copied from the original headstone is not that at all, but is instead a mere copy of what appears now on the belated grave marker at Monticello, which was based on Jefferson’s instructions discovered only after the fact and thus could not have been on that original limestone gravestone. You mustn’t believe every touristy attraction you see in a public place!) Another question of interest is, in precisely what year was the present tall celebratory “grave marker” installed at Monticello?

Eston and Madison would live for a time in the mixed-race community of Charlottesville, Virginia, until forced out of the state during its campaign to rid itself of free persons of color. They would emigrate to Ohio, and then Eston would move on from there to Wisconsin, where he would transform himself into the white man “E.H. Jefferson.” Some of his descendants, finding out belatedly about their family’s heritage, would take the opportunity of the 2000 census to declare themselves “black.” Recently, when asked why a middle-class woman who had lived all her life as a white would check “black” on the census, Julia Jefferson Westerinen has responded “Because I can.”

I want to show people I am not afraid to be black.

During this month Emerson jotted in his journal:

We generalize very fast. I very readily learned the Jew face.



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1828



The grandmother of Harriet Jacobs, Molly Horniblow, was sold and [manumitted](#).



Philip Thomas of [Maryland](#) became the founding president of the B&O Railroad, the nation's first.



The [negrero](#) *Blue-eyed Mary*, of [Baltimore](#), had been sold to Spaniards. It was captured with a cargo of 405 [slaves](#) by a British cruiser ([Niles's Register](#), XXXIV. 346).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

There was a great parade down Broadway Avenue in New-York, celebrating the New York Emancipation Act. As black women cheered from the sidewalks, the black men were led by the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, by the Clarkson Benevolent Society, and the Wilberforce Benevolent Society (named of course in honor of the famed English reformers [Thomas Clarkson](#) and [William Wilberforce](#)). The manumittedes were marching along under banners on which was painted the word **AFRICAN**.

This was, in a sense, a veterans' march — for hundreds of people were in attendance who had personally experienced the [Middle Passage](#).

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In this year the white city fathers, fearing "civil discord," would shut down the African Grove Theater which had been entertaining the black community since 1821, where they had been segregating white visitors into the rear since they had not seemed in general to understand "how to conduct themselves at entertainments of ladies and gentlemen of color." The [slaves](#) of New York State having been emancipated, it had apparently become illegal to accumulate people into coffles, or nightclubs. (Or, it being pointless in the State of New York to protest that one was being held in the condition known as slavery, the official reason why this was pointless was changed: whereas previously it had been pointless to point out that one was enslaved because the authorities would respond "Yes, and you're a slave," as of this year this had become pointless because the authorities had come to be able to respond "No, you are quite mistaken, in fact slavery is illegal here. Now get back to work.") At an unknown date within this time period, [Sojourner Truth](#)'s husband Thomas died free. Beginning roughly at this point and definitely continuing in the following year, Isabella Van Wagenen (Truth) was working as a free domestic servant in Kingston in Ulster County. Slightly to the south of this, however, living with the Auld family in a rented house on Philpot Street in Fells Point in [Maryland](#) near the facilities of the slave trader Austin Woolfolk, Frederick Douglass was lying at night, listening as slave coffles shuffled along from the pens to the port for transportation. He was learning about the enduring, obdurate nature of the world.⁸⁹



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1829

89. This was the year of the United States's first touring "minstrel show," in which a white man with his face painted black,

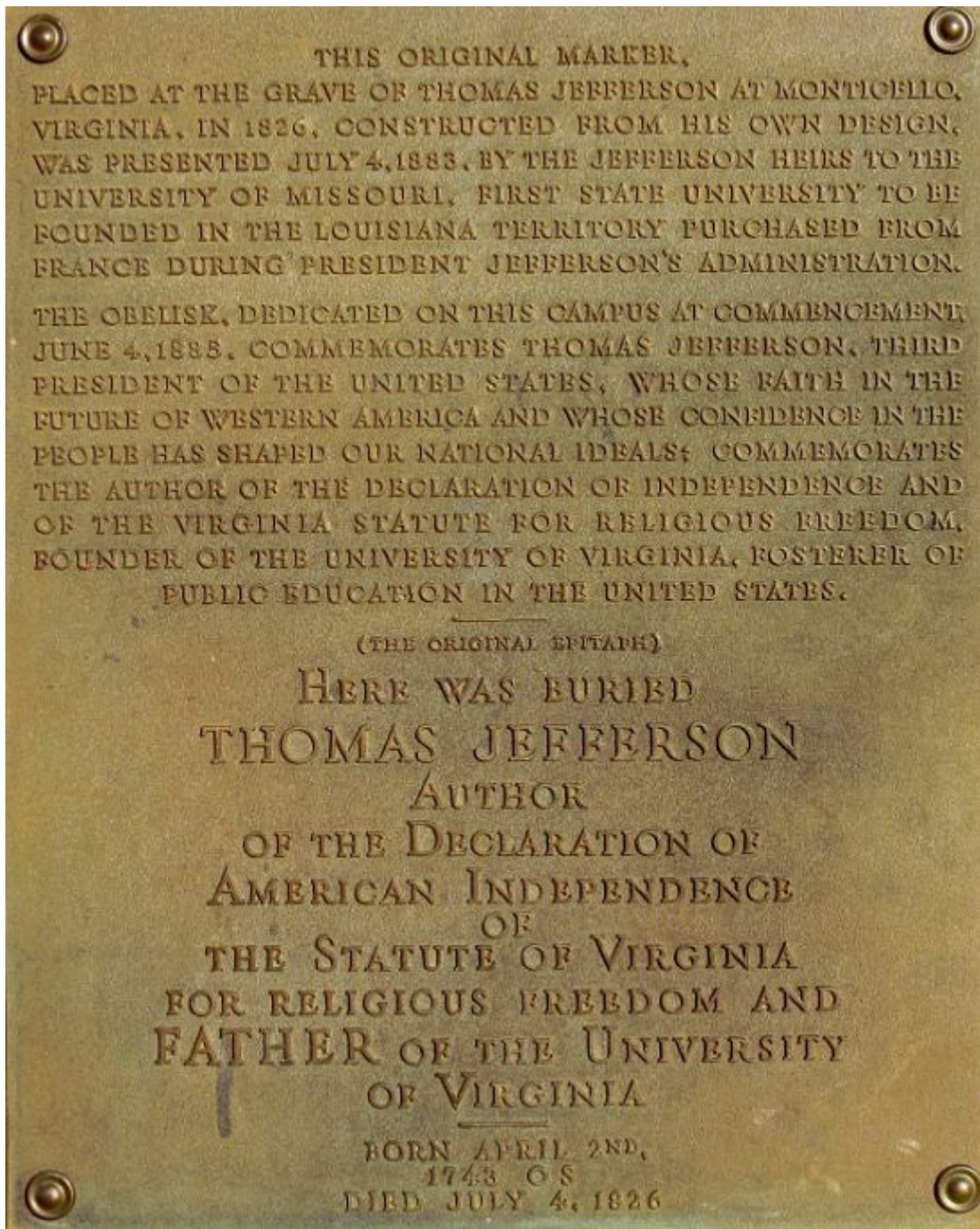


Thomas D. Rice, presented himself as a character named "Jim Crow." By the time of the Civil War this would amount to a national industry of sorts, with more than 30 full-time white touring companies going from city to city putting on professional imitations of black comedians. (During the US Civil War a shortage of white comics would cause some of these troupes to employ some black performers — who of course would perform, as did the whites, in blackface.)

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 Friend [Mary Howitt](#)'s poem "The Spider and the Fly."



The Kentucky Colonization Society was established to devise ways of sending [manumitted](#) former [slaves](#) back home to Africa where they belonged.

The term "corral" came from Spanish into American English. First use of the expression "in cahoots." Alfred Robinson visited Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, near today's Oceanside, California and wrote "It is not unusual to see numbers of [native Americans] driven along by *alcaldes* and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of the sanctuary." Evidently this was benign, for as the mission brochure puts it, "While colonists in other parts of the world tried to expropriate and exterminate the natives, the Franciscan Padres and the Spaniards sought to save them."

Birth of [Julia Louisa Hentz](#), who would write poetry and who would marry a Keyes.



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→ Elizabeth Freeman died in Stockbridge, Massachusetts and was buried in a white family's plot in Stockbridge Cemetery on Main Street. It was the family plot of the Sedgwick family, for which she had been working as a domestic ever since obtaining her **manumission** papers almost a half-century earlier. → We can see that her tombstone was engraved by them to alert us that:

**SHE COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE,
YET IN HER OWN SPHERE
SHE HAD NO SUPERIOR OR EQUAL...
GOOD MOTHER FARE WELL.⁹⁰**

What had happened, to bring about this startlingly good thing, human decency intruding into our world of perennial indecency, was the following: when “Mum Bet” or “Mumbet” had been in her late 30s, in around 1781, she and her sister Lizzie had been slaves in this town of Stockbridge. When her owner, not of the Sedgwick family, had attempted to injure her little sister, amazingly, she had been able to persuade this town's lawyer, Mr. Sedgwick, to solicit the protection of the court on their behalf. Not only were they awarded damages, of 30 shillings, not only was the Stockbridge slaveholder forced to pay court costs, amounting to 5 pounds, 14 shillings, and 4 pence, but also — the court awarded “Mum Bet” or “Mumbet” her freedom. She took the plausible free name Elizabeth Freeman. Working for wages in the Sedgwick home for the remaining years of her life, she had gradually made herself into a presence which the white family came to acknowledge as “the main pillar of the household.”



90. Consult Arthur Zilversmit's “Mumbet: Folklore and Fact,” Berkshire History, Spring 1971, Volume I, Number 1, Arthur C. Chase's THE ASHLEYS – A PIONEER BERKSHIRE FAMILY, a booklet published for the Colonel Ashley House, and pages 47-49 of Lillian E. Preiss's SHEFFIELD, FRONTIER TOWN for the story of Mumbet of Ashley Falls and Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



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...the citizens of Massachusetts had been concerned with their own state constitution, which was adopted in 1780 and contained many of the features later incorporated into the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Since Colonel Ashley was a prominent lawyer and an influential Southern Berkshire resident, it was only natural that his home would be the scene of many discussions about the document. In his household there was a young slave woman, affectionately called Mumbet, who, with her sister Lizzie, had been purchased as a child from Mrs. Ashley's family, the Hogaboams of Claverack NY. As she waited on the Ashley family, Mumbet overheard many of the conversations about freedom and liberty.

One day in a fit of anger Mrs. Ashley was about to strike the younger girl with a heated shovel. Stepping between the two, Mumbet received the blow intended for her sister; then, resentful of the injustice, she left the house. Persuading a fellow slave named Brom to join her, she hastened to the home of Theodore Sedgwick, Sheffield's leading lawyer and a friend of Colonel Ashley's. There they sought his assistance in obtaining their freedom. In answer to Sedgwick's question about how she ever got such an idea, she replied that in listening to the talk about the Bill of Rights, "she never heard but that all people were born free and equal, and she thought long about it, and resolved she would try whether she did not come among them."

Intrigued by the "palpable illogic of slavery at a time when Massachusetts was engaged in a fight for freedom from imperial regulation and control," Sedgwick accepted the case. The suit for freedom of the two slaves, Brom and Bett vs. Ashley, was heard in August 1781 before the County Court of Common Pleas in Great Barrington. Colonel Ashley pleaded that the Negroes were his legal servants for life, but the plaintiffs, represented by Sedgwick and Tapping Reeve, a distinguished lawyer of Litchfield, Connecticut, won their case. The jury found that the Negroes were freemen illegally detained in servitude by the Ashleys and assessed damages of thirty shillings against the defendants. Mumbet was awarded compensation for her services from the time she was 21 years of age. Ashley decided to withdraw the appeal, for he was still tainted by the opprobrium clinging to him as one of the "obnoxious seventeen" rescinders of 1789.

Welcomed cordially into the Sedgwick family, Mumbet, taking the surname of "Freeman," remained with the Sedgwicks for the rest of her life as a beloved friend and helper. Catherine Sedgwick, late a popular novelist, wrote of her: "One should have known this remarkable woman, the native majesty of her deportment.... Mumbet was the only person who could tranquilize my mother when her mind was disordered -the only one of her friends whom she liked to have about her- and why? She treated her with the same respect she did when she was sane. As far as possible, she obeyed her commands and humored her caprices; in short, her superior instincts hit upon the mode of treatment that science has since adopted."

When Mumbet died in 1829, she was buried in the Sedgwick plot in Stockbridge near the center of the family circle. Her epitaph, written by Charles Sedgwick, reads: "She was born a slave and remained a slave for nearly thirty years. She could neither read nor write, yet in her own sphere she had no superior nor equal. She neither wasted time nor property. She never violated a trust, nor failed to perform a duty. In every situation of domestic trial, she was the most efficient helper, and the tenderest friend. Good Mother, farewell." Mumbet's case was one of the most important



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In this year in which Elizabeth Freeman died in Massachusetts and was being buried with loving care, Mejico was abolishing the institution of human enslavement in all territories under its jurisdiction, and American [slaveholders](#) in the northmost “Tejas” district of Mejico were beginning to oblige their slaves to sign fictitious “work contracts,” papers producing the bare appearance that instead of being enslaved they were merely freely working for a wage. Local Mejican officials –since the convention at the time was that these brownish people could still be considered (for the time being) as if they were white people, at least honorary white people– of course began their practice of winking at this just-between-us-white-folks con game.



The slaveholder elite routinely invoked the concept of liberty in their public defenses of slavery; they argued that enslaving black workers not only freed whites from the forms of industrial servitude common in Europe and the North, but freed the blacks themselves from responsibility and cares.



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Meanwhile, in between Massachusetts and Tejas, in North Carolina, in the case State v John Mann, it was being made absolutely clear that for [slavery](#) to function effectively, the power of a master over a slave must be nothing less than absolute.

Here is a slave tag for a “PORTER,” person #626, issued by the city of Charleston, South Carolina in this year. In accordance with a city statute, slaves wore these numbered copper tags for identification. Slaveholders purchased such tags from the city for a fee of \$2 to \$7. Since the tags are pierced at the top, obviously the slaves needed to wear them in some manner on their clothing, or on a string around their neck or something:



So far as the legal system was concerned, sentiment alone could function in these United States of America as a check upon the cruelty of any master toward his or her servant, who must remain under any circumstance entirely defenseless:

The protections already afforded by several statutes, that all-powerful motive, the private interest of the owner, the benevolences towards each other, seated in the hearts of those who have been born and bred together, the frowns and deep execrations of the community upon the barbarian who is guilty of excessive and brutal cruelty to his unprotected slave, all combined, have produced a mildness of treatment and attention to the comforts of the unfortunate class of slaves, greatly mitigating the rigors of servitude and ameliorating the condition of the slaves.

READ THE FULL TEXT



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The State of Georgia outlawed the teaching of reading or writing to any persons not white:

Section 10. And be it further enacted, That if any slave, Negro, mustizzzo, or free person of colour, or any other person, shall circulate, bring or cause to be circulated or brought into this state or aid or assist in any manner, or be instrumental in aiding or assisting in the circulation or bringing into this state, or in any manner concerned in any printed or written pamphlet, paper or circular, for the purposes of exciting to insurrection, conspiracy or resistance among the slaves, Negroes, or free persons of colour, of this state, against their owners or the citizens of this state, the said person or persons offending against this section of this act, shall be punished with death."

Section 11. And be it further enacted, that if any slave, negro, or free person of colour or any white person shall teach any other slave, Negro or free person of colour, to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of colour, or slave, shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping at the discretion of the court; and if a white person so offending, he, she or they shall be punished with fine, not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisonment, in the common jail at the discretion of the court before whom said offender is tried.



May 4, Monday: According to an almanac of the period, "Riot in Manchester, England. One large factory burnt, and two others nearby destroyed."

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Gioachino Rossini signed a new contract, to receive an annual government stipend on top of reimbursement for any musical activities.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Jacob Wood [manumitted](#) a female of colour known by the name of Hetty and passing commonly by the name Hetty Smith, whom he had purchased from Thomas McCall for the bona fide sum of \$450 on January 8, 1828 in Georgia.

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State of Rhode Island, City of Providence -

To all persons to whom these presents may come: I, Jacob Wood of Potosi, Georgia do send greeting. Whereas James Smith esquire of Liberty County, in the State of Georgia on the _____ day of 1799 did by a deed of gift under his hand and seal and which is of record in said County, give unto his sister then Miss Elisa M. A. M. Call a girl of color known by the name of Hetty + with the same deed delivered her into possession: And whereas the said Elizabeth M. A. Smith after the aforesaid deed + having the said girl Hetty in possession, did legally intermarry in Liberty County in said State with Thomas M. Call by virtue of such ^{inter}marriage + the laws of said State all her property real + personal became vested in her husband Thomas M. Call + especially the said female of colour [sic] Hetty + was long after his marriage, in his actual possession. And whereas the said Thomas M. Call in virtue of said rights, did, for the bona fide sum of four hundred and fifty dollars to him paid by the said Jacob Wood on the eighth day of January in the year One thousand eight hundred and twenty eight, execute a bill of sale of the said female of color Hetty, to said Wood + which is recorded in the Intosh County in said State, by which all the said Thomas M. Call's right + title in her became vested in the said Jacob Wood: Now Know Ye, That I, Jacob Wood, being now the legal owner of Hetty, for good + sufficient causes + benevolent motives to me thereunto moving, and being now personally present in Providence in the State aforesaid + he the same Hetty in the said City + State, hath granted liberated, manumitted + set free, + by these presents doth grant, liberate manumit + set free the said female of color, aforesaid called Hetty (and passing commonly by the name Hetty Smith) subject to the sole + only condition + restriction, that the said female of colour [sic] Hetty, shall not at any time hereafter, go to, stay, or reside in either of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, or Louisiana, without first the consent of the said Jacob Wood or his executors in writing obtained, which may be general or special and which shall continue in force, until revoked, and any refusal to comply with such revocation + go out of the said three states, or any or all of them, makes this deed null + void ab initio to all intents and purposes + restores to the said Jacob Wood his original rights. And the said Jacob Wood for himself his heirs executors + administrators, the liberation of the said female of colour [sic] Hetty, at all time against himself or them or any claiming under them shall + will warrant + defend forever. In witness whereof the said Jacob Wood has hereunto affixed his hand and seal this fourth day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine.

Signed sealed + delivered
in the presence of

J. C. Carpenter
Isaac Peace Hazard

I do hereby give my consent, to the female of color called Hetty in the annexed deed returning to the State of Georgia whenever she pleases. Providence Rhode Island 4 May 1829.

Witness, J. C. Carpenter

Jacob Wood

Recorded June 10 1829.

Jacob Wood ((L.S.))



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Note (see a nearby page) the interesting detail in the document, recorded on page 158 of volume 57 of the Providence, Rhode Island town DEEDS AND MORTGAGES books, that in its body one deliberate condition and restriction is stipulated, to wit, that “that the said female of colour Hetty, shall not at any time hereafter, go to, stay, or reside in either of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, or Louisiana, without first the consent of the said Jacob Wood or his executors in writing obtained, which may be general or special and which shall continue in force, until revoked, and any refusal to comply with such revocation + go out of the said three states, or any or all of them, makes this deed null + void ab initio to all intents and purposes + restores to the said Jacob Wood his original rights,” but that immediately after the body of the document, and the witnessed signatures thereunto, there appears a signed codicil of the very same date, **revoking** that one explicit condition. Well, what happened? –Did Hetty Smith throw a fit right there in the town office when she found out that she wasn’t to be allowed to visit her relatives in the South, and did then Jacob Wood grasp the error of his ways and immediately relent? (Intriguing, isn’t it?)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4 of 5 M / This morning I took Isaiah Jones in our Chaise & went with him to Pawtucket & Landed him at Nathan Buffingtons where he has taken lodging for the present. – This is the first time I was ever as far north of this house. –Pawtucket appears to be a pleasant place, well built & many of its houses considerably ornamented by Iron fences &c.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 6, Wednesday: According to an almanac of the period, “The French Consul General at Buenos Ayres demanded his passports and left that place, in consequence of alleged insults to his flag and nation; The French Admiral took possession of the Buenos-Ayrean fleet of four brigs and several gunboats, after a hard action. One of the brigs burnt.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

C. Demian of Austria was awarded a patent for an accordion.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6th of 5 M / With my H rode to [Greenwich](#) & attended our Select Quarterly Meeting & in the Afternoon the Meeting for Sufferings held there. – We Dined at the Widow Abigail Prouds & lodged at Daniel Howlands. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



May 7, Thursday: According to an almanac of the period, “The Budget presented to the British Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The most important fact stated in the speech of the Chancellor, was an anticipated decrease in the revenue of £850,000, arising from a depression of commerce. This depression was, however, considered as temporary, and the future prospects of the country were represented as encouraging,” and “The French Minister of Marine stated, in his Budget presented to the Chamber of Deputies, that the Navy had been increased by the addition of seventy-nine vessels within the year.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 7th of 5 M 1829 / Our Quarterly Meeting held at large was a time of favour Our Friends Thos Anthony & Wm Almy was both favoured in testimony & the Meeting concluded after prayer by Abel Collins - There was an unusual quantity of business. - A Certificate was granted our Frd Rowland Greene to attend the Y Meeting in NYork to be held about the close of this Month & also to visit the Meetings generally in that State & in Canada. - Joanna Peck from [Greenwich](#) & David Rodman from [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meetings were approved in the Station of Elders. -- This latter appointment of my dear Brother in Law David Rodman is very consoling to me. - as I feel much on account of the poor & striped condition in which the particular Meeting of [Newport](#) is now reduced. - it is only within my short remembrance that the High seat in that House was filled from end to end & now there is but two men that occupy it. - I feel however a hope that the numbers may yet increase & that the meeting in which I had my breath & being may not be suffered to go down. - We rode home thro' Warwick by the way of Loyd Greenes. - by getting out of our way we increased our Journey several miles but it was a pleasant jant & we got to the School House [what is now the "Moses Brown School" in Providence] before dark. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



November 26, Thursday: The Reverend Lyman Beecher preached a sermon on the topic of atheism, which would eventuate in a book “dedicated to the working men of America,” LECTURES ON POLITICAL ATHEISM.



Bushrod Washington died, bequeathing 160 acres to the [manumitted](#) mulatto [slave](#) West Ford who is suspected to be the only son of [George Washington](#), with a slave woman named Venus. John Augustine Washington III inherited [Mount Vernon](#), and West Ford –although he had become a free man– would continue to work at Mount Vernon as an overseer (West’s mother Venus would deacease before he would become financially able to purchase her [manumission](#)). Refer to <http://www.westfordlegacy.com/home.htm>.

[Josiah Haynes, Jr.](#) got married with 25-year-old widow Mary Hayward.

On this day or the previous one, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25 (?) of 11 M / Today was our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Providence](#) - Wm Almy largely & very pertinently engaged in testimony - The committee from the Quarterly Meeting attended on account of the recent failures in trade, Which has lately occured in society & particularly in This Moy [Monthly] Meeting - They gave suitable service & were helpful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 27, Sunday: Hinton Rowan Helper was born in Davie County, [North Carolina](#). In the following year his father would die, leaving his family in difficult circumstances which would made indenture a necessity and interfere with his later ability to obtain a higher education. Rowan County, in which he would grow to maturity, was a [Quaker](#) stronghold where for many years the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been purchasing [slaves](#) from individuals either to immediately grant [manumission](#) papers or to hold them, if absolutely necessary due to legal problems, in a condition of purely nominal enslavement. **Helper would grow up to consider this sort of conduct to be an abomination, and the ruin of our white Christian nation. The Quakers were setting a bad example. People shouldn’t act like that.**

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 27th of 12 M 1829 / A day of but little religious favour - hard & dry - Silent meeting in the Morning & in the Afternoon Wm Almy much engaged in testimony - I think I could see that he



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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was favoured. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

While teaching at the Friends School in Lynn, Massachusetts, [Friend Abby Kelley](#) met [Friend James N. Buffum](#), father of her classmate, [Friend Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#) from [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). [Friend](#) Buffum and [Friend William Bassett](#), two leading abolitionists in Lynn, introduced Abby to the growing number of state and local anti-slavery societies that were beginning since the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Abby joined the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Lynn and began distributing petitions door-to-door, sewing and selling fancy articles at the fairs to raise money for the American Anti-Slavery Society. During her school breaks Abby was visiting Boston and Worcester to attend meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, meetings which women attended but at which they were expected not to speak.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1830

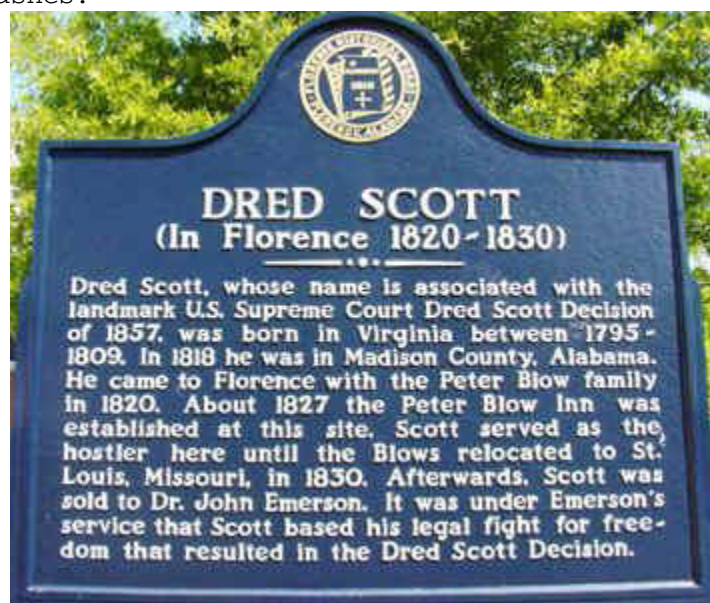


The slavemaster Peter Blow, with his slave Dred Scott in tow, arrived in St. Louis, Missouri where Blow would for a few years, until his death in 1832, run a boardinghouse.

Meanwhile, back East, the State of [North Carolina](#) was outlawing the teaching of reading or writing to any [slave](#) — but to appearances was being rather moderate in that it refrained from racially extending the prohibition as in the state of Georgia, beyond any slave to any person not white:

Whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion, to the manifest injury of the citizens of this State: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that any free person, who shall hereafter teach or attempt to teach, any slave within this State to read or write, the use of figures, excepted, or shall give or sell to such slave or slaves any books or pamphlets, shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in this State having jurisdiction thereof; and upon conviction, shall, at the discretion of the court, if a white man or woman, be fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, or imprisoned; and if a free person of color, shall be fined, imprisoned, or whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirtynine lashes, nor less than twenty lashes.





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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1831



As of the turn of the century South Carolina had passed a law requiring that any [slaves](#) who were manumitted possess, or receive from their manumitting masters, “the capacity... to function in a free society...” The goal had been to end such abuses as the “freeing” of the aged, the infirm, and those considered by the slavemaster to be useless due to bad or depraved character. After the [Nat Turner](#) rebellion, most southern states would be enacting such laws restricting (or prohibiting) [manumission](#). By the 1850s only Delaware, Missouri, and Arkansas would be allowing masters to free slaves without requiring their departure from the state.



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141



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1832



US slaveholders had been looking to [Mexico](#) for land, but so also had US abolitionists. If owners were assured that manumitted [slaves](#) would leave the United States of America, Benjamin Lundy expected, they would free themselves of large numbers of their charges.⁹¹ Therefore he attempted to set up a colony for [manumitted](#) slaves in Texas, trusting that he would be able to obtain an exception to the passport requirements that Mexico had set up in 1830 (well, but in fact he would not succeed in this).

91. Merton Dillon. BENJAMIN LUNDY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO FREEDOM (Urbana IL: U of Illinois P, 1966), page 27.

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March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Catalana*, master J.A. de la Vega, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

At Bahia on the coast of Brazil [Charles Darwin](#) was horrified by what he was learning about the treatment of slaves, so Captain Robert FitzRoy out of his inherent *noblesse oblige* attempted to reassure his traveling companion by relating that one of these South American slavemasters had once inquired of his slaves, whether they desired [manumission](#) — and had discovered to his surprise that they did not. Darwin incautiously opinioned that to such an inquiry from such a source a slave could not afford to provide an honest response, whereupon FitzRoy experienced the 1st of his many detonations during this voyage. Informing his traveling companion that if he was going to have his word doubted they could no longer be together aboard the *Beagle*, he stormed away. Later that day he would cool down, and send a note requesting that his traveling companion “continue to live with him.”

RACE SLAVERY



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



April 28, Saturday: New French legislation reduced the number of capital offenses, ended the punishments of branding and mutilation, and allowed that juries might consider extenuating circumstances.

An army officer stationed at [Newport](#), Mann Page Lomax, [manumitted](#) five black [slaves](#) including his manservant William Howard and evidently two of his little sisters (that's a guess) Kitty Howard (12 years old) and Martha Howard, as well as Daniel and Maria Rollins. On the basis of the fact that all the slaves of [Rhode Island](#) were long since already emancipated, it is legitimate to presume that this officer would have arrived at his federal duty station on [Aquidneck Island](#) from a state in which slavery was legal, bringing this 21-year-old slave manservant with him and perhaps his sisters when he came. Since the officer was to serve at a federal installation, he and his servants would have been subject to federal law rather than to state law (and of course there was no federal law prohibiting such a situation since no federal law from our Constitution on down had ever ever ever so much as referred to, so much as mentioned, any of the terms “slave,” “slavery,” “enslavement” or any variation thereof, and would continue to make no reference whatever to this practice all the way down until the XIIIth Amendment to the US Constitution.⁹²

92. Note that if, in a later timeframe, Dr. John Emerson had behaved similarly in regard to his slave manservant Dred Scott –whom he was purchasing in this year– when he arrived at his duty station in Fort Snelling, Minnesota Territory –rather than continuing as he did, to hold this manservant in chattel bondage– then the U.S. Supreme Court’s disastrous “has no rights which a white man is obligated to respect” decision would never have had occasion to be rendered! Our national history might have been so very different!



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax an [cancelled]
Officer in the United States Army now Stationed at Newport in the State of Rhode Island
Send Greeting
Know Ye that I the said Mann Page Lomax for and in Consider
ation of the good Conduct fidelity and integrity of my Negro Slave William Howard
now about the age of twenty one years and for other good Considerations me thereunto
moving, have Manumitted and discharged from servitude my said Negro Slave William
Howard, and by these presents do Manumitt and discharge from Slavery and Servitude
my said Negro Slave forever hereafter. And I do hereby notify all persons that said
William Howard is to all intents and purposes a free man and request that he may be
dealt with accordingly. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and
seal this twenty eighth day of April in the years one thousand eight hundred and thirty two
Attest. Wm. Ellery
Richard K Randolph M. P. Lomax (L.S.)

To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax an [cancelled]
Officer in the United States Army now Stationed at Newport in the State of Rhode Island
Send Greeting
Know Ye that I the said Mann Page Lomax for and in Consider
ation of the good Conduct fidelity and integrity of my Negro Slave William Howard
now about the age of twenty one years and for other good Considerations me thereunto
moving, have Manumitted and discharged from servitude my said Negro Slave William
Howard, and by these presents do Manumitt and discharge from Slavery and Servitude
my said Negro Slave forever hereafter. And I do hereby notify all persons that said
William Howard is to all intents and purposes a free man and request that he may be
dealt with accordingly. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and
seal this twenty eighth day of April in the years one thousand eight hundred and thirty two
Attest. Wm. Ellery
Richard K Randolph M. P. Lomax (L.S.)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Copied from book 70 page 197.

*To all Persons to whom these Presents shall come
I Mann Page Lomax an officer in the United States service now stationed at*
----- page 332 -----

Newport in the State of Rhode Island *Send Greeting* *Know Ye*
That I the said Mann Page Lomax for and in consideration of the good conduct fidel-
ity and integrity of my negro slave Daniel Rollins and for other good considerations me
thereunto moving have manumitted and discharged from servitude my said negro slave
Daniel Rollins and do by these presents manumit and discharge from slavery and
servitude my said negro slave forever hereafter. *And I do hereby notify all persons*
that said Daniel Rollins is to all intents and purposes a free man and request that
he may be dealt with accordingly. *In witness whereof I have hereunto*
set my hand and seal this twenty eighth day of April in the year one thousand eight hun-
dred and thirty two.

Attest Wm Ellery
Richard K. Randolph

M. P. Lomax ((L.S.))

Recorded June 14, 1837
at 11 oclock A.M.

Witness *Richard M. Field*
County Clerk.

Copied from book 70 page 197.

To all Persons to whom these Presents shall come
Know *That I Mann Page Lomax an officer in the United States service*
now stationed at Newport in the State of Rhode Island *Send Greeting* *I the said*
Mann Page Lomax for and in consideration of the good conduct fidelity and integrity
of my negro slave Maria Rollins and for other good considerations me thereunto moving
have manumitted and discharged from servitude my said negro slave Maria Rol
lins and do by these presents manumit and discharge from slavery and servitude my
said negro slave forever hereafter. *And I do hereby notify all persons that said*
Maria Rollins is to all intents and purposes a free man and request that she
may be dealt with accordingly. *In witness whereof I have hereunto set my*
hand and seal this 28. day of April in the year one thousand eight hundred and
thirty two.

Attest
Wm Ellery *Richard K. Randolph*

M. P. Lomax ((L.S.))

Recorded June 14, 1837
at 11 oclock A.M.

Witness *Richard M. Field*
County Clerk.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax
an Officer in the United States Army now Stationed at Newport in the State
of Rhode Island, send Greeting

Know Ye that I the said Mann
Page Lomax for and in Consideration of the good Conduct, fidelity and
integrity of my negro slave Kitty Howard now about the age of twelve
years and for other good Considerations me thereunto moving, have manumitted
and discharged from servitude my said negro slave Kitty Howard and by these
presents do manumitt and discharge from slavery and servitude my said negro
slave forever hereafter,

And I do hereby notify all persons that said Kitty Howard
is to all intents and purposes a free person, and request that she may be dealt with
accordingly.

In Witnes whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal
the twenty eighth day of April in the year one thousand eight hundred and
thirty two

Attest. Wm Ellery
Richard K Randolph.

MPLomax ((L.S.))

Recorded March 18. 1834.

at 9 O'clock A.M.

Witness
Richard M. Field City Clerk

To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax
an Officer in the United States Army now Stationed at Newport in the State
of Rhode Island, send Greeting

Know Ye that I the said Mann
Page Lomax for and in Consideration of the good Conduct, fidelity and
integrity of my negro slave Martha Howard now about the age of xxxxxxxx
years and for other good Considerations me thereunto moving, have manumitted
and discharged from servitude my said negro slave Martha Howard and by these
presents do manumitt and discharge from slavery and servitude my said negro
slave forever hereafter,

And I do hereby notify all persons that said Martha Howard
is to all intents and purposes a free person, and request that she may be dealt with
accordingly.

In Witnes whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal
the twenty eighth day of April in the year one thousand eight hundred and
thirty two

Attest. Wm Ellery
Richard K Randolph.

MPLomax ((L.S.))

Recorded March 18. 1834.

at 9 O'clock A.M.

Witness
Richard M. Field City Clerk

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



July: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Hebe*, master Almeida, J. de, on its one and only known [Middle Passage](#), delivered a cargo of 401 [enslaved](#) Africans at the port of Havana, Cuba.



According to a census the [slave](#) population on [St. Helena](#) was 645 and its value was being estimated at £28,062, assuming that slaves 55 or over were worth about £2.20 each more or less, that those aged between 50 and 55 were worth about £24.25 each more or less, that those between 45 and 50 were worth about £36.70 each more or less, and that the 500 slaves who were under 45 years of age were worth about £51.50 each more or less. If the East India Company desired to abolish slavery on the island, such estimates needed to be mandated as compensation rates to the slaves' owners. One-fifth of this population would be emancipated during this year, and one-fifth during each of the succeeding four years.

ST. HELENA RECORDS

By the completion of this buy-out program the government would have purchased and [manumitted](#) a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1833



Under the British Parliament's 3&4 Will IV c. 73 (An act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves; the so-called "Emancipation act"), [slavery](#) had been abolished in British colonies as of August 1, 1834 with the exceptions of India and [St. Helena](#). The some 800,000 former slaves were until 1840 to be held as compulsory "apprentices," indentured servants, and their former owners were to be compensated to the tune of over £20,000,000.

One out of every five slaves on the island of [St. Helena](#) had been purchased by the East India Company during the previous year, and granted [manumission](#) papers. During this year an additional one out of every five would be put through this process. By the completion of this buy-out program the government would have processed a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



August 28, Wednesday: Under the India Act, the island of [St. Helena](#) was no longer to be ruled by the Honourable East India Company, but from April 22, 1834, by His Majesty's Government.

ST. HELENA RECORDS

Subsequent to the passage of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act by Parliament, British captains who had been being caught continuing in these international business activities had been being fined £100 for every slave found on board their vessel. However, this 1807 law had by no means been effective in halting British participation in the [international slave trade](#) — because, when slavers were in danger of being overtaken by the British navy, their captains could sometimes reduce the fines by having the cargo of blacks shoved off the other side of the vessel, to be dragged under the waves by their chains.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



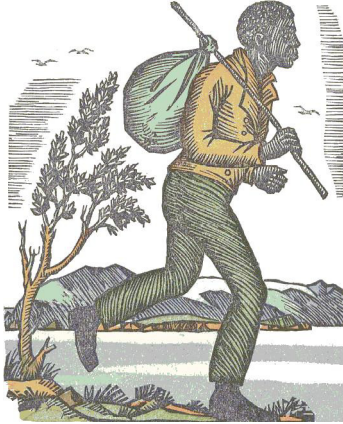
Some involved in the anti-trade campaign found themselves therefore arguing that to end this cruel practice the entire traffic in humans must be outlawed, and in 1823 a new Anti-Slavery Society had been formed.

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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Members had included Friend [Thomas Clarkson](#), Henry Peter Brougham, [William Wilberforce](#), and Thomas Fowell Buxton. On this day Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act. This act [manumitted](#) all slaves anywhere in the British Empire (such as, for instance, in our neighbor to the north, [Canada](#)) under the age of



six years with the British government itself to pay full compensation to the deprived slavemasters. All slaves in the West Indies already above the age of six were by this act to be bound as apprentices for a term of 5 to 7 years (this would be reduced to 2 years), to be followed by their manumission. Said liberation was scheduled to begin on August 1, 1834 [→](#) with the last batch of slaves to receive their manumission papers by August 1, 1838. [→](#) As a condition of their cooperation the white “owners” of these 700,000 black and red workers were to receive some £20,000,000 sterling in compensation. (For instance, the Bishop of Exeter alone, with 665 slaves to manumit, would receive £12,700 in compensation out of the government’s tax revenues.)

[ABOLITIONISM](#)[SLAVERY](#)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1834

→ James Gillespie Birney [manumitted](#) all the slaves whom he had inherited.



Since he had become persuaded of the fact that any gradual emancipation would merely stimulate the interstate slave trade, and since he had become persuaded that the dangers of a mixed labour system were greater than those of a straightforward emancipation, he formally repudiated all colonization projects and abandoned the Whig party. He delivered anti-slavery addresses in the North, accepted the vice-presidency of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and announced that his intention was to establish in the following year an anti-slavery journal in Danville. Kentucky society began to shun him. No one would grant him access to a public hall for a lecture and no printer would publish him. Such materials as he was able to get printed, such as *ON THE SIN OF HOLDING SLAVES* and *LETTER ON COLONIZATION*, and in the following year *VINDICATION OF ABOLITIONISTS*, were confiscated by the Southern postmasters.

By this year two out of every five slaves on the island of [St. Helena](#) had been purchased by the East India Company, and granted [manumission](#) papers. During this year an additional one out of every five would be put through this process. By the completion of this buy-out program the government would have processed a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.

→ August 1, Friday: Slavery already being illegal in England and [William Wilberforce](#) having emancipated the slaves of the English Antilles, at this point the British parliament emancipated the 800,000 black slaves of the British West Indies. In the beginning of this long process of emancipation, those under six years of age were freed, and all others were bound there as “apprentice laborers” to continue to serve their former owners at



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specified wages for the term of 5 to 7 years (later this would be reduced to 2 years) to be followed by their emancipation, a phase to be completed on August 1, 1838, under conditions of the Abolition Act of August 28, 1833. As a condition of their cooperation the white “owners” of these black and red “slaves” were to receive some £20,000,000 in compensation.

WALDEN: I sometimes wonder that we can be so frivolous, I may almost say, as to attend to the gross but somewhat foreign form of servitude called Negro Slavery, there are so many keen and subtle masters that enslave both north and south. It is hard to have a southern overseer; it is worse to have a northern one; but worst of all when you are the slave-driver of yourself. Talk of a divinity in man! Look at the teamster on the highway, wending to market by day or night; does any divinity stir within him? His highest duty to fodder and water his horses! What is his destiny to him compared with the shipping interests? Does not he drive for Squire Make-a-stir? How godlike, how immortal, is he? See how he cowers and sneaks, how vaguely all the day he fears, not being immortal nor divine, but the slave and prisoner of his own opinion of himself, a fame won by his own deeds. Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion. What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines, or rather indicates, his fate. Self-emancipation even in the West Indian provinces of the fancy and imagination, -what Wilberforce is there to bring that about?

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

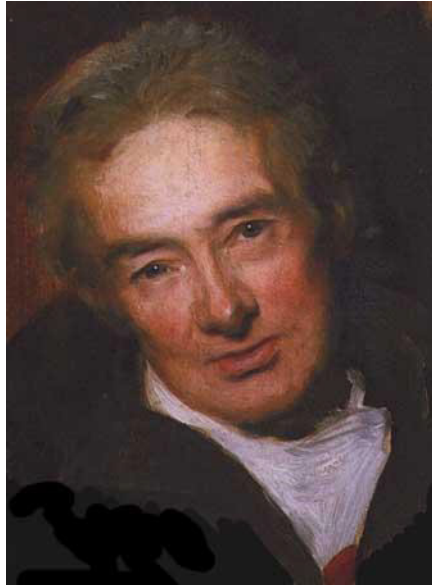
JOSEPH ADDISON

“CATO, A TRAGEDY”



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



35,000 slaves became free in South Africa and South Africa was on its march to becoming what it is now, a haven of sweetness and light (of course, this simplified account leaves out some of the intermediate stages in the South African progress).

With a large population of Quakers who were staunchly anti-slavery, [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) had become a stop on the Underground Railroad, helping blacks flee the oppression of the American Southern states, so it had acquired a reputation as a safe haven. There would be a few from the West Indies who would make their way there. These West Indians who would settle in the local area of course would remember this Emancipation Day and make it an annual event. Something for everyone, even for the white people: on this

ABOLITIONISM

momentous day, also, England forbade [hanging](#) as punishment for “returning too soon from transportation!”



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1835



One of Massachusetts's senators, Peleg Sprague, was in this year arguing for [slavery](#) by invoking the authority of Jesus Christ. [Jesus](#) meek and mild, who "would not interfere with the administration of the laws, or abrogate their authority," it seemed, could have been no abolitionist — or at least, not according to Senator Peleg Sprague!



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141



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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

The Reverend [William Henry Brisbane](#) published the first Baptist periodical to be produced outside Philadelphia, [The Southern Baptist and General Intelligencer](#) printed by James S. Burges of Charleston, South Carolina, the stated mission of which was to support slavery as a biblically mandated social and economic institution. The periodical would attempt to refute the antislavery writings in *THE ELEMENTS OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY* of the Reverend [Francis Wayland](#), President of [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

The Baptist reverend was struggling against himself: “I am no abolitionist.” Oh, no, **he** was a regular guy, **he** could not be one of those detested, deluded people! (Three years later, however, this abolitionism would overcome him — and a local historian would eventually write of him, because he had [manumitted](#) his slaves, that “He became, to the white population, the most hated man in the Beaufort District.”)



Concluding that emigration to Haiti indeed did offer the best alternative for his immediate family and for free mulattoes generally, the white Florida planter Zephaniah Kingsley carried out a colonization plan for his black and mixed-race family, by sending a son and other freed blacks ahead of him, to start a settlement on that Caribbean island. He would join them, bringing his black wife Anna Kingsley and other dependents, a year later. Eventually at least 53 of his former slaves would follow. A nine-year period of indentured servitude would end with [manumission](#) for these people, but other of Kingsley’s black slaves would remain on his Florida plantations — laboring in the sun to support this lovely little experiment in racial harmony.

By this year three out of every five [slaves](#) on the island of [St. Helena](#) had been purchased by the East India Company, and granted [manumission](#) papers. During this year an additional fifth would be put through the process. By the completion of this buy-out program during the following year the government would have processed a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.



November 13, Friday: [Jennings Beckwith](#) had returned from Missouri to Virginia before he died:

Sir Jennings Beckwith. Died at Mount Airy, Richmond County, on the 13th of November, Sir Jennings Beckwith, son of Jonathan and grandson of Sir Marmaduke Beckwith, Baronet, aged 72 years. Sir Jennings was the *Leather Stockings* of the Northern Neck. Much of his life had been spent wandering in the *Far West* on hunting excursions with the Indians and of late years he would live with



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

men as would fish with him in summer or fox hunt in winter. Within the last twelve months he had slept on the river shore in the sturgeon season and had been in at the death in search of sport, and had insuperable objections to spending time profitably – consequently he lived poor but respectable and esteemed by many friends, who regret and sincerely mourn his death.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Since [manumission](#) was technically not legally possible in [North Carolina](#), the tactic employed by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been to “sell” the chattel property of individual Quakers to their Yearly Meeting. Such a sale was, in its net effect, a manumission. When [Quakers](#) moved from North Carolina to Indiana, where manumission was legally an option, such actions could be more formally and accurately registered, as can be seen in the documents on the following screens.⁹³

[view the documents]

Although such actions could be more formally and accurately registered in Indiana, we happen to discover these records in the middle of a book titled “Apprentices Indentures I,” where they almost certainly were positioned intentionally to keep them away from general view and knowledge. Note that although the clerk of the county does not follow the Quaker usage of numbered months, the manumitter, Friend David White, does follow this usage:

93. If you are able to supply more information about the circumstances of this transaction freeing a total of 26 persons, or the genealogy or general history of the families involved, please do get in touch with Mr. David Diamond at dhd@dana.ucc.nau.edu. He is hoping to discover whether Henderson Lewelling’s father Mesheck Lewelling freed some slaves on his arrival in Indiana about 1822. He has been able to explain that most of the Quakers of this county in Piedmont Carolina moved to Indiana, settling mainly in Wayne and Henry counties. Althea Coffin, one of this group, recorded 400 Quaker families who left that part of North Carolina for that part of Indiana between 1820 and 1840, which means that literally thousands of people were on the move. Before and during this exodus some of the Monthly Meetings purchased slaves from their Quaker owners pending such transportation to a free state. Friend David White was acting as an agent of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. It seems very likely that Friend David’s stated personal purchase of Willis Perry and Job Felton, the heads of two of the families, was accomplished with Quaker Yearly Meeting funds. [Friend Levi Coffin](#), one of the witnesses, is now regarded as having been generally connected with the Underground Railroad project:



The documents here recorded at the courthouse had been executed on the 3rd and the 11th of October, 1835. It seems likely that the group of 25 persons of color (one baby was born after arrival in Indiana) had been accompanied northward as a unit by White. The records, although they consist of five transactions, actually reunited three families that had in North Carolina been split apart by sales to different whites. Indiana would turn out not to be such a fine place for free persons of color, for the state had passed a law requiring they each post a \$500 bond on entry. Other such unfriendly laws would be passed, and local Quaker meetings would petition the Indiana legislature against them. Henderson Lewelling would in 1837 move on from Indiana to the part of Wisconsin Territory that is now Iowa and become a public antislavery activist, assisting a branch of the Underground Railroad that assisted new freemen to come north out of Missouri.

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1 To All People to whom these presents may come—
 Nov. I now ye that V. David White of Perquimans County and
 13th State of North Carolina (but at this time in the County of
 1835 Wayne and State of Indiana) through and by the power and
 authority vested in me as one of the agents or trustees of the
 yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina
 I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana
 a certain persons of colour namely, Nanny, or Nancy, aged
 about thirty years wife of Willis Perry (of colour) and their said
 children, Tabitha Nancy, Leary, Rachel, Nancy and Willis
 and one child born in this county— Also Fudith aged about
 twenty six years the wife of Sol Felton (of colour) and their
 three sons named, Willis, Harvey and Randolph— all of
 whom belonged to the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends
 in North Carolina— Now I the said David White by and
 through the power and authority aforesaid doth by these pres-
 ents Emancipate and set free from slavery them the said Nanny
 and her children as above named And also the said wo-
 man Fudith and her children above named with full
 liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the
 benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs
 of the State of Indiana— In witness whereof I the said David
 White hath to these presents set my hand and seal the 3^d day
 of the 10th month 1835—
 Signed and delivered
 David White Seal



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov 13th 1835

To All People to whom these presents may come— Know ye that I, David White of Perquimans County and the State of North Carolina (but at this time in the County of Wayne and State of Indiana) through and by the power and authority vested in me as one of the agents or trustees of the yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana certain persons of colour namely, Nanny, or Nancy, age about thirty years wife of Willis Perry (of colour) and their said Children, Tabitha Nancy, Leary, Rachel, Nicey and Willis and one Child born in this county —Also Judith aged about twenty six years the wife of Job Felton (of colour) and their three sons named, Willis, Harvey and Randolph—all of whom belonged to the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina— Now I the said David White by and through the power and authority aforesaid doth by these presents Emancipate and set free from slavery them the said Nancy and her children as above named. And also the said woman Judith and her children above named with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana —In witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal the 3rd day of the 10th month of 1835—

Signed and delivered }

In presence of }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Josiah White State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace of the County aforesaid personally appeared David White the within named and acknowledged the within instrument of mansipussion [sic] and freedom from Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein described. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October A.D. 1835—

[signed] William Cox J.P. ((Seal))

Nov. 13th 1835

To All people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans [sic] County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) Through and by the power & authority vested in me by the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and by Jephtha White of Perquimans County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana certain Negroes or persons of colour (to wit.) James, commonly called James White and his wife Mary and their six children—Nancy, Betty, Jane, Anderson, Phereba, all of whom are now in the said County of Wayne & State of Indiana, the said James, Nancy and Betty, belonged to the said Yearly Meeting of Friend [sic] in North Carolina, and Mary, Elenor, Jane, Anderson and Phereba, belonged to the said Jephtha White. Now I, David White by the power & authority as above stated doth by these presents manumit and set free from Slavery, them the said James White and Mary his wife and their children Nancy, Betty, Elenor, Jane, Anderson & Phereba, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labor according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana —In witness whereof I the said David White have to these presents set my hand and seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835.

Sealed and delivered }

In the presence of }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Josiah White State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace within and for the County aforesaid personally came David White the within named and acknowledged the within instrument of mancemition [sic] and freedom from Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained—In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October A.C. 1835

[signed] William Cox J.P.((Seal))



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov. 13th 1835

To all people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) through and by the power and authority in me vested by the Yearly [sic] of the Society of Friends in North Carolina, I have removed from thence to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana a certain Man of colour named Douglass, commonly called Douglass White who formerly [sic] belonged to Miles White & Anthony B. Albertson & by them transfered [sic] to the said Society of Friends, said Douglass being about twenty nine years of age and of yellow complexion— And also by the power and authority given me by Sampson Lawrence a Man of couler [sic] of Perquimens [sic] County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana a coulered [sic] woman named Mary the daughter of and the property of the said Sampson and wife of the said Douglass. Also her three children, Grizilla, Margaret, & Eliza—Now I, the said David White by and with the Power and authority above stated doth by these presents Manumit & set free from Slavery them the said Douglass White and Mary his wife and their three children, Grizella, Margaret, & Eliza, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana —In Witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and Seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835—

Signed and delivered }

In presence of }

Josiah White State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace with and for said County came personally David White the within named and acknowledged the within Instrument of Manumission and freedom Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained—In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 9th day of October A.D. 1835—

[signed] William Cox J.P. ((Seal))

Nov 13th 1835

To All People to whom these presents may come Know ye [sic] that I, David White at present in Wayne County State of Indiana do hereby by these presents release and set free from Slavery a certain Negro man named Willis, commonally [sic] called Willis Perry of very dark complexion of middle sise [sic], and about thirty five years of age, He being the same that I purchased of James Perry Esq. of Pasquetank [sic] County North Carolina the 27th day of the 7th month last —In witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal this the 11th day of the 9th month 1835—

Sealed and delivered }

In presence of }

Levi Coffin John Fellow State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace in and for the county aforesaid this day personally came David White the within grantor and acknowledged the within deed of manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified—In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, September 11th 1835

[signed] Joseph Morrow J.P. ((Seal))



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov. 13th 1835

To All People to whom these present may come Know ye that I David White at present in Wayne County and State of Indiana do hereby by these present release manumit and set free from Slavery a certain Negro Man named Job, commonally [sic] Job Felton, tolerably dark complexion of large sise [sic] and about thirty five years of age, he being the same that I purchased of Reder Felton, of Perquimans County North Carolina the 3rd day of last month he the said Job being now in the said county of Wayne Indiana. In witness whereof I the said David White hath by these present set my hand and seal this the 11th day of the 9th month 1835—

Signed sealed and delivered }

In presence of }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Levi Coffin John Fellow State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

*before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace
in and for the County aforesaid this day personally*

came David White the within named grantor and acknowledged the within deed of Manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified— In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal September 11th 1835—

[signed] Joseph Morrow J. P. ((Seal))

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov.

13th

1835

To All people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans [sic] County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) Through and by the power & authority vested in me by the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and by Jeptha White of Perquimans County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana certain Negroes or persons of colour (to wit.) James, commonly called James White and his wife Mary and their six children - - Nancy, Betty, Jane, Anderson, Phereba, all of whom are now in the said County of Wayne & State of Indiana, the said James, Nancy and Betty, belonged to the said Yearly Meeting of Friend [sic] in North Carolina, and Mary, Elenor, Jane, Anderson and Phereba, belonged to the said Jeptha White. Now I, David White by the power & authority as above stated doth by these presents manumit and set free from Slavery, them the said James White and Mary his wife and their children Nancy, Betty, Elenor, Jane, Anderson & Phereba, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labor according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana - In witness whereof I the said David White have to these presents set my hand and seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835.

Sealed and delivered

In the presence of

Josiah White

[signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace within and for the County aforesaid personally came David White the within named and acknowledged the within instrument of manemition [sic] and freedom from Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained - In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October A. C. 1835



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov.

13th

1835

To all people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) through and by the power and authority in me vested by the Yearly [sic] of the Society of Friends in North Carolina, I have removed from thence to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana a certain Man of colour named Douglass, commonly called Douglass White who formerly [sic] belonged to Miles White & Anthony B. Albertson & by them transferred [sic] to the said Society of Friends, said Douglass being about twenty nine years of age and of yellow complexion - And also by the power and authority given me by Sampson Lawrence a Man of couler [sic] of Perquimans [sic] County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana a coulered [sic] woman named Mary the daughter of and the property of the said Sampson and wife of the said Douglass, Also her three children, Grizilla, Margaret, & Eliza - Now I, the said David White by and with the Power and authority above stated doth by these presents Manumit & set free from Slavery them the said Douglass White and Mary his wife and their three children, Grizella, Margaret, & Eliza, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana - In Witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and Seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835-

Signed and delivered

In presence of

Josiah White

[signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace with and for said County came personally David White the within named and acknowledged the within Instrument of Manumission and freedom Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 9th day of October A.D. 1835

A. D. 1835 T. D.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov
13th
1835

To All People to whom these presents may come Know ye [sic] that I, David White at present in Wayne County State of Indiana do hereby by these presents release and set free from Slavery a certain Negro man named Willis, commonally [sic] called Willis Perry of very dark complexion of middle size [sic], and about thirty five years of age. He being the same that I purchased of James Perry Esq. of Pasquetank [sic] County North Carolina the 27th day of the 7th month last - In witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal this the 11th day of the 9th month 1835 -

Sealed and delivered
In presence of

Levi Coffin
John Fellow

[signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County } Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace in and for the county aforesaid this day personally came David White the within grantor and acknowledged the within deed of manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, September 11th 1835

[signed] Joseph Morrow J.P. ((Seal))

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov

13th

1835

To All People to whom these presents may come -
Know ye that I David White of Perquimans County and the
State of North Carolina (but at this time in the County of Wayne
and State of Indiana) through and by the power and authority
vested in me as one of the agents or trustees of the yearly Meeting of the
Society of Friends in North Carolina I have removed to the
County of Wayne and State of Indiana certain persons of colour
namely, Nanny, or Nancy, age about thirty years wife of Willis
Perry (of colour) and their said Children, Tabitha Nancy,
Leary, Rachel, Nicey and Willis and one Child born in this
county - Also Judith aged about twenty six years the wife of
Job Felton (of colour) and their three sons named, Willis, Harvey
and Randolph - all of whom belonged to the Yearly Meeting of the
Society of Friends in North Carolina - Now I the said David
White by and through the power and authority aforesaid doth by these
presents Emancipate and set free from slavery them the said Nancy
and her children as above named. And also the said woman Judith
and her children above named with full liberty to act and manage for
themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the
laws and customs of the State of Indiana - In witness whereof I
the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal the
3rd day of the 10th month of 1835 -

Signed and delivered

In presence of } [signed] David White ((Seal))
Josiah White

State of Indiana }
Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice
of the peace of the County aforesaid personally
appeared David White the within named and acknowledged the
within instrument of manspuiission [sic] and freedom from Slavery to
be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein
described for the uses and purposes therein described. In testimony
whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October
A.D. 1835 -



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Nov.
13th
1835

To All People to whom these present may come Know ye that I David White at present in Wayne County and State of Indiana do hereby by these present release manumit and set free from Slavery a certain Negro Man named Job, commonly [sic] Job Felton, tolerably dark complexion of large size [sic] and about thirty five years of age, he being the same that I purchased of Roder Felton, of Perquimans County North Carolina the 3rd day of last month he the said Job being now in the said county of Wayne Indiana.

In witness whereof I the said David White hath by these present set my hand and seal this the 14th day of the 9th month 1835-
Signed sealed and delivered

In presence of
Levi Coffin

John Fellow

} [signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County } before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace in and for the County aforesaid this day personally came David White the within named grantor and acknowledged the within deed of Manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal September 14th 1835-

[signed] Joseph Morrow J. P. ((Seal))



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

1836

→ Isaac Ross, the owner of a 5,000-acre plantation with 225 [slaves](#), Prospect Hill in Jefferson County in Mississippi, on his deathbed instructed that at the point of his daughter Margaret's death, "Prospect Hill would be sold and the money used to pay the way for his slaves who wanted to emigrate to Liberia."



Although this daughter would not contest the will, it would be contested for years by a grandson, Isaac Ross Wade, in the Mississippi legislature as well as in court. It would not be until early 1848 that the first group of [manumitted](#) slaves at Prospect Hill would be able to begin their long journey of exile to a foreign continent. Ultimately there would be a colony made up of several hundred of Isaac Ross's slaves, conjoining themselves with another several hundred people who had been freed by other members of the extended Ross family in a colony at the mouth of the Sinoe River that they referred to as "Mississippi in Africa." Initially, in part because of disagreements between the Mississippi Colonization Society and the American Colonization Society, this was not considered to be part of the colony of Liberia that centered at Monrovia, but it would come under attack by local tribespeople who resented the privileged position of these freed slaves, the way they lorded it over the native Africans, and so eventually it would need to be made part of that independent nation.





MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



The US Federal Congress passed a resolution stating that it has no authority over state [slavery](#) laws.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

By this year four out of every five [slaves](#) on the island of [St. Helena](#) had been purchased by the East India Company, and granted [manumission](#) papers. During this year the final fifth would be put through the process. At the completion of this buy-out program the government had processed a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.

At the East India Company prison on [St. Helena](#) it was costing 4 shillings 8 pence per week to feed a prisoner, except that the ones on a rice and water punitive diet could be fed for merely 3 shillings 6 pence:

From the great increase of prisoners the Gaol is not sufficiently capacious to allow of any classification, and consequently the most notorious characters are mixed with children and others who are imprisoned for trivial offences and there are no means of inflicting solitary confinement in any way sufficient to make it efficacious, no Officer of the Prison resides within it and the prisoners after night may commit any offences upon each other, or suffer illness without the probability of their being heard – Five persons are confined in one Cell, some of which are only 10 feet in length & width. In summer the heat is intolerable, and 4 out of the 7 Cells being under ground are subject to damps from the run of Water, passing near the Prison and finding vent through the earth, to the walls. ... The Prison is also so constructed that every facility is afforded for self-destruction, of which three instances have occurred in a few years.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

In what is now South Africa, Boer farmers angry at the British abolition of [slavery](#) in the colonies continue to move north and east, founding the Orange Free State, Natal, and Transvaal.

In this year and the next, Friend [Joseph Sturge](#), a prosperous [Quaker](#) grain dealer of Birmingham, England, would be visiting the West Indies to learn the effects of the statute of Aug. 28, 1833, that had *de jure* [emancipated](#) the [slaves](#) of the British colonies but had substituted an easily abused “apprenticeship” system.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...”: The recent testimonies of Sturge, of Thome and Kimball, of Gurney, of Philipppo, are very explicit on this point, the capacity and the success of the colored and the black population in employments of skill, of profit, and of trust; and, best of all, is the testimony to their moderation.





MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



Summer: During this season [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) left Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) offered that:

If a law commands me to sin I will break it; if it calls me to suffer, I will let it take its course unresistingly.

Angelina produced a pamphlet AN APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF THE SOUTH (a few months later Sarah would produce a pamphlet AN EPISTLE TO THE CLERGY OF THE SOUTHERN STATES).

At this point the sisters were [manumitting](#) the [slaves](#) whom they had persuaded their mother to apportion to them as their part of the family estate. In South Carolina, officials would burn copies of these appeals and would proclaim that they would imprison the sisters should they ever return home. The speaking career of the Grimkés began with Angelina appearing in private homes before small groups of Philadelphia women. The sisters then moved to New-York and began to address larger gatherings in churches and public halls. In response to their appearances in New England, before mixed audiences, the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts generated a pastoral letter castigating women preachers and reformers.

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

AN EPISTLE

TO THE

CLERGY OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

BY SARAH M. GIMMER.

"And when he was come near, he beheld the city and wept over it, saying—
If thou hadst known, when thou, at least in this thy day, the things which be-
long unto thy peace!" Luke xix, 41—44.

BROTHERS BRAIDEN IN THE LINES:

It is because I feel a portion of that love glowing in my heart to-
wards you, which is infused into every human by the cordial reception
of the gospel of Jesus Christ, that I am induced to address you as fel-
low professors of his holy religion. To my dear native land, to the be-
loved relatives who are still breathing her tainted air, to the ministers of
Christ, even some of whom I have received the emblems of a Saviour's
love; my heart burns with feelings of intense solicitude, even with such
feelings, may I presume to say, as brought the gushing tears of com-
passion from the Redeemer of the world, when he wept over the city
which he loved, when with terrible pathos he exclaimed, "O Jerusa-
lem! Jerusalem! thou that kildest the prophets, and stonest them which
are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children to-
gether, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye
would not." Nay, these are the feelings which fill the hearts of North-
ern Abolitionists towards Southern slaveholders. You, my brethren,
notwithstanding the ban laid at Charleston—the outrages at Nashville
on the person of Dreese—the banishment of Harvey and Nel-
son—the arrest and imprisonment of our colored citizens—we can
still weep over you with undimmed ardor and anxiety, and exclaim,
O that ye would even now listen to the Christian exhortations of
those who feel that the principle they advocate "is not a vain thing for
you, because it is your life." For you the midnight tear is shed, for
you the daily and the nightly prayer ascends, that God in his unbounded
mercy may open your hearts to believe his awful denunciations against
those who "rob the poor because he is poor." And will you still disregard
the supplications of those who are lifting up their voices like the proph-
ets of old, and retarding the soul-destroying empire, "Why will ye die,
O house of Israel?" Oh, that I could clothe my feelings in eloquence
that would be irresistible, in tones of melting tenderness that would
soften the hearts of all, who hold their fellow men in bondage.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY



"What difference does it make under what rule a man lives who is soon to die, provided only that those who rule him do not compel him to what is impious and wicked?"



— [St. Augustine](#)

GOD IN CONCORD by Jane Langton © 1992

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Our whole life is startlingly moral.
Walden, "Higher Laws"

"For you," muttered Mary, reaching the telephone across the bed. It was six o'clock in the morning.

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Penguin Books USA Inc.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF THE SOUTH

Angelina E. Grimké

(New York: New York Anti-Slavery Society, 1836)

"Then Mordecai commanded to answer Ester, Think not within thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house more than all the Jews. For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place: but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this. And Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer: – and so I will go in unto the king, which is not according to law, and *if I perish, I perish.*" Esther IV.13-16.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

It is because I feel a deep and tender interest in your present and eternal welfare that I am willing thus publicly to address you. Some of you have loved me as a relative, and some have felt bound to me in Christian sympathy, and Gospel fellowship; and even when compelled by a strong sense of duty, to break those outward bonds of union which bound us together as members of the same community, and members of the same religious denomination, you were generous enough to give me credit, for sincerity as a Christian, though you believed I had been most strangely deceived. I thanked you then for your kindness, and I ask you now, for the sake of former confidence, and former friendship, to read the following pages in the spirit of calm investigation and fervent prayer. It is because you have known me, that I write thus unto you.

But there are other Christian women scattered over the Southern States, a very large number of whom have never seen me, and never heard my name, and who feel *no* interest whatever in me. But I feel an interest in *you*, as branches of the same vine from whose root I daily draw the principle of spiritual equality – Yes! Sisters in Christ I feel an interest in *you*, and often has the secret prayer arisen on your behalf, Lord "open thou their eyes that they may see wondrous things out of thy Law" – It is then, because I *do* feel and *do* pray for you, that I thus address you upon a subject about which of all others, perhaps you would rather not hear any thing; but, "would to God ye could bear with me a little in my folly, and indeed bear with me, for I am jealous over you with godly jealousy." Be not afraid then to read my appeal; it is *not* written in the heat of passion or prejudice, but in that solemn calmness which is the result of conviction and duty. It is true, I am going to tell you unwelcome truths, but I mean to speak those *truths in love*, and remember Solomon says, "faithful are the wounds of a friend." I do not believe the time has yet come when *Christian women* "will not endure sound doctrine," even on the subject of Slavery, if it is spoken to them in tenderness and love, therefore I now address



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you.

To all of you then, known or unknown, relatives or strangers, (for you are all one in Christ,) I would speak. I have felt for you at this time, when unwelcome light is pouring in upon the world on the subject of slavery; light which even Christians would exclude, if they could, from our country, or at any rate from the southern portion of it, saying, as its rays strike the rock bound coasts of New England and scatter their warmth and radiance over her hills and valleys, and from thence travel onward over the Palisades of the Hudson, and down the soft flowing waters of the Delaware and gild the waves of the Potomac, "hitherto shalt thou come and no further;" I know that even professors of His name who has been emphatically called the "Light of the World" would, if they could, build a wall of adamant around the Southern States whose top might reach unto heaven, in order to shut out the light which is bounding from mountain to mountain and from the hills to the plains and valleys beneath, through the vast extent of our Northern States. But believe me, when I tell you, their attempts will be as utterly fruitless as were the efforts of the builders of Babel; and why? Because moral, like natural light, is so extremely subtle in its nature as to overleap all human barriers, and laugh at the puny efforts of man to control it. All the excuses and palliations of this system must inevitably be swept away, just as other "refuges of lies" have been, by the irresistible torrent of a rectified public opinion. "The supporters of the slave system," says Jonathan Demin in his admirable work on the Principles of Morality, "will hereafter be regarded with the same public feeling, as he who was an advocate for the slave trade now is. "It will be, and that very soon, clearly perceived and fully acknowledged by all the virtuous and the candid, that in principle it is as sinful to hold a human being in bondage who has been born in Carolina, as one who has been born in Africa. All that sophistry of argument which has been employed to prove, that although it is sinful to send to Africa to procure men and women as slaves, who have never been in slavery, that still, it is not sinful to keep those in bondage who have come down by inheritance, will be utterly overthrown. We must come back to the good old doctrine of our forefathers who declared to the world, "this self evident truth that *all* men are created equal, and that they have certain *inalienable* rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is even a greater absurdity to suppose a man can be legally born a slave under our free Republican Government, than under the petty despotisms of barbarian Africa. If then, we have no right to enslave an African, surely we can have none to enslave an American; if it is a self evident truth that *all* men, every where and of every color are born equal, and have an *inalienable right to liberty*, then it is equally true that *no* man can be born a slave, and no man can ever *rightfully* be reduced to *involuntary* bondage and held as a slave, however fair may be the claim of his master or mistress through wills and title-deeds.



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But after all, it may be said, our fathers were certainly mistaken, for the Bible sanctions Slavery, and that is the highest authority. Now the Bible is my ultimate appeal on all matters of faith and practice, and it is to *this test* I am anxious to bring the subject at issue between us. Let us then begin with Adam and examine the charter of privileges which was given to him. "Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. "In the eighth Psalm we have a still fuller description of this charter which through Adam was given to all mankind. "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet. All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas. "And after the flood when this charter of human rights was renewed, we find *no additional* power vested in man. "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. "In this charter, although the different kinds of *irrational* beings are so particularly enumerated, and supreme dominion over *all of them* is granted, yet *man* is never vested with this dominion over *his fellow man*; he was never told that any of the human species were put *under his feet*; it was only all *things*, and man, who was created in the image of his Maker, *never* can properly be termed a *thing*, though the laws of Slave States do call him "a chattel personal; "Man, then I assert *never* was put *under the feet of man*, by that first charter of human rights which was given by God, to the Fathers of the Antediluvian and Postdiluvian worlds, therefore this doctrine of equality is based on the Bible.

But it may be argued, that in the very chapter of Genesis from which I have last quoted, will be found the curse pronounced upon Canaan, by which his posterity was consigned to servitude under his brothers Shem and Japheth. I know this prophecy was uttered, was most fearfully and wonderfully fulfilled, through the immediate descendants of Canaan, i.e. the Canaanites, and I do not know but that it has been through all the children of Ham, but I do know that prophecy does *not* tell us what *ought to be*, but what actually does take place, ages after it has been delivered, and that if we justify America for enslaving the children of Africa, we must also justify Egypt for reducing the children of Israel to bondage, for the latter was foretold as explicitly as the former. I am well aware that prophecy has often been urged as an excuse for Slavery, but be not deceived, the fulfilment of prophecy will *not cover one sin* in the awful day of account. Hear what our Saviour says on this subject; "it must needs be that offences come, but *woe unto that man through whom they come*" – Witness some fulfilment of this declaration in the tremendous destruction of Jerusalem, occasioned by that most nefarious of all crimes the crucifixion of the Son of God. Did the fact of that event having been foretold, exculpate the Jews from sin in perpetuating it; No – for hear what the Apostle Peter



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says to them on this subject, "Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by *wicked* hands have crucified and slain. "Other striking instances might be adduced, but these will suffice.

But it has been urged that the patriarchs held slaves, and therefore, slavery is right. Do you really believe that patriarchal servitude was like American slavery? Can you believe it? If so, read the history of these primitive fathers of the church and be undeceived. Look at Abraham, though so great a man, going to the herd himself and fetching a calf from thence and serving it up with his own hands, for the entertainment of his guests. Look at Sarah, that princess as her name signifies, baking cakes upon the hearth. If the servants they had were like Southern slaves, would they have performed such comparatively menial offices for themselves? Hear too the plaintive lamentation of Abraham when he feared he should have no son to bear his name down to posterity. "Behold thou hast given me no seed, &c, one born in my house *is mine* heir. "From this it appears that one of his *servants* was to inherit his immense estate. Is this like Southern slavery? I leave it to your own good sense and candor to decide. Besides, such was the footing upon which Abraham was with *his* servants, that he trusted them with arms. Are slaveholders willing to put swords and pistols into the hands of their slaves? He was as a father among his servants; what are planters and masters generally among theirs? When the institution of circumcision was established, Abraham was commanded thus; "He that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man-child in your generations; he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger which is not of thy seed. "And to render this command with regard to his *servants* still more impressive it is repeated in the very next verse; and herein we may perceive the great care which was taken by God to guard the *rights of servants* even under this "dark dispensation. "What too was the testimony given to the faithfulness of this eminent patriarch. "For I know him that he will command his children and his *household* after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment. "Now my dear friends many of you believe that circumcision has been superseded by baptism in the Church; Are you careful to have *all* that are born in your house or bought with money of any stranger, baptized? Are you as faithful as Abraham to command *your household to keep the way of the Lord*? I leave it to your own consciences to decide. Was patriarchal servitude then like American Slavery?

But I shall be told, God sanctioned Slavery, yea commanded Slavery under the Jewish Dispensation. Let us examine this subject calmly and prayerfully. I admit that a species of *servitude* was permitted to the Jews, but in studying the subject I have been struck with wonder and admiration at perceiving how carefully the servant was guarded from violence, injustice and wrong. I will first inform you how these servants became servants, for I think this a very important part of our subject.



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From consulting Horne, Calmet, and the Bible, I find there were six different ways by which the Hebrews became servants legally.

- If reduced to extreme poverty, a Hebrew might sell himself, i.e. his services, for six years, in which case *he* received the purchase money *himself*. Lev. xxv, 39.
- A father might sell his children as servants, i.e. his *daughters*, in which circumstance it was understood the daughter was to be the wife or daughter-in-law of the man who bought her, and the *father* received the price. In other words, Jewish women were sold as *white women* were in the first settlement of Virginia – as *wives*, not as slaves. Ex. xxi, 7.
- Insolvent debtors might be delivered to their creditors as servants. 2 Kings iv, 1.
- Thieves not able to make restitution for their thefts, were sold for the benefit of the injured person. Ex. xxii, 3.
- They might be born in servitude. Ex. xxi, 4.
- If a Hebrew had sold himself to a rich Gentile, he might be redeemed by one of his brethren at any time the money was offered; and he who redeemed him, was *not* to take advantage of the favor thus conferred, and rule over him with rigor. Lev. xxv, 47-55.

Before going into an examination of the laws by which these servants were protected, I would just ask whether American slaves have become slaves in any of the ways in which the Hebrews became servants. Did they sell themselves into slavery and receive the purchase money into their own hands? No! Did they become insolvent, and by their own imprudence subject themselves to be sold as slaves? No! Did they steal the property of another, and were they sold to make restitution for their crimes? No! Did their present masters, as an act of kindness, redeem them from some heathen tyrant to whom *they had sold themselves* in the dark hour of adversity? No! Were they born in slavery? No! No! not according to *Jewish Law*, for the servants who were born in servitude among them, were born of parents who had *sold themselves* for six years: Ex. xxi, 4. Were the female slaves of the South sold by their fathers? How shall I answer this question? Thousands and tens of thousands never were, *their* fathers never have received the poor compensation of silver or gold for the tears and toils, the suffering, the anguish, and hopeless bondage of *their* daughters. They labor day by day, and year by year, side by side, in the same field, if haply their daughters are permitted to remain on the same plantation with them, instead of being as they often are, separated from their parents and sold into distant states, never again to meet on earth. But do the *fathers of the South* ever *sell their daughters*? My heart beats, and my hand trembles, as I write the awful affirmative, Yes! The fathers of this Christian land often sell their daughters, *not* as Jewish parents did, to be the wives and daughters-in-law of the man who buys them, but to be the abject slaves of petty tyrants and irresponsible masters. Is it no so,



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my friends? I leave it to your own candor to corroborate my assertion. Southern slaves then have *not* become slaves in any of the six different ways in which Hebrews became servants, and I hesitate not to say that American masters *cannot* according to *Jewish law* substantiate their claim to the men, women, or children they now hold in bondage.

But there was one way in which a Jew might be illegally reduced to servitude; it was this, he might be *stolen* and afterwards sold as a slave, as was Joseph. To guard most effectually against this dreadful crime of manstealing, God enacted this severe law. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."⁹⁴ As I have tried American Slavery by *legal* Hebrew servitude, and found, (to your surprise, perhaps,) that Jewish law cannot justify the slaveholder's claim, let us now try it by *illegal* Hebrew bondage. Have the Southern slaves then been stolen? If they did not sell themselves into bondage; if they were not sold as insolvent debtors or as thieves; if they were not redeemed from a heathen master to whom *they had sold themselves*; if they were not born in servitude according to Hebrew law; and if the females were not sold by their fathers as wives and daughters-in-law to those who purchased them; then what shall we say of them? What can we say of them? But that according to *Hebrew Law* they have *been stolen*.

But I shall be told that the Jews had other servants who were absolute slaves. Let us look into this also. They had other servants who were procured in two different ways.

- Captives taken in war were reduced to bondage instead of being killed; but we are not told that their children were enslaved. Deut. xx 14.
- Bondmen and bondmaids might be bought from the heathen round them; these were left by fathers to their children after them, but it does not appear that the *children* of these servants ever were reduced to servitude. Lev. xxv, 44.

I will now try the right of the southern planter by the claims of Hebrew masters over their *heathen* slaves. Were the southern slaves taken captive in war? No! Were they bought from the heathen? No! for surely, no one will now vindicate the slave-trade so far as to assert that slaves were bought from the heathen who were obtained by that system of piracy. The only excuse for holding southern slaves is that they were born in slavery, but we have seen that they were *not* born in servitude as Jewish servants were, and that the children of heathen slaves were not legally subjected to bondage even under the Mosaic Law. How then have the slaves of the South been obtained?

I will next proceed to an examination of those laws which were enacted in order to protect the Hebrew and the Heathen servant; for I wish you to understand that *both* are protected by Him, of whom it is said "his mercies are over *all* his works." "I will

94. And again, "If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him; then *that thief shall die*, and thou shalt put evil from among you." Deut. xxiv, 7.



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first speak of those which secured the rights of Hebrew servants. This code was headed thus:

- Thou shalt *not* rule over him with *rigor*, but shalt fear thy God.
- If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh year he shall go out free for nothing. Ex. xxi, 2.⁹⁵
- If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him.
- If his master have given him a wife and she have borne him sons and daughters, the wife and her children shall be his master's and he shall go out by himself.
- If the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free; then his master shall bring him unto the Judges, and he shall bring him to the door, or unto to door-post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him *forever*. Ex. xxi, 5-6.
- If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go *free* for his eye's sake. And if he smite out his man servant's tooth or his maid servant's tooth, he shall let him go *free* for his tooth's sake. Ex. xxi, 26, 27.
- On the Sabbath rest was secured to servants by the fourth commandment. Ex. xx, 10.
- Servants were permitted to unite with their masters three times in every year in celebrating the Passover, the feast of Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles; every male throughout the land was to appear before the Lord at Jerusalem with a gift; here the bond and the free stood on common ground. Deut. xvi.
- If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money. Ex. xxi, 20, 21.

From these laws we learn that Hebrew men servants were bound to serve their masters *only six years*, unless their attachment to their employers, their wives and children, should induce them to wish to remain in servitude, in which case, in order to prevent the possibility of deception on the part of the master, the servant was first taken before the magistrate, where he openly declared his intention of continuing in his master's service, (probably a public register was kept of such) he was then conducted to the door of the house, (in warm climates doors are thrown open,) and *there* his ear was *publicly* bored, and by submitting to this operation he testified his willingness to

95. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty: Thou shalt furnish him *liberally* out of thy flock and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, shalt thou give unto him. Deut. xv, 13, 14.



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serve him *forever*, i.e. during his life, for Jewish Rabbins who must have understood Jewish *slavery*, (as it is called,) "affirm that servants were set free at the death of their masters and did *not* descend to their heirs: "or that he was to serve him until the year of Jubilee, when *all* servants were set at liberty. To protect servants from violence, it was ordained that if a master struck out the tooth or destroyed the eye of a servant, that servant immediately became *free*, for such an act of violence evidently showed he was unfit to possess the power of a master, and therefore that power was taken from him. All servants enjoyed the rest of the Sabbath and partook of the privileges and festivities of the three great Jewish Feasts; and if a servant died under the infliction of chastisement, his master was surely to be punished. As a tooth for a tooth and life for life was the Jewish law, of course he was punished with death. I know that great stress has been laid upon the following verse: "Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money. "

Slaveholders, and the apologists for slavery, have eagerly seized upon this little passage of scripture, and held it up as the master's Magna Charta, by which they were licensed by God himself to commit the greatest outrages upon the defenceless victims of their oppression. But, my friends, was it designed to be so? If our Heavenly Father would protect by law the eye and the tooth of a Hebrew servant, can we for a moment believe that he would abandon that same servant to the brutal rage of a master who would destroy even life itself. Do we not rather see in this, the *only* law which protected masters, and was it not right that in case of the death of a servant, one or two days after chastisement was inflicted, to which other circumstances might have contributed, that the master should be protected when, in all probability, he never intended to produce so fatal a result? But the phrase "he is his money "has been adduced to show that Hebrew servants were regarded as mere *things*, "chattels personal; "if, so, why were so many laws made to *secure their rights as men*, and to ensure their rising into equality and freedom? If they were mere *things*, why were they regarded as responsible beings, and one law made for them as well as their masters? But I pass on now to the consideration of how the *female* Jewish servants were protected by *law*.

- If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto another nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.
- If he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.
- If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.
- If he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out *free* without money.



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On these laws I will give you Calmet's remarks; "A father could not sell his daughter as a slave, according to the Rabbins, until she was at the age of puberty, and unless he were reduced to the utmost indigence. Besides, when a master bought an Isrealitish girl, it was *always* with the presumption that he would take her to wife. Hence Moses adds 'if she please not her master, and he does not think fit to marry her, he shall set her at liberty.' Or according to the Hebrew, 'he shall let her be redeemed.' 'To sell her to another nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her;' as to the engagement implied, at least of taking her to wife. 'If he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters, i.e. he shall give her her dowry, her clothes and compensation for her virginity; if he does none of these three, she shall *go out free* without money. "Thus were the *rights of female servants carefully secured by law* under the Jewish Dispensation; and now I would ask, are the rights of female slaves at the South thus secured? Are *they* sold only as wives and daughters-in-law, and when not treated as such, are they allowed to *go out free*? No! They have *all* not only been illegally obtained as servants according to Hebrew law, but they are also illegally *held* in bondage. Masters at the South and West have all forfeited their claims, (*if they ever had any,*) to their female slaves.

We come now to examine the case of those servants who were "of the heathen round about; "Were *they* left entirely unprotected by law? Horne in speaking of the law, "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor, but shalt fear thy God, "remarks, "this law Lev. xxv, 43, it is true speaks expressly of slaves who were of Hebrew descent; but as *alien born* slaves were engrafted into the Hebrew Church by circumcision, *there is no doubt* but that it applied to *all* slaves; "if so, then we may reasonably suppose that the other protective laws extended to them also; and that the only difference between Hebrew and Heathen servants lay in this, that the former served but six years unless they chose to remain longer, and were always freed at the death of their masters; whereas the latter served until the year of Jubilee, though that might include a period of forty-nine years, and were left from father to son.

There are however two other laws which I have not yet noticed. The one effectually prevented *all involuntary* servitude, and the other completely abolished Jewish servitude every fifty years. They were equally operative upon the Heathen and the Hebrew.

- "Thou shalt *not* deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt *not* oppress him. "Deut. xxiii, 15, 16.
- "and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim *Liberty* throughout *all* the land, unto *all* the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you. "Lev. xxv, 10.

Here, then, we see that by this first law, the *door of Freedom*



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was opened wide to every servant who had any cause whatever for complaint; if he was unhappy with his master, all he had to do was to leave him, and no man had a right to deliver him back to him again, and not only so, but the absconded servant was to choose where he should live, and no Jew was permitted to oppress him. He left his master just as our Northern servants leave us; we have no power to compel them to remain with us, and no man has any right to oppress them; they go and dwell in that place where he chooseth them, and live just where they like. Is it so at the South? Is the poor runaway slave protected by law from the violence of that master whose oppression and cruelty has driven him from his plantation or his house? No! no! Even the free states of the North are compelled to deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto them. By human law, under the Christian Dispensation, in the nineteenth century we are commanded to do, what God more than three thousand years ago, under the Mosaic Dispensation, positively commanded the Jews not to do. In the wide domain even of our free states, there is not one city of refuge for the poor runaway fugitive; not one spot upon which he can stand and say, I am a free man – I am protected in my rights as a man, by the strong arm of the law; no! not one. How long the North will thus shake hands with the South in sin, I know not. How long she will stand by like the persecutor Saul, consenting unto the death of Stephen, and keeping the raiment of them that slew him. I know not; but one thing I do know, the guilt of the North is increasing in a tremendous ratio as light is pouring in upon her on the subject and the sin of slavery. As the sun of righteousness climbs higher and higher in the moral heavens, she will stand still more and more abashed as the query is thundered down into her ear, "Who hath required this at thy hand? "It will be found no excuse then that the Constitution of our country required that persons bound to service escaping from their masters should be delivered up; no more excuse than was the reason which Adam assigned for eating the forbidden fruit. He was condemned and punished because he hearkened to the voice of his wife, rather than to the command of his Maker; and we will assuredly be condemned and punished for obeying Man rather than God, if we do not speedily repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Yea, are we not receiving chastisement even now?

But by the second of these laws a still more astonishing fact is disclosed. If the first effectually prevented all involuntary servitude, the last absolutely forbade even voluntary servitude being perpetual. On the great day of atonement every fiftieth year the Jubilee trumpet was sounded throughout the land of Judea, and Liberty was proclaimed to all the inhabitants thereof. I will not say that the servants' chains fell off and their manacles were burst, for there is no evidence that Jewish servants ever felt the weight of iron chains, and collars, and handcuffs; but I do say that even the man who had voluntarily sold himself and the heathen who had been sold to a Hebrew master, were set free, the one as well as the other. This law



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was evidently designed to prevent the oppression of the poor, and the possibility of such a thing as *perpetual servitude* existing among them.

Where, then, I would ask, is the warrant, the justification, or the palliation of American slavery from Hebrew servitude? How many of the southern slaves would now be in bondage according to the laws of Moses; Not one. You may observe that I have carefully avoided using the term *slavery* when speaking of Jewish servitude; and simply for this reason, that *no such thing* existed among that people; the word translated servant does *not* mean *slave*, it is the same that is applied to Abraham, to Moses, to Elisha and the prophets generally. *Slavery* then never existed under the Jewish Dispensation at all, and I cannot but regard it as an aspersion on the character of Him who is "glorious in Holiness "for any one to assert that "*God sanctioned, yea commanded slavery* under the old dispensation. "I would fain lift my feeble voice to vindicate Jehovah's character from so foul a slander. If slaveholders are determined to hold slaves as long as they can, let them not dare to say that the God of mercy and of truth ever sanctioned such a system of cruelty and wrong. It is blasphemy against Him.

We have seen that the code of laws framed by Moses with regard to servants was designed to *protect them as men and women*, to secure to them their *rights as human beings*, to guard them from oppression and defend them from violence of every kind. Let us now turn to the Slave laws of the South and West and examine them too.

I will give you the substance only, because I fear I will trespass too much on your time, were I to quote them at length.

- *Slavery* is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants to the latest posterity.
- the labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the human brute; and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.⁹⁶
- The slave being considered a personal chattel may be sold or pledged, or leased at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts or taxes either of a living or a dead master. Sold at auction, either individually, or in lots to suit the purchaser, he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

96. There are laws in some of the slave states, limiting the labor which the master may require of the slave to fourteen hours daily. In some of the states there are laws requiring the masters to furnish a certain amount of food and clothing, as for instance, *one quart* of corn per day, or *one peck* per week, or *one bushel* per month, and "*one linen shirt and pantaloons for the summer, and a linen shirt and a woolen great coat and pantaloons for the winter, "&c.*



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- Slaves can make no contracts and have no *legal* right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings and the legacies of friends belong in point of law to their masters.
- Neither a slave nor a free colored person can be a witness against any *white*, or free person, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit, if such testimony would be for the benefit of a *slave*; but they may give testimony *against a fellow slave*, or free colored man, even in cases affecting life, if the *master* is to reap the advantage of it.
- The slave may be punished at his master's discretion – without trial – without any means of legal redress; whether his offence be real or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or persons, he may choose to appoint.
- The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under *any* circumstances, *his* only safety consists in the fact that his *owner* may bring suit and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.
- Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.
- The slave is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations.
- The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.
- The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation.
- The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.
- There is in this country a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the *white* man, is considered highly criminal in the *slave*; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished in the negro with death.
- The laws operate most oppressively upon free people of color.⁹⁷

Shall I ask you now my friends, to draw the *parallel* between Jewish *servitude* and American *slavery*? No! For there is *no likeness* in the two systems; I ask you rather to mark the contrast. The laws of Moses *protected servants* in their *rights* as *men and women*, guarded them from oppression and defended them from wrong. The Code Noir of the South *robs the slave of all his rights as a man*, reduces him to a chattel personal, and defends the *master*, in the exercise of the most unnatural and unwarantable power over his slave. They each bear the impress of the hand which formed them. The attributes of justice and

97. But “still,” to use the language of Judge Stroud “the slave is entirely under the control of his master, — is unprovided with a protector, — and, especially as he cannot be a witness or make complaint in any known mode against his master, the *apparent* object of these laws may *always* be defeated.” Ed.



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mercy are shadowed out in the Hebrew code; those of injustice and cruelty, in the Code Noir of America. Truly it was wise in the slaveholders of the South to declare themselves to be "chattels personal;" for before they could be robbed of wages, wives, children, and friends, it was absolutely necessary to deny they were human beings. It is wise in them, to keep them in abject ignorance, for the strong man armed must be bound down with the iron chains of nescience before we can rob him of his rights as a man; we must reduce him to a *thing* before we can claim the right to set our feet upon his neck, because it was only *all things* which were originally *put under the feet of man* by the Almighty and Beneficent Father of all, who has declared himself to be *no respecter of persons*, whether red, white or black.

But some have even said that Jesus Christ did not condemn slavery. To this I reply that our Holy Redeemer lived and preached among the Jews only. The laws which Moses had enacted fifteen hundred years previous to his appearance among them, had never been annulled, and these laws protected every servant in Palestine. If then He did not condemn Jewish servitude this does not prove that he would not have condemned such a monstrous system as that of American *slavery* if that had existed among them. But did not Jesus condemn slavery? Let us examine some of his precepts. "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,*" Let every slaveholder apply these queries to his own heart; Am *I* willing to be a slave – Am *I* willing to see my mother as a slave, or my father, my sister, or my brother? If *not*, then in holding others as slaves, I am doing what I would *not* wish to be done to me or any relative I have; and thus have I broken this golden rule which was given *me* to walk by.

But some slaveholders have said, "we were never in bondage to any man," and therefore the yoke of bondage would be insufferable to us, but slaves are accustomed to it, their backs are fitted to the burden. Well, I am willing to admit that you who have lived in freedom would find slavery even more oppressive than the poor slave does, but then you may try this question in another form – Am I willing to reduce *my little child* to slavery? You know that *if it is brought up a slave* it will never know any contrast, between freedom and bondage, its back will become fitted to the burden just as the negro child's does – *not by nature* – but by daily, violent pressure, in the same way that the head of an Indian child becomes flattened by the boards in which it is bound. It has been justly remarked that "*God never made a slave,*" he made man upright; his back was *not* made to carry burdens, nor his neck to wear a yoke. And the *man* must be crushed within him, before *his* back can be *fitted* to the burden of perpetual slavery; and that his back is *not* fitted to it, is manifest by the insurrections that so often disturb the peace and security of slaveholding countries. Who ever heard of a rebellion of the beasts of the field; and why not? simply because *they* were all placed *under the feet of man*, it was originally designed that they should serve him, therefore their



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necks have been formed for the yoke, and their backs for the burden; *not so with man*, intellectual, immortal man! I appeal to you, my friends, as mothers; Are you willing to enslave *your* children? You start back with horror and indignation at such a question. But why, if slavery is *no wrong* to those upon whom it is imposed? why, if as has often been said, slaves are happier than their masters, free from the cares and perplexities of providing for themselves and their families? why not place *your children* in the way of being supported without your having the trouble to provide for them, or they for themselves? Do you not perceive that as soon as this golden rule of action is applied to *yourselves* that you involuntarily shrink from the test; as soon as *your* actions are weighed in *this* balance of the sanctuary that *you are found wanting*? Try yourselves by another of the Divine precepts, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Can we love a man *as* we love *ourselves* if we do, and continue to do unto him, what we would not wish any one to do to us? Look too, at Christ's example, what does he say of himself, "I came *not* to be ministered unto, but to minister." Can you for a moment imagine the meek, the lowly, and compassionate Savior, a *slaveholder*? do you not shudder at this thought as much as at that of his being a *warrior*? But why, if slavery is not sinful? Again, it has been said, the Apostle Paul did not condemn Slavery, for he sent Onesimus back to Philemon. I do not think it can be said he sent him back, for no coercion was made use of. Onesimus was not thrown into prison and then sent back in chains to his master, as your runaway slaves often are – this could not possibly have been the case, because you know Paul as a Jew, was *bound to protect* the runaway, *he had no right* to send any fugitive back to his master. The state of the case then seems to have been this. Onesimus had been an unprofitable servant to Philemon and left him – he afterwards became converted under the Apostle's preaching, and seeing that he had been to blame in his conduct, and desiring by future fidelity to atone for past error, he wished to return, and the Apostle gave him the letter we now have as a recommendation to Philemon, informing him of the conversion of Onesimus, and entreating him as "Paul the aged" "to receive him, *not* now as a *servant* but *above* a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord. If thou count *me* therefore as a partner, *receive him as myself*. This then surely cannot be forced into a justification of the practice of returning runaway slaves back to their masters, to be punished with cruel beatings and scourging as they often are. Besides the word [δούλος, *doúlos*] here translated servant, is the same that is made use of in Matt xviii, 27. Now it appears that this servant owed his lord ten thousand talents; he possessed property to a vast amount. Onesimus could not have been a *slave*, for slaves do not own their wives, or children; no not even their own bodies, much less property. But again, the servitude which the apostle was accustomed to, must have been very different from American slavery, for he says, "the heir (or son), as long as he is a



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child, differeth *nothing from a servant*, though he be the lord of all. But is under *tutors* and governors until the time appointed of the father." From this it appears, that the means of *instruction* were provided for *servants* as well as children; and indeed we know it must have been so among the Jews, because their servants were not permitted to remain in perpetual bondage, and therefore it was absolutely necessary that they should be prepared to occupy higher stations in society than those of servants. Is it so at the South, my friends? Is the daily bread of instruction provided for *your slaves*? are their minds enlightened, and they gradually prepared to rise from the grade of menials into that of *free*, independent members of the state? Let your own statute book, and your own daily experience, answer these questions.

If this apostle sanctioned *slavery*, why did he exhort masters thus in his epistle to the Ephesians, "and ye, masters, do the same things unto them (i.e. perform your duties to your servants as unto Christ, not unto me) *forbearing threatening*; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is *there respect of persons with him*." And in Colossians, "Masters give unto your servants that which is *just and equal*, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." Let slaveholders only obey these injunctions of Paul, and I am satisfied slavery would soon be abolished. If he thought it sinful even to *threaten* servants, surely he must have thought it sinful to flog and to beat them with sticks and paddles; indeed, when delineating the character of a bishop, he expressly names this as one feature of it, "*no striker*." Let masters give unto their servants that which is *just and equal*, and all that vast system of unrequited labor would crumble into ruin. Yes, and if they once felt they had no right to the *labor* of their servants without pay, surely they could not think they had a right to their wives, their children, and their own bodies. Again, how can it be said Paul sanctioned slavery, when, as though to put this matter beyond all doubt, in that black catalogue of sins enumerated in his first epistle to Timothy, he mentions "*menstealers*," which word may be translated "*slavedealers*." But you may say, we all despise slavedealers as much as anyone can; they are never admitted into genteel or respectable society. And why not? Is it not because even you shrink back from the idea of associating with those who make their fortunes by trading in the bodies and souls of men, women, and children? whose daily work is to break human hearts, by tearing wives from their husbands, and children from their parents? But why hold slavedealers as despicable, if their trade is lawful and virtuous? and why despise them more than the *gentlemen of fortune and standing* who employ them as *their agents*? Why more than the *professors of religion* who barter their fellow professors to them for gold or silver? We do not despise the land agent, or the physician, or the merchant, and why? Simply because their professions are virtuous and honorable; and if the trade of men-jobbers was honorable, you would not despise them either. There is no difference in



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principle in Christian ethics, between the despised slavedealer and the Christian who buys slaves from, or sells slaves to him; indeed, if slaves were not wanted by the respectable, the wealthy, and the religious in a community, there would be no slaves in that community, and of course no slavedealers. It is then the Christians and the honorable men and women of the South, who are the main pillars of this grand temple built to Mammon and to Moloch. It is the most enlightened in every country who are most to blame when any public sin is supported by public opinion, hence Isaiah says, "When the Lord hath performed his whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem, (then) I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks." And was it not so? Open the historical records of that age, was not Israel carried into captivity B.C. 606 Judah B.C. 588, and the stout heart of the heathen monarchy not punished until B.C. 536, fifty-two years after Judah's, and seventy years after Israel's captivity, when it was overthrown by Cyrus, king of Persia? Hence, too, the apostle Peter says, "judgment must begin at the house of God." Surely this would not be the case, if the professors of religion were not most worthy of blame.

But it may be asked, why are they most culpable? I will tell you, my friends. It is because sin is imputed to us just in proportion to the spiritual light we receive. Thus the prophet Amos says, in the name of Jehovah, "You only have known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities." Hear too the doctrine of our Lord on this important subject; "The servant who knew his Lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes;" and why? "For whomsoever much is given, of him shall much shall be required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." Oh! Then that the Christians of the south would ponder these things in their hearts, and awake to the vast responsibilities which rest upon them at this important crisis.

I have thus, I think, clearly proved to you seven propositions, viz., First, that slavery is contrary to the declaration of our independence. Second, that it is contrary to the first charter of human rights given to Adam, and renewed to Noah. Third, that the fact of slavery having been the subject of prophecy, furnishes no excuse whatever to slavedealers. Fourth, that no such system existed under the patriarchal dispensation; but so far otherwise, that every servant was placed under the protection of law, and care taken not only to prevent all involuntary servitude, but all voluntary perpetual bondage. Sixth, that slavery in America reduces a man to a thing, a "chattel personal," robs him of all his rights as a human being, fetters both his mind and body, and protects the master in the most unnatural and unreasonable power, whist it throws him out of the protection of the law. Seventh, that slavery is contrary to the example and precepts of our holy and merciful Redeemer, and of his apostles.



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But perhaps you will be ready to query, why appeal to *women* on this subject? We do not make the laws which perpetuate slavery. No legislative power is vested in *us*; we can do nothing to overthrow the system, even if we wished to do so. To this I reply, I know you do not make the laws, but I also know that *you are the wives and mothers, the sisters and daughters of those who do*; and if you really suppose *you* can do nothing to overthrow slavery, you are greatly mistaken. You can do much in every way: four things I will name.

- 1st. You can read on this subject.
- 2d. You can pray over this subject.
- 3d. You can speak on this subject.
- 4th. You can act on this subject.

I have not placed reading before praying because I regard it more important, but because, in order to pray aright, we must understand what we are praying for; it is only then we can "pray with the understanding and the spirit also."

1. Read then on the subject of slavery. Search the Scriptures daily, whether the things I told you are true. Other books and papers might be a great help to you in this investigation, but they are not necessary, and it is hardly probable that your Committees of Vigilance will allow you to have any other. The *Bible* then is the book I want you to read in the spirit of inquiry, and the spirit of prayer. Even the enemies of Abolitionists, acknowledge that their doctrines are drawn from it. In the great mob in Boston, last autumn, when the books and papers of the Anti-Slavery Society, were thrown out of the windows of their office, one individual laid hold of the Bible and was about tossing it on the ground, when another reminded him that it was the Bible he had in his hand. "*I! 'tis all one,*" he replied, and out went the sacred volume, along with the rest. We thank him for the acknowledgment. Yes, "*it is all one,*" for our books and papers are mostly commentaries on the Bible, and the Declaration. Read the *Bible* then, it contains the words of Jesus, and they are spirit and life. Judge for yourselves whether *he sanctioned* such a system of oppression and crime.

2. Pray over this subject. When you have entered into your closets, and shut to the doors, then pray to your father, who seeth in secret, that he would open your eyes to see whether slavery is *sinful*, and if it is, that he would enable you to bear a faithful, open and unshrinking testimony against it, and to do whatsoever your hands find to do, leaving the consequences entirely to him, who still says to us whenever we try to reason duty away from the fear of consequences, "*What is that to thee, follow thou me.*" Pray also for that poor slave, that he may be kept patient and submissive under his hard lot, until God is pleased to open the door of freedom to him without violence or bloodshed. Pray too for the master that his heart may be softened, and he made willing to acknowledge, as Joseph's brethren did, "Verily we are guilty concerning our brother,"



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before he will be compelled to add in consequence of Divine judgment, "therefore is all this evil come upon us." Pray also for all your brethren and sisters who are laboring in the righteous cause of Emancipation in the Northern States, England, and the world. There is great encouragement for prayer in these words of our Lord. "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father *in my name*, he *will give it to you*" – Pray then without ceasing, in the closet and the social circle.

3. Speak on this subject. It is through the tongue, the pen, and the press, that truth is principally propagated. Speak then to your relatives, your friends, your acquaintances on the subject of slavery; be not afraid if you are conscientiously convinced it is *sinful*, to say so openly, but calmly, and to let your sentiments be known. If you are served by the slaves of others, try to ameliorate their condition as much as possible; never aggravate their faults, and thus add fuel to the fire of anger already kindled, in a master and mistress's bosom; remember their extreme ignorance, and consider them as your Heavenly Father does the *less culpable* on this account, even when they do wrong things. Discountenance *all* cruelty to them, all starvation, all corporal chastisement; these may brutalize and *break* their spirits, but will never bend them to willing, cheerful obedience. If possible, see that they are comfortably and *seasonably* fed, whether in the house or the field; it is unreasonable and cruel to expect slaves to wait for their breakfast until eleven o'clock, when they rise at five or six. Do all you can, to induce their owners to clothe them well, and to allow them many little indulgences which would contribute to their comfort. Above all, try to persuade your husband, father, brothers, and sons, that *slavery is a crime against God and man*, and that it is a great sin to keep *human beings* in such abject ignorance; to deny them the privilege of learning to read and write. The Catholics are universally condemned, for denying the Bible to the common people, but *slaveholders must not* blame them, for *they* are doing the *very same thing*, and for the very same reason, neither of these systems can bear the light which bursts from the pages of that Holy Book. And lastly, endeavor to inculcate submission on the part of the slaves, but whilst doing this be faithful in pleading the cause of the oppressed.

"Will you behold unheeding,
Life's holiest feelings crushed,
Where *woman's* heart is bleeding,
Shall *woman's* voice be hushed?"

4. Act on this subject. Some of you *own* slaves yourselves. If you believe slavery is *sinful*, set them at liberty, "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free." If they wish to remain with you, pay them wages, if not let them leave you. Should they remain, teach them, and have them taught the common branches of an English education; they have minds and those minds, *ought to be improved*. So precious a talent as intellect, never was given to be wrapt in a napkin and buried in the earth.



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It is the *duty* of all, as far as they can, to improve their own mental faculties, because we are commanded to love God with *all our minds*, as well as with all our hearts, and we commit a great sin, if we *forbid or prevent* that cultivation of the mind in others, which would enable them to perform this duty. Teach your servants then to read &c, and encourage them to believe it is their *duty* to learn, if it were only that they might read the Bible.

But some of you will say, we can neither free our slaves nor teach them to read, for the laws of our state forbid it. Be not surprised when I say such wicked laws *ought to be no barrier* in the way of your duty, and I appeal to the Bible to prove this position. What was the conduct of Shiphrah and Puah, when the king of Egypt issued his cruel mandate, with regard to the Hebrew children? "*They feared God, and did not as the King of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive.*" Did these women do right in disobeying that monarch? "*Therefore (says the sacred text,) God dealt well with them, and made them houses*" Ex. i. What was the conduct of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, when Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image in the plain of Dura, and commanded all people, nations, and languages, to fall down and worship it? "Be it known, unto thee, (said these faithful Jews) O king, that we *will not* serve thy gods, nor worship the image which thou hast set up." Did these men *do right in disobeying the law* of their sovereign? Let their miraculous deliverance from the burning fiery furnace, answer; Dan. iii. What was the conduct of Daniel, when Darius made a firm decree that no one should ask a petition of any man or God for thirty days? Did the prophet cease to pray? No! "When Daniel *knew that the writing was signed*, he went into his house, and his windows being *open* towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime." Did Daniel do right thus to *break* the law of his king? Let his wonderful deliverance out of the mouths of the lions answer; Dan. vii. Look, too, at the Apostles Peter and John. When the rulers of the Jews, "*commanded them not* to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus," what did they say? "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than to God, judge ye." And what did they do? "They spake the word of God with boldness, and with great power gave the Apostles witness of the *resurrection* of the Lord Jesus;" although *this* was the very doctrine, for the preaching of which, they had just been cast into prison, and further threatened. Did these men do right? I leave you to answer, who now enjoy the benefits of their labors and sufferings, in that Gospel they dared to preach when positively commanded *not to teach any more* in the name of Jesus; Acts. iv.

But some of you may say, if we do free our slaves, they will be taken up and sold, therefore there will be no use in doing it. Peter and John might just as well have said, we will not preach the gospel, for if we do, we shall be taken up and put in prison, therefore there will be no use in our preaching. *Consequences,*



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my friends, belong no more to you, than they did to these apostles. Duty is ours and events are God's. If you think slavery is sinful, all you have to do is to set your slaves at liberty, do all you can to protect them, and in humble faith and fervent prayer, commend them to your common Father. He can take care of them; but if for wise purposes he sees fit to allow them to be sold, this will afford you an opportunity of testifying openly, wherever you go, against the crime of *manstealing*. Such an act will be *clear robbery*, and if exposed, might, under the Divine direction, do the cause of Emancipation more good, than any thing that could happen, for "He makes even the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain."

I know that this doctrine of obeying God, rather than man, will be considered as dangerous, and heretical to many, but I am not afraid openly to avow it, because it is the doctrine of the Bible; but I would not be understood to advocate resistance to any law however oppressive, if in obeying it, I was not obliged to commit *sin*. If for instance, there was a law, which imposed imprisonment or a fine upon me if I manumitted a slave, I would on no account resist that law, I would set the slave free, and then go to prison or pay the fine. If a law commands me to *sin I will break it*; if it calls me to *suffer*, I will let it take its course *unresistingly*. The doctrine of blind obedience and unqualified submission to *any human power*, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is the doctrine of despotism, and ought to have no place among Republicans and Christians.

But you will perhaps say, such a course of conduct would inevitably expose us to great suffering. Yes! My christian friends, I believe it would, but this will *not* excuse you or anyone else for the neglect of *duty*. If Prophets and Apostles, Martyrs, and Reformers had not been willing to suffer for the truth's sake, where would the world have been now? If they had said, we cannot speak the truth, we cannot do what we believe is right, because the *laws of our country or public opinion are against us*, where would our holy religion have been now? The Prophets were stoned, imprisoned, and killed by the Jews. And why? Because they exposed and openly rebuked public sins; they opposed public opinion; had they held their peace, they all might have lived in ease and died in favor with a wicked generation. Why were the apostles persecuted from city to city, stoned, incarcerated, beaten, and crucified? Because they dared to *speak the truth*; to tell the Jews, boldly and fearlessly, that *they* were the *murderers* of the Lord of Glory, and that, however great a stumbling-block the Cross might be to them, there was no other name given under heaven by which men could be saved, but the name of Jesus. Because they declared, even at Athens, the seat of learning and refinement, the self-evident truth, that "they be no gods that are made with men's hands," and exposed to the Grecians the foolishness of worldly wisdom, and the impossibility of salvation but through Christ, whom they despised on account of the ignominious death he died. Because at Rome, the proud mistress of the world, they thundered out the



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terrors of the law upon that idolatrous, war-making, and slave-holding community. Why were the martyrs stretched upon the rack, gibbeted and burnt, the scorn and diversion of a Nero, whilst their tarred and burning bodies sent up a light which illuminated the Roman capital? Why were the Waldenses hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains of Piedmont, and slain with the sword of the Duke of Savoy and the proud monarch of France? Why were the Presbyterians chased like the partridge over the highlands of Scotland – the Methodists pumped, and stoned, and pelted with rotten eggs – the Quakers incarcerated in filthy prisons, beaten, whipped at the cart's tail, banished and hung? Because they dared to *speak the truth*, to *break* the unrighteous laws of their country, and chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, "not accepting deliverance," even under the gallows. Why were Luther and Calvin persecuted and excommunicated, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer burnt? Because they fearlessly proclaimed the truth, though that truth was contrary to public opinion, and the authority of Ecclesiastical councils and conventions. Now all this vast amount of human suffering might have been saved. All these Prophets and Apostles, Martyrs, and Reformers, might have lived and died in peace with all men, but following the example of their great pattern, "they despised the shame, endured the cross, and are now set down on the right hand of the throne of God," having received the glorious welcome of "well done good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord."

But you may say we are *women*, how can *our* hearts endure persecution? And why not? Have not *women* stood up in all the dignity and strength of moral courage to be the leaders of the people, and to bear a faithful testimony for the truth whenever the providence of God has called them to do so? Are there no *women* in that noble army of martyrs who are now singing the song of Moses and the Lamb? Who led out the women of Israel from the house of bondage, striking the timbrel, and singing the song of deliverance on the banks of that sea whose waters stood up like walls of crystal to open a passage for their escape? It was a *woman*; Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Moses and Aaron. Who went up with Barak to Kadesh to fight against Jabin, King of Canaan, into whose hands was Sisera, the captain of Jabin's host delivered? Into the hand of a *woman*. Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum; 2, Chron. xxxiv, 22. Who was chosen to deliver the whole Jewish nation from that murderous decree of Persia's King, which wicked Haman had obtained by calumny and fraud? It was a *woman*; Esther the Queen; yes, weak and trembling *woman* was the instrument appointed by God, to reverse the bloody mandate of the eastern monarch, and save the *whole visible church* from destruction. What human voice first proclaimed to Mary that she should be the mother of our Lord? It was a *woman*! Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias; Luke I, 42, 43. Who united with the good old Simeon in giving thanks publicly in the temple, when the child, Jesus, was presented there by his parents, "and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in



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Jerusalem?" It was a *woman*! Anna the prophetess. Who first proclaimed Christ as the true Messiah in the streets of Samaria, once the capital of the ten tribes? It was a *woman*! Who ministered to the Son of God whilst on earth, a despised and persecuted Reformer, in the humble garb of a carpenter? They were *women*! Who followed the rejected King of Israel, as his fainting footsteps trod the road to Calvary? "A great company of people and of *women*;" and it is remarkable that to *them alone*, he turned and addressed the pathetic language, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." Ah! who sent unto the Roman Governor when he was set down on the judgment seat, saying unto him, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him?" It was a *woman*! the wife of Pilate. Although "*he knew* that for envy the Jews had delivered Christ," yet *he* consented to surrender the Son of God into the hands of a brutal soldiery, after having himself scourged his naked body. Had the *wife* of Pilate sat upon that judgment seat, what would have been the result of the trial of this "just person?"

And who last hung round the cross of Jesus on the mountain of Golgotha? Who first visited the sepulchre early in the morning on the first day of the week, carrying sweet spices to embalm his precious body, not knowing that it was incorruptible and could not be holden by the bonds of death? These were *women*! To whom did he *first* appear after his resurrection? It was to a *woman*! Mary Magdalene; Mark xvi, 9. Who gathered with the apostles to wait at Jerusalem, in prayer and supplication, for "the promise of the Father;" the spiritual blessing of the Great High Priest of his Church, who had entered, *not* into the splendid temple of Solomon, there to offer the blood of bulls, and of goats, and the smoking censer upon the golden altar, but into Heaven itself, there to present his intercessions, after having "given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savor? *Women* were among that holy company; Acts I, 14. And did *women* wait in vain? Did those who had ministered to his necessities, followed in his train, and wept at his crucifixion, wait in vain? No! No! Did the cloven tongues of fire descend upon the heads of *women* as well as men? Yes, my friends, "it sat upon *each one of them*;" Acts ii, 3. *Women* as well as men were to be living stones in the temple of grace, and therefore *their* heads were consecrated by the descent of the Holy Ghost as well as those of men. Were *women* recognized as fellow laborers in the gospel field? They were! Paul says in his epistle to the Philippians, "help those *women* who labored with me, in the gospel;" Phil. iv, 3.

But this is not all. Roman *women* were burnt at the stake, *their* delicate limbs were torn joint from joint by the ferocious beasts of the Ampitheatre, and tossed by the wild bull in his fury, for the diversion of that idolatrous, warlike, and slaveholding people. Yes, *women* suffered under the ten persecutions of heathen Rome, with the most unshrinking



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constancy and fortitude; not all the entreaties of friends, nor the claims of new born infancy, nor the cruel threats of enemies could make *them* sprinkle one grain of incense upon the altars of Roman idols. Come now with me to the beautiful valleys of Piedmont Whose blood stains the green sward, and decks the wild flowers with colors not their own, and smokes on the sword of persecuting France? It is *woman's* as well as *man's*? Yes, *women* were accounted as sheep for the slaughter, and were cut down as the tender saplings of the wood.

But time would fail me, to tell of all those hundreds and thousands of *women*, who perished in the Low countries of Holland, when Alva's sword of vengeance was unsheathed against the Protestants, when the Catholic Inquisitions of Europe became the merciless executioners of vindictive wrath, upon those who dared to worship God, instead of bowing down in unholy adoration before "my Lord God the Pope," and when England, too, burnt her Ann Ascoes at the stake of martyrdom. Suffice it to say, that the Church, after having been driven from Judea to Rome, and from Rome to Piedmont, and from Piedmont to England, and from England to Holland, at last stretched her fainting wings over the dark bosom of the Atlantic, and found on the shores of a great wilderness, a refuge from tyranny and oppression – as she thought, but *even here*, (the warm hush of shame mantles my cheek as I write it,) *even here*, *woman* was beaten and banished, imprisoned, and hung upon the gallows, a trophy to the cross. And what, I would ask in conclusion, have *women* done for the great and glorious cause of Emancipation? Who wrote that pamphlet which moved the heart of Wilberforce to pray over the wrongs, and his tongue to plead the cause of the oppressed African? It was a *woman*, Elizabeth Heyrick. Who labored assiduously to keep the sufferings of the slave continually before the British public? They were *women*. And how did they do it? By their needles, paint brushes and pens, by speaking the truth, and petitioning Parliament for the abolition of slavery. And what was the effect of their labors? Read it in the Emancipation bill of Great Britain. Read it, in the present state of her West India Colonies. Read it, in the impulse which has been given to the cause of freedom, in the United States of America. Have English women then done so much for the negro, and shall American women do nothing? Oh no! Already there are sixty female Anti-Slavery Societies in operation. These are doing just what the English women did, telling the story of the colored man's wrongs, praying for his deliverance, and presenting his kneeling image constantly before the public eye on bags and needle-books, card-racks, pen-wipers, pin-cushions, &c. Even the children of the north are inscribing on their handy work, "May the points of our needles prick the slaveholder's conscience." Some of the reports of these Societies exhibit not only considerable talent, but a deep sense of religious duty, and a determination to persevere through evil as well as good report, until every scourge, and every shackle, is buried under the feet of the manumitted slave.



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The Ladies Anti-Slavery Society of Boston was called last fall, to a severe trial of their faith and constancy. They were mobbed by "the gentlemen of property and standing," in that city at their anniversary meeting, and their lives were jeopardized by an infuriated crowd; but their conduct on that occasion did credit to our sex, and affords a full assurance that they will *never* abandon the cause of the slave. The pamphlet, *Right or Wrong in Boston*, issued by them in which a particular account is given of that "mob of broad cloth in broad day," does equal credit to the head and the heart of her who wrote it. I wish my Southern sisters could read it; they would then understand that the women of the North have engaged in this work from a sense of *religious duty*, and that nothing will ever induce them to take their hands from it until it is fully accomplished. They feel no hostility to you, no bitterness or wrath; they rather sympathize in your trials and difficulties; but they well know that the first thing to be done to help you, is to pour in the light of truth on your minds, to urge you to reflect on, and pray over the subject. This is all *they* can do for you, you must work out your own deliverance with fear and trembling, and with the direction and blessing of God, *you can do it*. Northern women may labor to produce a correct public opinion at the North, but if Southern women sit down in listless indifference and criminal idleness, public opinion cannot be rectified and purified at the South. It is manifest to every reflecting mind, that slavery must be abolished; the era in which we live, and the light which is overspreading the whole world on this subject, clearly show that the time cannot be distant when it will be done. Now there are only two ways in which it can be effected, by moral power or physical force, and it is for you to choose which you prefer. Slavery always has, and always will produce insurrections, wherever it exists, because it is a violation of the natural order of things, and no human power can much longer perpetuate it. The opposers of abolitionists fully believe this; one of them remarked to me not long since, there is no doubt there will be a most terrible overturning at the South in a few years, such cruelty and wrong, must be visited with divine vengeance soon. Abolitionists believe, too, that this must inevitably be the case if you do not repent, and they are not willing to leave you to perish without entreating you, to save yourselves from destruction; well may they say with the apostle, "am I then your enemy because I tell you the truth," and warn you to flee from impending judgments.

But why, my dear friends, have I thus been endeavoring to lead you through the history of more than three thousand years, and to point you to that great cloud of witnesses who have gone before, "from works to rewards?" Have I been seeking to magnify the sufferings, and exalt the character of woman, that she "might have praise of men?" No! no! my object has been to arouse you, as the wives and mothers, the daughters and sisters, of the South, to a sense of your duty as *women*, and as Christian women, on that great subject, which has already shaken our country,



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from the St. Lawrence and the lakes, to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the shores of the Atlantic; *and will continue mightily to shake it*, until the polluted temple of slavery fall and crumble into ruin. I would say unto each one of you, "what meanest thou, O sleeper! arise and call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us that we perish not." Perceive you not that dark cloud of vengeance which hangs over our boasting Republic? Saw you not the lightnings of Heaven's wrath, in the flame which leaped from the Indian's torch to the roof of yonder dwelling, and lighted with its horrid glare the darkness of midnight? Heard you not the thunders of Divine anger, as the distant roar of the cannon came rolling onward, from the Texian country, where Protestant American Rebels are fighting with Mexican Republicans – for what? For the re-establishment of *slavery*; yes! of American slavery in the bosom of a Catholic Republic, where that system of robbery, violence, and wrong, had been legally abolished for twelve years. Yes! citizens of the United States, after plundering Mexico of her land, are now engaged in deadly conflict, for the privilege of fastening chains, and collars, and manacles – upon whom? upon the subjects of some foreign prince? No! upon native born American Republican citizens, although the fathers of these very men declared to the whole world, while struggling to free themselves from the three penny taxes of an English king, that they believed it to be a *self-evident* truth that *all men* were created equal, and had an *unalienable right to liberty*. Well may the poet exclaim in bitter sarcasm,

"The fustian flag that proudly waves
In solemn mockery o'er a *land of slaves*."

Can you not, my friends, understand the signs of the times; do you not see the sword of retributive justice hanging over the South, or are you still slumbering at your posts? – Are there no Shiprahs, no Puahs among you, who will dare in Christian firmness and Christian meekness, to refuse to obey the *wicked laws* which require *woman to enslave, to degrade and to brutalize woman*? Are there no Miriams, who would rejoice to lead out the captive daughters of the Southern States to liberty and light? Are there no Huldahs there who will dare to *speak the truth* concerning the sins of the people and those judgments, which it requires no prophet's eye to see, must follow if repentance is not speedily sought? Is there no Esther among you who will plead for the poor devoted slave? Read the history of this Persian queen, it is full of instruction; she at first refused to plead for the Jews; but hear the words of Mordecai, "Think not within thyself, that *thou shalt escape in the king's house more than all the Jews, for if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place: but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed.*" Listen, too, to her magnanimous reply to this powerful appeal; "I *will* go in unto the king, which is *not* according to law, and if I perish, I perish." Yes! if there were



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but one Esther at the South, she *might* save her country from ruin; but let the Christian women there arise, as the Christian women of Great Britain did, in the majesty of moral power, and that salvation is certain. Let them embody themselves in societies, and send petitions up to their different legislatures, entreating their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons, to abolish the institution of slavery; no longer to subject *woman* to the scourge and the chain, to mental darkness and moral degradation; no longer to tear husbands from their wives, and children from their parents; no longer to make men, women, and children, work *without wages*; no longer to make their lives bitter in hard bondage; no longer to reduce *American citizens* to the abject condition of *slaves*, of "chattels personal;" no longer to barter the *image of God* in human shambles for corruptible things such as silver and gold.

The *women of the South* can overthrow this horrible system of oppression and cruelty, licentiousness and wrong. Such appeals to your legislatures would be irresistible, for there is something in the heart of man which *will bend under moral suasion*. There is a swift witness for truth in his bosom, which *will respond to truth* when it is uttered with calmness and dignity. If you could obtain but six signatures to such a petition in only one state, I would say, send up that petition, and be not in the least discouraged by the scoffs and jeers of the heartless, or the resolution of the house to lay it on the table. It will be a great thing if the subject can be introduced into your legislatures in any way, even by *women*, and *they* will be the most likely to introduce it there in the best possible manner, as a matter of *morals* and *religion*, not of expediency or politics. You may petition, too, the different ecclesiastical bodies of the slave states. Slavery must be attacked with the whole power of truth and the sword of the spirit. You must take it up on *Christian* ground, and fight against it with Christian weapons, whilst your feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. And *you are now* loudly called upon by the cries of the widow and the orphan, to arise and gird yourselves for this great moral conflict, with the whole armour of righteousness upon the right hand and on the left.

There is every encouragement for you to labor and pray, my friends, because the abolition of slavery as well as its existence, has been the theme of prophecy. "Ethiopia (says the Psalmist) shall stretch forth her hands unto God." And is she not now doing so? Are not the Christian negroes of the south lifting their hands in prayer for deliverance, just as the Israelites did when their redemption was drawing nigh? Are they not sighing and crying by reason of the hard bondage? And think you, that He, of whom it was said, "God heard their groaning, and their cry came up unto him by reason of the hard bondage," think you that his ear is heavy that he cannot *now* hear the cries of his suffering children? Or that He who raised up a Moses, an Aaron, and a Miriam, to bring them up out of the land of Egypt from the house of bondage, cannot now, with a high hand and a



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stretched out arm, rid the poor negroes out of the hands of their masters? Surely you believe that his arm is *not* shortened that he cannot save. And would not such a work of mercy redound to his glory? But another string of the harp of prophecy vibrates to the song of deliverance: "But they shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and *none shall make them afraid*; for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it." The slave never can do this as long as he is a *slave*; whilst he is a "chattel personal" he can own no property; but the time *is to come* when every man is to sit under *his own* vine and *his own* fig-tree, and no domineering driver, or irresponsible master, or irascible mistress, shall make him afraid of the chain or the whip. Hear too, the sweet tones of another string: "Many shall run to and fro, and *knowledge shall be increased*." Slavery is an insurmountable barrier to the increase of knowledge in every community where it exists; *slavery, then, must be abolished before this prediction can be fulfilled*. The last chord I shall touch, will be this, "They shall *not* hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain."

Slavery, then, must be overthrown before the prophecies can be accomplished, but how are they to be fulfilled? Will the wheels of the millennial car be rolled onward by miraculous power? No! God designs to confer this holy privilege upon *man*; it is through *his* instrumentality that the great and glorious work of reforming the world is to be done. And see you not how the mighty engine of *moral power* is dragging in its rear the Bible and peace societies, anti-slavery and temperance, sabbath schools, moral reform, and missions? or to adopt another figure, do not these seven philanthropic associations compose the beautiful tints in that bow of promise which spans the arch of our moral heaven? Who does not believe, that if these societies were broken up, their constitutions burnt, and the vast machinery with which they are laboring to regenerate mankind was stopped, that the black clouds of vengeance would soon burst over our world, and every city would witness the fate of the devoted cities of the plain? Each one of these societies is walking abroad through the earth scattering the seeds of truth over the wide field of our world, not with the hundred hands of a Briareus, but with a hundred thousand.

Another encouragement for you to labor, my friends, is that you will have the prayers and co-operation of English and Northern philanthropists. You will never bend your knees in supplication at the throne of grace for the overthrow of slavery, without meeting there the spirits of other Christians, who will mingle their voices with yours, as the morning or evening sacrifice ascends to God. Yes, the spirit of prayer and of supplication has been poured out upon many, many hearts; there are wrestling Jacobs who will not let go of the prophetic promise of deliverance for the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that are bound. There are Pauls who are saying, in reference to this subject, "Lord, what wilt thou have me do?" There are Marys sitting in the house now, who are ready to arise and go



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forth in this work as soon as the message is brought, "the master is come and calleth for thee." And there are Marthas, too, who have already gone out to meet Jesus, as he bends his footsteps to their brother's grave, and weeps, *not* over the lifeless body of Lazarus bound hand and foot in grave-clothes, but over the politically and intellectually lifeless slave, bound hand and foot in the iron chains of oppression and ignorance. Some may be ready to say, as Martha did, who seemed to expect anything but sympathy from Jesus, "Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days." She thought it useless to remove the stone and expose the loathsome body of her brother; she could not believe that so great a miracle could be wrought, as to raise *that putrefied body* into life; but "Jesus said, take ye away the stone;" and when they had taken away the stone where the dead was laid, and uncovered the body of Lazarus, then it was that "Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me," &c. "And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth." Yes, some may be ready to say of the colored race, how can *they* ever be raised politically and intellectually, they have been dead four hundred years? Be we have *nothing* to do with *how* this is to be done; *our business* is to take away the stone which has covered up the dead body of our brother, to expose the putrid carcass, to show *how* that body has been bound with the grave-clothes of heathen ignorance, and his face with the napkin of prejudice, and having done all it was our duty to do, to stand by the negro's grave, in humble faith and holy hope, waiting to hear the life-giving command of "Lazarus, come forth." This is just what Anti-Slavery societies are doing; they are taking away the stone from the mouth of the tomb of slavery, where lies the putrid carcass of our brother. They want the pure light of heaven to shine into that dark and gloomy cave; they want all men to see *how* that dead body has been bound, *how* that face has been wrapped in the *napkin of prejudice*; and shall they wait beside that grave in vain? Is not Jesus still the resurrection and the life? Did He come to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound, in vain? Did He promise to give beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness unto them that mourn in Zion, and will He refuse to beautify the mind, anoint the head, and throw around the captive negro the mantle of praise for that spirit of heaviness which has so long bound him down to the ground? Or shall we not rather say with the prophet, "the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this?" Yes, his promises are sure, and amen in Christ Jesus, that he will assemble her that halteth, and gather her that is driven out, and her that is afflicted.

But I will now say a few words on the subject of Abolitionism. Doubtless you have all heard Anti-Slavery societies denounced as insurrectionary and mischievous, fanatical and dangerous. It has been said they publish the most abominable untruths, and that they are endeavoring to excite rebellions at the South.



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Have you believed these reports, my friends? Have you also been deceived by these false assertions? Listen to me, then, whilst I endeavor to wipe from the fair character of Abolitionism such unfounded accusations. You know that *I* am a Southerner; you know that my dearest relatives are now in a slave State. Can you for a moment believe I would prove so recreant to the feelings of a daughter and a sister, as to join a society which was seeking to overthrow slavery by falsehood, bloodshed, and murder? I appeal to you who have known and loved me in days that are passed, can you believe it? No! my friends. As a Carolinian, I was peculiarly jealous of any movements on this subject; and before I would join an Anti-Slavery Society, I took the precaution of becoming acquainted with some of the leading Abolitionists, of reading their publications and attending their meetings, at which I heard addresses both from colored and white men; and it was not until I was fully convinced that their principles were *entirely pacific*, and their efforts *only moral*, that I gave my name as a member to the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia. Since that time, I have regularly taken the *Liberator*, and read many Anti-Slavery pamphlets and papers and books, and can assure you I never have seen a single insurrectionary paragraph, and never read any account of cruelty which I could not believe. Southerners may deny the truth of these accounts, but why do they not *prove* them to be false. Their violent expressions of horror at such accounts being believed, *may* deceive some, but they cannot deceive *me*, for I lived too long in the midst of slavery, not to know what slavery is. When *I* speak of this system "I speak that I do know," and I am not at all afraid to assert, that Anti-Slavery publications have *not* overdrawn the monstrous features of slavery at all. And many a Southerner *knows* this as well as I do. A lady in North Carolina remarked to a friend of mine, about eighteen months since, "Northerners know nothing at all about slavery; they think it is perpetual bondage only; but of the *depth of degradation* that word involves, they have no conception; if they had, *they would never cease* their efforts until so *horrible* a system was overthrown." She did not know how faithfully some Northern men and Northern women had studied this subject; how diligently they had searched out the cause of "him who had none to help him," and how fearlessly they had told the story of the negro's wrongs. Yes, Northerners know every thing about slavery now. This monster of iniquity has been unveiled to the world, her frightful features unmasked, and soon, very soon will she be regarded with no more complacency by the American republic than is the idol of Juggernaut, rolling its bloody wheels over the crushed bodies of its prostrate victims. But you will probably ask, if Anti-Slavery societies are not insurrectionary, who do Northerners tell us they are? Why, I would ask you in return, did Northern senators and Northern representatives give their votes, at the last sitting of congress, to the admission of Arkansas Territory as a state? Take those men, one by one, and ask them in their parlours, do



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you *approve of slavery*? Ask them on *Northern* ground, where they will speak the truth, and I doubt not every *man* of them will tell you, *no*! Why then, I ask, did *they* give their votes to enlarge the mouth of that grave which has already destroyed its tens of thousands? All our enemies tell *us* they are as much anti-slavery as we are. Yes, my friends, thousands who are helping you to bind the fetters of slavery on the negro, despise you in their hearts for doing it; they rejoice that such an institution has not been entailed upon them. Why then, I would ask, do *they* lend you their help? I will tell you, "they love *the praise of men* more than the praise of God." The Abolition cause has not yet become so popular as to induce them to believe, that by advocating it in congress, they shall sit still more securely in their seats there, and like the *chief rulers* of the days of our Saviour, though *many* believed on him, yet they did *not* confess him, lest they should *be put out of the synagogue*; John xii, 42, 43. Or perhaps like Pilate, thinking they could prevail nothing, and fearing a tumult, they determined to release Barabbas and surrender the just man, the poor innocent slave to be stripped of his rights and scourged. In vain will such men try to wash their hands, and say, with the Roman governor, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person." Northern American statesmen are no more innocent of the crime of slavery, than Pilate was of the murder of Jesus, or Saul of that of Stephen. These are high charges, but I appeal to *their hearts*; I appeal to public opinion ten years from now. Slavery then is a national sin.

But you will say, a great many other Northerners tell us so, who can have no political motives. The interests of the North, you must know, my friends, are very closely combined with those of the South. The Northern merchants and manufacturers are making *their* fortunes out of the *produce of slave labor*; the grocer is selling your rice and sugar; how then can these men bear a testimony against slavery without condemning themselves? But there is another reason, the North is most dreadfully afraid of Amalgamation. She is alarmed at the very idea of a thing so monstrous, as she thinks. And lest this consequence *might* flow from emancipation, she is determined to resist all efforts at emancipation without expatriation. It is not because *she* *approves of slavery*, or believes it to be "corner stone of our republic," for she is as much *anti-slavery* as we are; but amalgamation is too horrible to think of. Now I would ask *you*, is it right, is it generous, to refuse the colored people in this country the advantages of education and the privilege, or rather the *right*, to follow honest trades and callings merely because they are colored? The same prejudice exists here against our colored brethren that existed against the Gentiles in Judea. Great numbers cannot bear the idea of equality, and fearing lest, if they had the same advantages we enjoy, they would become as intelligent, as moral, as religious, and as respectable and wealthy, they are determined to keep them as low as they possibly can. Is this doing as they would be done by? Is this loving their



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neighbor as *themselves*? Oh! that *such* opposers of Abolitionism would put their souls in the stead of the free colored man's and obey the apostolic injunction, to "remember them that are in bonds *as bound with them*." I will leave you to judge whether the fear of amalgamation ought to induce men to oppose anti-slavery efforts, when *they* believe *slavery* to be *sinful*. Prejudice against color, is the most powerful enemy we have to fight with at the North.

You need not be surprised, then, at all, at what is said *against* Abolitionists by the North, for they are wielding a two-edged sword, which even here, cuts through the *corde*s of caste, on the one side and the *bonds of interest* on the other. They are only sharing the fate of other reformers, abused and reviled whilst they are in the minority; but they are neither angry nor discouraged by the invective which has been heaped upon them by slaveholders at the South and their apologists at the North. They know that when George Fox and William Edmundson were laboring in behalf of the negroes in the West Indies in 1671 that the very *same* slanders were propagated against them, which are *now* circulated against Abolitionists. Although it was well known that Fox was the founder of a religious sect which repudiated *all* war, and *all* violence, yet even he was accused of "endeavoring to excite the slaves to insurrection and of teaching the negroes to cut their master's throats." And these two men who had their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace, were actually compelled to draw up a formal declaration that *they were not* trying to raise a rebellion in Barbadoes. It is also worthy of remark that these Reformers did not at this time see the necessity of emancipation under seven years, and their principal efforts were exerted to persuade the planters of the necessity of instructing their slaves; but the slaveholder saw then, just what the slaveholder sees now, that an *enlightened* population never can be a *slave* population, and therefore they passed a law that negroes should not even attend the meetings of Friends. Abolitionists know that the first Quaker who bore a *faithful* testimony against the sin of slavery was cut off from religious fellowship with that society. That Quaker was a *woman*. On her deathbed she sent for the committee who dealt with her – she told them, the near approach of death had not altered her sentiments on the subject of slavery and waving her hand towards a very fertile and beautiful portion of country which lay stretched before her window, she said with great solemnity, "Friends, the time will come when there will not be friends enough in all this district to hold one meeting for worship, and this garden will be turned into a wilderness." The aged friend, who with tears in his eyes, related this interesting circumstance to me, remarked, that at that time there were seven meetings of friends in that part of Virginia, but that when he was there ten years ago, not a single meeting was held, and the country was literally a desolation. Soon after her decease, John Woolman began his labors in our society, and instead of disowning a member for testifying *against* slavery,



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they have for fifty-two years positively forbidden their members to hold slaves.

Abolitionists understand the slaveholding spirit too well to be surprised at any thing that has yet happened at the South or the North; they know that the greater the sin is, which is exposed, the more violent will be the efforts to blacken the character and impugn the motives of those who are engaged in bringing to light the hidden things of darkness. They understand the work of Reform too well to be driven back by the furious waves of opposition, which are only foaming out of their own shame. They have stood "the world's dread laugh," when only twelve men formed the first Anti-Slavery Society in Boston in 1831. They have faced and refuted the calumnies of their enemies, and proved themselves to be emphatically *peace men* by *never resisting* the violence of mobs, even when driven by them from the temple of God, and dragged by an infuriated crowd through the streets of the emporium of New-England, or subjected by *slaveholders* to the pain of corporal punishment. "None of these things move them;" and, by the grace of God, they are determined to persevere in this work of faith and labor of love: they mean to pray, and preach, and write, and print, until slavery is completely overthrown, until Babylon is taken up and cast over the sea, to "be found no more at all." They mean to petition Congress year after year, until the seat of our government is cleansed from the sinful traffic of "slaves and the souls of men." Although that august assembly may be like the unjust judge who "feared not God neither regarded man," yet it *must* yield just as he did, from the power of importunity. Like the unjust judge, Congress *must* redress the wrongs of the widow, lest by the continual coming up of petitions, it be wearied. This will be striking the dagger into the very heart of the monster, and once 'tis done, he must soon expire.

Abolitionists have been accused of abusing their Southern brethren. Did the prophet Isaiah *abuse* the Jews when he addressed to them the cutting reproofs contained in the first chapter of his prophecies, and ended by telling them, they would be *ashamed* of the oaks they had desired, and *confounded* for the garden they had chosen? Did John the Baptist *abuse* the Jews when he called them "a generation of vipers," and warned them "to bring forth fruits meet for repentance?" Did Peter *abuse* the Jews when he told them they were the *murderers* of the Lord of Glory? Did Paul *abuse* the Roman Governor when he reasoned before him of righteousness, temperance, and judgment, so as to send conviction home to his guilty heart, and cause him to tremble in view of the crimes he was living in? Surely not. No man will now accuse the prophets and apostles of *abuse*, but what have Abolitionists done more than they? No doubt the Jews thought the prophets and apostles in their day, just as harsh and uncharitable as slaveholders now, think Abolitionists; if they did not, why did they beat, and stone, and kill them?

Great fault has been found with the prints which have been employed to expose slavery at the North, but my friends, how



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could this be done so effectually in any other way? Until the pictures of the slave's sufferings were drawn and held up to public gaze, no Northerner had any idea of the cruelty of the system, it never entered their minds that such abominations could exist in Christian, Republican America; they never suspected that many of the *gentlemen* and *ladies* who came from the South to spend the summer months in travelling among them, were petty tyrants at home. And those who had lived at the South, and came to reside at the North, were too *ashamed of slavery* even to speak of it; the language of their hearts was, "tell it *not* in Gath, publish it *not* in the streets of Askelon;" they saw no use in uncovering the loathsome body to popular sight, and in hopeless despair, wept in secret places over the sins of oppression. To such hidden mourners the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies was as life from the dead, the first beams of hope which gleamed through the dark clouds of despondency and grief. Prints were made use of to effect the abolition of the Inquisition in Spain, and Clarkson employed them when he was laboring to break up the Slave trade, and English Abolitionists used them just as we are now doing. They are powerful appeals and have invariably done the work they were designed to do, and we cannot consent to abandon the use of these until the *realities* no longer exist.

With regard to those white men, who, it was said, did try to raise an insurrection in Mississippi a year ago, and who were stated to be Abolitionists, none of them were proved to be members of Anti-Slavery Societies, and it must remain a matter of great doubt whether, even they were guilty of the crimes alleged against them, because when any community is thrown into such a panic as to inflict Lynch law upon accused persons, they cannot be supposed to be capable of judging with calmness and impartiality. *We know* that the papers of which the Charleston mail was robbed, were *not* insurrectionary, and that they were *not* sent to the colored people as was reported. *We know* that Amos Dresser was *no insurrectionist* though he was accused of being so, and on this false accusation was publicly whipped in Nashville in the midst of a crowd of infuriated *slaveholders*. Was that young man disgraced by this infliction of corporal punishment? No more than was the great apostle of the Gentiles who five times received forty stripes, save one. Like him, he might have said, "henceforth I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," for it was for the *truth's sake*, he suffered, as much as did the Apostle Paul. Are Nelson, and Garrett, and Williams, and other Abolitionists who have recently been banished from Missouri, insurrectionists? *We know they are not*, whatever slaveholders may choose to call them. The spirit which now asperses the character of the Abolitionists, is the *very same* which dressed up the Christians of Spain in the skins of wild beasts and pictures of devils when they were led to execution as heretics. Before we condemn individuals, it is necessary, even in a wicked community, to accuse them of some crime; hence, when Jezebel wished to compass the death of



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Naboth, men of Belial were suborned to bear *false* witness against him, and so it was with Stephen, and so it ever has been, and ever will be, as long as there is any virtue to suffer on the rack, or the gallows. *False* witnesses must appear against Abolitionists before they can be condemned.

I will now say a few words on George Thompson's mission to this country. This Philanthropist was accused of being a foreign emissary. Were La Fayette, and Steuben, and De Kalb, foreign emissaries when they came over to America to fight against the tories, who preferred submitting to what was termed, "the yoke of servitude," rather than bursting the fetters which bound them to the mother country? *They* came with *carnal weapons* to engage in *bloody conflict* with American citizens, and yet, where do their names stand on the page of History. Among the honorable, or the low? Thompson came here to war against the giant sin of slavery, *not* with the sword and the pistol, but with the smooth stones of oratory taken from the pure waters of the river of Truth. His splendid talents and commanding eloquence rendered him a powerful coadjutor in the Anti-Slavery cause, and in order to neutralize the effects of these upon his auditors, and rob the poor slave of the benefits of his labors, his character was defamed, his life was sought, and he was at last driven from our Republic, as a fugitive. But was *Thompson* disgraced by all this mean and contemptible and wicked chicanery and malice? No more than was Paul, when in consequence of a vision he had seen at Troas, he went over to Macedonia to help the Christians there, and was beaten and imprisoned, because he cast out a spirit of divination from a young damsel which had brought much gain to her masters. Paul was as much a *foreign emissary* in the Roman colony of Philippi, as George Thompson was in America, and it was because he was a *Jew*, and taught customs it was not lawful for them to receive or observe, being Romans, that the Apostle was thus treated.

It was said, Thompson was a felon, who had fled to this country to escape transportation to New Holland. Look at him now pouring the thundering strains of his eloquence, upon crowded audiences in Great Britain, and see in this a triumphant vindication of his character. And have the slaveholder, and his obsequious apologist, gained any thing by all their violence and falsehood? No! for the stone which struck Goliath of Gath, had already been thrown from the sling. The giant of slavery who had so proudly defied the armies of the Living God, had received his death-blow before he left our shores. But what is George Thompson doing there? Is he not now laboring there, as effectually to abolish American slavery as though he trod our own soil, and lectured to New York or Boston assemblies? What is he doing there, but constructing a stupendous dam, which will turn the overwhelming tide of public opinion over the wheels of that machinery which Abolitionists are working here. He is now lecturing to *Britons* on *American Slavery*, to the *subjects* of a *King*, on the abject condition of the *slaves* of a *Republic*. He is telling them of that mighty confederacy of petty tyrants which extends over



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thirteen States of our Union. He is telling them of the munificent rewards offered by slaveholders, for the heads of the most distinguished advocates for freedom in this country. He is moving the British Churches to send out to the churches of America the most solemn appeals, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting them with all long suffering and patience to abandon the sin of slavery immediately. Where then I ask, will the name of George Thompson stand on the page of History? Among the honorable, or the base?

What can I say more, my friends, to induce you to set your hands, and heads, and hearts, to this great work of justice and mercy. Perhaps you have feared the consequences of immediate Emancipation, and been frightened by all those dreadful prophecies of rebellion, bloodshed, and murder, which have been uttered. "Let no man deceive you;" they are the predictions of that same "lying spirit" which spoke through the four hundred prophets of old, to Ahab king of Israel, urging him on to destruction. *Slavery* may produce these horrible scenes if it is continued five years longer, but *Emancipation never will*.

I can prove the *safety* of immediate Emancipation by history. In St. Domingo in 1793 six hundred thousand slaves were set free in a white population of forty-two thousand. That Island "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor, cultivation prospered, every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress, and the negroes all continued quietly to work on the different plantations, until in 1802, France determined to reduce these liberated slaves again to bondage. It was at *this time* that all those dreadful scenes of cruelty occurred, which we so often *unjustly* hear spoken of, as the effects of Abolition. They were occasioned *not* by Emancipation, but by the base attempt to fasten the chains of slavery on the limbs of liberated slaves.

In Guadaloupe eighty-five thousand slaves were freed in a white population of thirteen thousand. The same prosperous effects followed manumission here, that had attended it in Hayti, every thing was quiet until Buonaparte sent out a fleet to reduce these negroes again to slavery, and in 1802 this institution was re-established in that Island. In 1834, when Great Britain determined to liberate the slaves in her West India colonies, and proposed the apprenticeship system; the planters of Bermuda and Antigua, after having joined the other planters in their representations of the bloody consequences of Emancipation, in order if possible to hold back the hand which was offering the boon of freedom to the poor negro; as soon as they found such falsehoods were utterly disregarded, and Abolition must take place, came forward voluntarily, and asked for the compensation which was due to them, saying, *they preferred immediate emancipation*, and were not afraid of any insurrection. And how is it with those in which the apprenticeship system was adopted, and England is now trying to abolish that system, so fully convinced is she that immediate Emancipation is the *safest* and the best plan.



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And why not try it in the Southern States, if it *never* has occasioned rebellion; if *not a drop of blood* has ever been shed in consequence of it, though it has been so often tried, why should we suppose it would produce such disastrous consequences now? "Be not deceived then, God is not mocked," by such false excuses for not doing justly and loving mercy. There is nothing to fear from immediate Emancipation, but *every thing* from the consequences of slavery.

Sisters in Christ, I have done. As a Southerner, I have felt it was my duty to address you. I have endeavored to set before you the exceeding sinfulness of slavery, and to point you to the example of those noble women who have been raised up in the church to effect great revolutions, and to suffer for the truth's sake. I have appealed to your sympathies as women, to your sense of duty as *Christian women*. I have attempted to vindicate the Abolitionists, to prove the entire safety of immediate Emancipation, and to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed. I have done – I have sowed the seeds of truth, but I well know, that even if an Apollos were to follow in my steps to water them, "*God only* can give the increase." To Him then who is able to prosper the work of this servant's hand, I commend this Appeal in fervent prayer, that as he "*hath chosen the weak things of the world*, to confound the things which are mighty," so He may cause his blessing, to descend and carry conviction to the hearts of many Lydias through these speaking pages. Farewell – Count me not your "enemy because I have told you the truth," but believe me in unfeigned affection,
Your sympathizing Friend,

ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ



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January: Kentucky society having shunned him for having [manumitted](#) his slaves, James Gillespie Birney had removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, and in this month founded there the [Philanthropist](#), which would have a very great influence in the northwest and which would generate the most fearsome opposition. Birney would soon relinquish active control of this publication in order to become the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society and act as a lecturer. Although he favored the immediate abolition of human [slavery](#), he differed tactically from the Garrisonian immediatists, who abhorred the Constitution and favoured secession from the federal union. Pointing to the assaults which the white people of the South had made upon the right trial by jury and of petition, freedom of speech, and the public press, in their stonewall defence of their peculiar institution of slavery, he described the contest as having become “one not alone of freedom for the blacks but of freedom for the whites.”



“I know of no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America.”

— Alexis de Tocqueville





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February 1, Monday: James Henry Hammond of South Carolina declared “Slavery can never be abolished.”⁹⁸ He lay out in graphic detail on the floor of the US House of Representatives, why it was that the federal government would never have it in its power to abolish [slavery](#): “There are about 2,300,000 slaves at this moment in the United States, and their annual increase is about 60,000. Sir, even the British Government did not dare to emancipate its enslaved West India subjects without some compensation. They gave them [the slavemasters] about sixty percent of their value. It could scarcely be expected that this government would undertake to free our slaves without paying for them. Their value, at \$400, average, (and they are now worth more than that) would amount to upwards of nine hundred millions. The value of their annual increase, alone, is twenty-four millions of dollars; so that to free them in one hundred years, without the expense of taking them from the country, would require an annual appropriation of between thirty-three and thirty-four millions of dollars. The thing is physically impossible.” We can bear in mind that this was being said in regard to a federal establishment which had enjoyed gross receipts in 1830 of but \$24,844,000. Merely to purchase and manumit the slave babies as they were being born would have required the entire tax revenue upon which the entire government at that point depended. The only course open to the government therefore was confiscation, which of course would be something politically impossible in a system within which the interests of the enslaved were “represented” by their slavemasters.

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Elsewhere in the world on this day, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) and the *Alert* were sailing from Santa Barbara toward a San Pedro anchorage:

Monday, Feb. 1st. After having been in port twenty-one days, we sailed for San Pedro, where we arrived on the following day, having gone “all fluking,” with the weather clew of the mainsail hauled up, the yards braced in a little, and the lower studding-sails just drawing; the wind hardly shifting a point during the passage.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 1 of 2 M 1836 / With my esteemed Cousin Thos B Gould Set out in the Stage for [Providence](#) to attend the Qrly Meeting -when we got to [Bristol](#) ferry the Ice had so accumulated that we were obliged to go along Shore South & be carted off in an Oxcart among the Cakes of Ice till we were in sufficient depth of Water for a Small boat to float & from thence were carried off to the Great Boat to get on the opposite shore This was great exposure to my dear neice Elizabeth Rodman who was with us on her way to

98. Of course, this legislator was only attempting to inform us of the simplest financial, calculational, quantitative reality and not struggling at all to inform us of the very ugliest moral truth about our soul condition. –For the complete absence in our legal system at the federal level of any formal definition for constructs such as “slave,” “slavery,” and “enslavement,” a void in our conceptual apparatus which persists even to the date of this writing (2013), may serve to remind us of what De Tocqueville, once attempted to point out to the obtuse Americans, “An abstract word is like a box with a false bottom; you may put in it what ideas you please and take them out again unobserved.” If [slavery](#) is, as it has been ever since the 1865 enactment of the XIIIth Amendment to the Constitution, just anything anyone wants to say it is—as long as they do not overlook to invoke the sacred formulation that whatever it may be, it is most assuredly prohibited and therefore entirely nonexistent and therefore not a problem needing to be addressed—then slavery is not anything at all and “slavery” is a word which, because it cannot function except as a signifier for something which must not exist, cannot be functioning as a word of the language but must be functioning, instead, as a box with a false bottom, a “gag rule” we have imposed upon our own minds.



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the [YMBSchool](#) where we arrived about 3 OC in the Afternoon after a cold ride from [Bristol](#) ferry in the Stage Sleigh - After introducing Elizabeth to the Superintendent & teachers of the School - Thos & I went down to [Moses Brown](#) - we found he had gone to Wm Almys on acct of his Birth day [Almy's birthday], having his family & friends around him on the occasion being 75 Years old. - early in the eveng - Moses returned & we took tea & took lodging with him, he being glad to see & entertain us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 17, Thursday: The Constitution of the Republic of [Texas](#): [enslavement](#) was to be for life (with no possibility of [manumission](#) ever); whether or not it should be legal to breed local negro slaves for sale would be an issue to be determined from time to time by the legislature in their wisdom; however, engaging in the [international slave trade](#) was to be a capital crime.

§ 9. All persons of color who were slaves for life before coming to Texas shall remain so. "Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; ... the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is forever prohibited, and declared to be [piracy](#)." LAWS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS (Houston, 1838), I. 19.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 3rd M 1836 / Our meeting was small owing to its being Stormy - Father was not there having a bad cold - It was a silent but solid & to me comfortable Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

HDT

WHAT?

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Mid-April: Frederick Douglass was fearful that he would be “sold south,” but Thomas Auld, his owner, returned him to [Baltimore](#) and put him to work as a [slave](#) apprentice in the ship calking trade and promised this 18-year-old that if he behaved himself in the meanwhile, and learned a trade, he would be handed [manumission](#) papers in 1843, at age 25.⁹⁹

MANIFEST of Negros, Mulattos, and persons of Color, taken on board the Schooner *Gustavus of Duxbury, Mass.* whereof *Solomon Bassett* is Master, burthen *78¹⁵/₁₅* tons, to be transported to the Port of *Savannah, Geo.* in the District of *Savannah* — for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or Labour.

NUMBER OF ENTRY.	NAMES.	SEX.		AGE.	HEIGHT.		Whether Negro, Mulatto, or person of Color.	Owner or Shipper's Name and Residence.
		MALE.	FEMALE.		FEET.	INCHES.		
1	Stephen	Man		21	5	5 3/4	dark complexion	Austin Woolfolk Senr of Augusta, Georgia owner, Shipper & Consignee
2	Samuel	"		21	5	6	black	
3	Joseph	"		25	5	8	do.	
4	Frederick	"		22	5	11 1/4	dark	
5	Sam	"		20	6	00	black	
6	Samson	"		20	5	8	do.	
7	Robert	"		30	5	5 1/4	dark	
8	Susan		Woman	20	5	2 1/2	do.	
9	Harriet		do.	18	5	3	black	
10	Delilah		do.	20	5	3	yellow	
11	Sammy		do.	10	5	2	do.	
12	Ann		do.	20	5	2	dark	
13	Eliza		do.	18	5	1 1/4	black	
14	Israh		do.	36	5	0 1/2	dark	
15	Maria		do.	20	5	4 1/4	do.	
16	Rebecca		do.	19	5	5 1/4	black	
17	Maria		Girl	13	4	10 1/2	do.	
18	Ellen		do.	9	4	11 1/2	dark	
19	Emmetine		do.	16	3	4 1/2	black	
20	Martha		do.	9	4	1 1/2	do.	
21	Louisa		do.	14	3	1 1/4	dark	
22	Charles	Child		2	2	3	yellow	
23	Moranda	Child		2	2	1 1/2	dark	
24	Ellen	Infant		12 Mo.	2	5 1/2	yellow	
25	Polly	Woman		30	5	2 1/4	do.	
26	Isabel	Infant		2 months			do.	

We, *Austin Woolfolk Senr* owner and Shipper of the persons named and particularly described in the above Manifest, and *Solomon Bassett* Master of the Schooner *Gustavus* do solemnly, sincerely, and truly swear, each of us to the best of our knowledge and belief, that the above described Slaves have not been imported into the United States since the first day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight; and that under the Laws of the State of Maryland, they are held to Service or Labour, as Slaves and are not entitled to freedom under these Laws, at a certain time, and after a known period of service. — So Helping God.

Sworn to this 6 day of October 1831 before

COLLECTOR.

Austin Woolfolk Senr
Solomon Bassett

A ship manifest of black Americans being “sold south”

99. “Yes, I know I’ve been holding you in slavery, but I solemnly pledge that I’ll start behaving decently toward you, beginning exactly seven years from now. You can take my word for it, since I’m a white man.” Or words to that effect.

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1837

➡ You've heard [slavery](#) referred to as the “peculiar institution” — let's explore just how peculiar it was.¹⁰⁰ In this year Matilda Lawrence, $\frac{1}{8}$ th black and $\frac{7}{8}$ ths white, visited New-York with her father and owner, Larkin Lawrence of St. Louis, a rich Missouri planter. While in that free state she requested her freedom, promising that if her father gave her [manumission](#) papers, she would return with him to Missouri. He refused, so, coming down the Ohio River on the way back to Missouri, in Cincinnati, the girl jumped ship. I don't know how old she was at this point. She got a job as housekeeper in the home of a former slavemaster named James Gillespie Birney who was running an abolitionist newspaper in Cincinnati, [The Philanthropist](#). Birney



apparently hired her in all innocence, but then she was taken into custody on suspicion of being a slave and a fugitive. After her arrest it would be established that she was the slave of, and the natural daughter of, this Larkin Lawrence plantation master. Birney was of course charged with violating the 1804 Fugitive Slave law. Salmon Portland Chase challenged this law in *Birney v Ohio*, 8 Ohio 230, arguing that it was unconstitutional nationwide and in any case inapplicable in Ohio since the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had made slavery illegal there. He also charged that slavery was a violation of the natural right to human liberty, a right “proclaimed by our fathers in the [Declaration of Independence](#),” although of course he must have understood

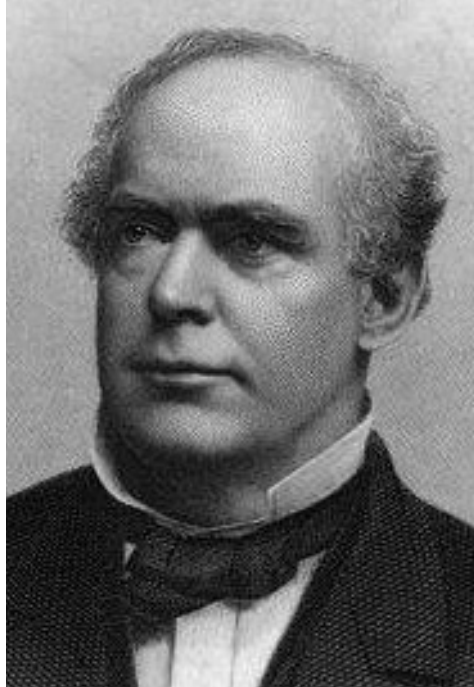
100. This is, I need to point out, a play on words. “Peculiar” did not mean then what it means now. It didn't mean “strange.” What southern white people were meaning when they referred to slavery as their peculiar institution was that although it was something which appeared in the North not to make any sense, and was generating hostility, even outrage, in the South in its complex of institutions and arrangements, the enslaving of blacks seemed to them to be making a whole lot of sense, and any alternative was seeming to them at that time to be unthinkable obtuse. —They were wearing their “It's a Southron Thing, You Wouldn't Understand” T-shirt.



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that the court would consider this merely ludicrous.



"All men are born equally free."

Judge D.K. Este ruled that Matilda Lawrence was legally her father's property and ordered her returned to his custody. Birney was fined \$50. Two days after this decision Matilda would be transported to New Orleans, where her father would have her sold at public auction. "Spare the rod and spoil the child," right? Chase would appeal Birney's fine to the state supreme court. In a manner meant to be distinctly uncomplimentary, Kentucky opponents of Chase would characterize him "The Attorney-General of Fugitive Slaves." Chase would soon be using this title with pride.


"I never refused my help to any person black or white; and I liked the office nonetheless because there were neither fees nor salary connected with it."

Appearing in defense of many fugitives, he would never win a single case. At some anti-slavery rallies Chase would have the honor of being pelted with eggs, and on one occasion would have the honor of being hit with a brick.




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 January 14, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

Lidian's grandmother had a slave Phillis whom she freed. Phillis went to the little colony on the outside of Plymouth which they called New Guinea. Soon after, she visited her old mistress. "Well, Phillis, what did you have for dinner on Thanksgiving Day?" "Fried 'taters, Missy;" replied Phillis. "And what had you to fry the potatoes in?" said Mrs Cotton. "Fried in Water, Missy;" answered the girl. "Well Phillis," said Mrs Cotton, "how can you bear to live up there, so poor, when here you used to have every thing comfortable, & such good dinner at Thanksgiving?" – "Ah Missy, Freedom's sweet," returned Phillis.

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 August 1, Tuesday: The vote to free the slaves of the British West Indies in five years had been two years before, leaving three years to go. In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the decision to emancipate the slaves of the British West Indies, a newspaper article called for the formation of an anti-slavery organization. Here is the hymn written by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) for the celebration at the Broadway Tabernacle in New-York of the 3rd anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies:

O Holy Father! just and true
Are all Thy works and words and ways,
And unto Thee alone is due
Thanksgiving and eternal praise!

As children of Thy gracious care,
We veil the eye, we bend the knee,
With broken words of praise and prayer,
Father and God, we come to Thee.

For Thou has heard, O God of Right,
The sighing of the island slave;
And stretched for him the arm of might,
Not shortened that is could not save.

The laborer sits beneath his vine.
The shackled soul and hand are free;
Thanksgiving! for the work is Thine!
Praise! for the blessing is of Thee!

And oh, we feel Thy presence here,
Thy awful arm of judgment bare!
Thine eye hath seen the bondman's tear;
Thine ear hath heard the bondman's prayer!

Praise! for the pride of man is low,
The counsels of the wise are naught,
The fountains of repentance flow;
What hath our God in mercy wrought?

Speed on Thy work, Lord God of Hosts!
And when the bondman's chain is riven,
And swells from all our guilty coasts
The anthem of the free to Heaven,

Oh, not to those whom Thou hast led,
As with Thy cloud and fire before,
But unto Thee, in fear and dread,
Be praise and glory evermore.

In 1837 I was in New York, in conjunction with Henry B. Stanton and Theodore D. Weld, in the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD

ABOLITIONISM



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1838

In a Louisiana case at law, that of “C.P. Poulard et al v. Delamere et al,” a slave named C.P. Poulard and some of the other former [slaves](#) of Julien Poydras sought legal help in forcing the implementation of their deceased slavemaster’s last will and testament. Julien Poydras had specified in his last will and testament that after his death, his slaves were to be maintained with his lands rather than being sold away. He had specified in his last will and testament, also, that his slaves were to be manumitted at age 60, or after 25 years of service, whichever was earlier, and had arranged for an annual stipend to be given to each former slave. The slaves lost on the issue of their [manumission](#), and they also lost on the money issues, and the court did allow them to be sent out to work on another plantation — but they did achieve a stipulation that they could not be sold away, either by the heirs to the plantation or by the first vendee of any property of the estate.

February: [William Henry Brisbane](#) became an abolitionist (his wife Anne Lawton Brisbane would never unite with him in such sentiment), would greatly regret having sold his 22 field [slaves](#) rather than freeing them, would vow to buy them back and [manumit](#) them, and would transform himself into “the most hated man [by the white people] in the Beaufort District.” He moved with his wife and their three sons to Ohio (eventually then to the West). His wife Anne Lawton Brisbane would be attempting to make ends meet for the family by taking in boarders for \$50 per month.¹⁰¹ He attempted to care for his three slaves whom he manumitted, and went steadily down in the world. —A remark by one of his relatives, writing in a later timeframe: “His endeavour to support his Negroes after freeing them was philanthropic (and idiotic).”



101. I do not understand this figure. It was possible at that time to obtain room and board in American boarding houses for approximately \$1 per week. If Mrs. Brisbane charged each boarder \$5 per month, she would need to have ten boarders at a time to receive an income of \$50, and I think that most boarding houses could not service ten guests at a time. Mrs. Cynthia Thoreau, at her boarding house in Concord, Massachusetts, presumably never provided hospitality for this number of boarders despite the fact that she employed two helpers!



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August 1, Wednesday: [William Lloyd Garrison](#) orated at Charles G. Finney's Broadway Tabernacle in Manhattan (because of the promise to liberate the slaves of the British West Indies beginning on this date, black American communities and those concerned for them had been pointedly ignoring the 4th of July in favor of the 1st of August).

Completion of the process of emancipation of all slaves in the British West Indies under six years of age, and the binding of all other slaves there as apprentices for the term of 5 to 7 years (later this would be reduced to 2 years) to be followed by emancipation, which had begun on August 1, 1834  under conditions of the Abolition Act of August 28, 1833.  As a condition of their cooperation the white "owners" of these black and red "slaves" had received some £20,000,000 in compensation.

"EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...": Parliament was compelled to pass additional laws for the defence and security of the negro, and in ill humor at these acts, the great island of Jamaica, with a population of half a million, and 300,000 negroes, early in 1838, resolved to throw up the two remaining years of apprenticeship, and to emancipate absolutely on the 1st August, 1838. In British Guiana, in Dominica, the same resolution had been earlier taken with more good will; and the other islands fell into the measure; so that on the 1st August, 1838, the shackles dropped from every British slave. The accounts which we have from all parties, both from the planters, and those too who were originally most opposed to the measure, and from the new freemen, are of the most satisfactory kind. The manner in which the new festival was celebrated, brings tears to the eyes. The First of August, 1838, was observed in Jamaica as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. Sir Lionel Smith, the governor, writes to the British Ministry, "It is impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude, which the whole laboring population manifested on that happy occasion. Though joy beamed on every countenance, it was throughout tempered with solemn thankfulness to God, and the churches and chapels were everywhere filled with these happy people in humble offering of praise."

Therefore, [David Lee Child](#) had issued a handbill calling upon his neighbors in [Northampton](#) — to celebrate with him this freeing of the slaves of the British West Indies. On this morning he found a copy of his handbill nailed to his own door, with the word "persons" struck out and replaced by the word "NIGGERS." Locally, support was stronger for the American Colonization Society, which believed that although blacks were inherently inferior and should forever be refused citizenship, "we" should find a way to kindly ship them all back where they came from — this sort of repulsive attitude represented, not the right nor the center, but the extreme far left of acceptable political opinion. As an expression of this sort of attitude toward race, even the town tax list itself was racially segregated, with the names and assessed taxes of black residents listed only after all names and assessments of white residents had been listed.

In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, there was an ad trumpeting a "commemoration of the anniversary of the abolishment of slavery in the British West Indies." On that occasion, the Reverend Orange Scott addressed the group at the Methodist Chapel on Elm Street in Fairhaven; the meeting being sponsored by the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society.



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Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 8th M 1838 / We rode to [Portsmouth](#) & attended the Select Quarterly which was a time of Some favour tho' the life was low in the forepart of it – Mary Shove opened the service in a short lively & I thought pertinent testimony – She was followed by John Meader powerfully & pertinently – & Elizabeth Wing in supplication

This buisness was gone thro' & pretty well conducted & some feeling remarks were made on the State of the Church on reading the Answers to the Queries. –

We dined at Susanna Hathaways after which we went down to the Farm where Uncle Stanton lived on a little buisness & then came home before dark. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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September 18, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal in regard to the annular (partial) solar [eclipse](#) (#7260) that passed from Hudson Bay down across northern New England:

SUN

This P.M. the Eclipse. Peter Howe did not like it for his rowan would not make hay: and he said "the sun looked as if a nigger was putting his head into it."



Well, in some sense Peter Howe of Concord was right, black people were indeed raising their head into the sunshine. For on this day of eclipse Frederick Douglass and Anna Murray Douglass, as free Mr. and Mrs.



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Frederick Johnson, were arriving in their new hometown, [New Bedford](#):

We arrived at [Newport](#) the next morning, and soon after an old fashioned stage-coach, with "New Bedford" in large yellow letters on its sides, came down to the wharf. I had not money enough to pay our fare, and stood hesitating what to do. Fortunately for us, there were two [Quaker](#) gentlemen who were about to take passage on the stage, —Friends William C. Taber and Joseph Ricketson,— who at once discerned our true situation, and, in a peculiarly quiet way, addressing me, Mr. Taber said: "Thee get in." I never obeyed an order with more alacrity, and we were soon on our way to our new home. When we reached "Stone Bridge" the passengers alighted for breakfast, and paid their fares to the driver. We took no breakfast, and, when asked for our fares, I told the driver I would make it right with him when we reached New Bedford. I expected some objection to this on his part, but he made none. When, however, we reached New Bedford, he took our baggage, including three music-books, —two of them collections by Dyer, and one by Shaw,— and held them until I was able to redeem them by paying to him the amount due for our rides. This was soon done, for Mr. Nathan Johnson not only received me kindly and hospitably, but, on being informed about our baggage, at once loaned me the two dollars with which to square accounts with the stage-driver. Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Johnson reached a good old age, and now rest from their labors. I am under many grateful obligations to them. They not only "took me in when a stranger" and "fed me when hungry," but taught me how to make an honest living. Thus, in a fortnight after my flight from [Maryland](#), I was safe in New Bedford, a citizen of the grand old commonwealth of Massachusetts....

WILLIAM C. TABER

JOSEPH RICKETSON

NATHAN JOHNSON

Mary J. Tabor would allege in 1907 something that does not jibe with the popular appreciation of Frederick Douglass that is gathered from reading of his NARRATIVE, to wit, that at this point, with him arriving at freedom in New Bedford, he was not yet able to read, let alone to write. She would allege that in New Bedford after his escape from slavery, it had been her relative [William C. Taber](#) who had found for Douglass the stevedoring work he mentions on the wharves (help not acknowledged in Douglass's written account), and she would allege that at this point Douglass had been taught to read by her relative, the New Bedford bookseller [Charles Taber](#):

Owing to the anti-slavery principles of Friends, New Bedford early became a station on the "underground railroad," and if a fugitive slave could once reach this haven of rest, he felt almost safe from pursuit, public opinion being so strong that



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in the days of the Fugitive Slave Law it would have been impossible to capture a runaway slave in this town.

Frederick Douglass, one of the most remarkable of colored men, passed some time here in safety, and always retained a most grateful recollection of his sojourn among the Quakers. It happened on this wise: Having made his escape from slavery and reached Newport after many perils, he was very anxious to come to New Bedford, that place being known among the slaves as a heaven upon earth.

Hearing the name called out, he peeped shyly around the corner of a building and gazed longingly at the state coach which was filled with "women Friends" on their way home from New England Yearly Meeting. William C. Taber, sitting on the top of the coach, observed the pleading eyes, and said, "Yes, friend, it is all right, climb up here beside me."

No sooner said than done, William C. Taber paid his fare, brought him to his own house, and found work for him on the wharves, as he had been a stevedore at the South. While in New Bedford, he was taught to read by Charles Taber.

Thus the distinguished orator was launched on the road to fame.



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What we have, above, is essentially an assertion that when Douglass arrived in [New Bedford](#) aboard that stage from [Newport, Rhode Island](#), he could not yet read, let alone write. —That that is importantly discordant with the fulsome manner in which the NARRATIVE is now conventionally read, is something that goes without saying.

For their wedding document, the newlyweds had adopted the family name Johnson, but soon this came to seem an unwise selection. At the time the Douglasses were there, New Bedford had the highest per capita income in America. When the fugitive slave Freddy Bailey, then calling himself Frederick Johnson, arrived at the home of Nathan Johnson and Mary “Polly” Johnson in New Bedford (the Douglasses are not the only guests

This is the recent dedication of a plaque at the site, attended by descendants of the original participants:



documented to have found refuge for a time at 21 Seventh Street, next door to the Friends meetinghouse),





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Nathan was reading [Robert Burns](#), and within a day or two Johnson would rename him after the hero Douglas



in *LADY OF THE LAKE*, as Frederick Douglass. (Frederick decided to spell it “Douglass” because there were some black families in New Bedford who were spelling their name that way.)¹⁰²

102. But why did Freddy Bailey *alias* Fred Johnson **accept** the proffered name “Douglass”? Merely because it had been suggested to him? I think not! The Following is from a collection of Douglass’s speeches entitled *LECTURES ON AMERICAN-SLAVERY*, which would be published in 1851:

It is often said, by the opponents of the Anti-slavery cause that, the condition of the people of Ireland is more deplorable than that of the American slaves. Far be it from me to underrate the sufferings of the Irish people. They have been long oppressed; and the same heart that prompts me to plead the cause of the American bondman, makes it impossible for me not to sympathize with all the oppressed of all lands. Yet I must say that there is no analogy between the two cases. The Irishman is poor, but he is not a slave. He may be in rags, but he is not a slave. He is still the master of his own body and can say with the poet,

“The hand of Douglass is his own.”



Thus in all probability the name was chosen because although it was intentionally opaque it nevertheless suggested, at least to its bearer, in the idea that “The hand of Douglass is his own,” the same sort of thing that was suggested in that time by the more usual name “Freeman” meaning “the free man.”

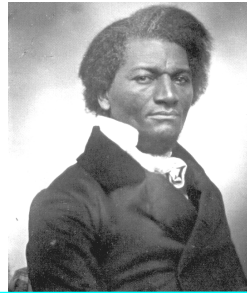
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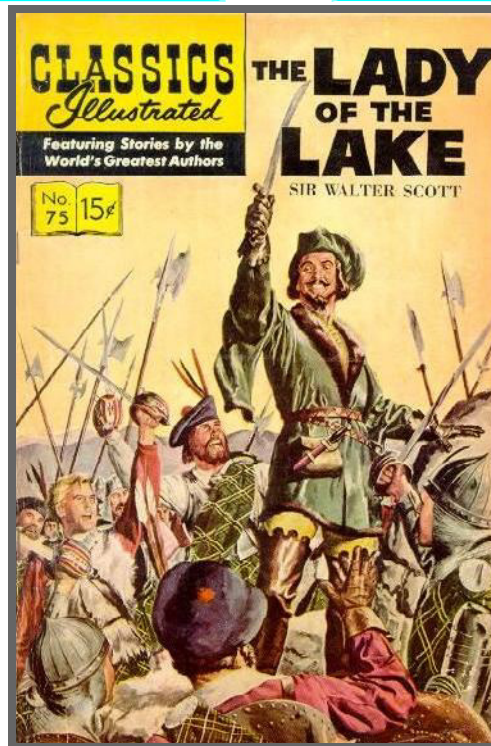
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ANNA MURRAY DOUGLASS



FREDERICK DOUGLASS



The first thing these Douglasses with a wedding certificate in the name of Johnson, but with no [manumission](#) papers to produce for the husband whether he was named “Mr. Douglas” or “Mr. Johnson,” discovered in “free” [New Bedford](#) was that racial prejudice would prevent the husband from using his skills as a ship calker. It was explained that all the white calkers would quit. Work was found for him, by Friend [William C. Taber](#), as a stevedore, carrying oil aboard a vessel, and he then had to saw wood, shovel coal, sweep chimneys, and roll casks in an oil refinery. However, accounts of such Jim Crow experiences would not fit into the narrative he later needed to tell to righteous Northern abolition audiences, for whom South=Them=Evil meant North=Us=Good, and so Douglass ordinarily suppressed this experience of racial prejudice in New




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Bedford.¹⁰³

Finding my trade of no immediate benefit, I threw off my calking habiliments, and prepared myself to do any kind of work I could get to do.

Although a skilled craftsman could not get work in his craft in that city at that time, due entirely to the color of his skin, Frederick Douglass did not speak of this until 1881 , when in a reference to “the test of the real civilization of the community,” he suggested that the [New Bedford](#) of the 1840s had failed that test:



I am told that colored persons can now get employment at calking in New Bedford.

103. If “French” innocence consists in the refusal to be shamed by the nature of one’s pleasures, and if the “German” variety consists in an awareness that so long as one is sacrificing oneself, no-one has a right to object to one’s sacrificing them as well, and if the “English” consists in a principled refusal to take responsibility for one’s obedience to improper instructions from one’s betters, and the “Italian” in not happening to notice where you have your hand, then the innocence of the USer must consist in a refusal or a failure to recognize evil of which we ourselves are the beneficiaries.



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In fuller detail:

... The name given me by my dear mother was no less pretentious and long than Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. I had, however, while living in [Maryland](#), dispensed with the Augustus Washington, and retained only Frederick Bailey. Between Baltimore and New Bedford, the better to conceal myself from the slave-hunters, I had parted with Bailey and called myself Johnson; but in New Bedford I found that the Johnson family was already so numerous as to cause some confusion in distinguishing them, hence a change in this name seemed desirable. Nathan Johnson, mine host, placed great emphasis upon this necessity, and wished me to allow him to select a name for me. I consented, and he called me by my present name—the one by which I have been known for three and forty years—Frederick Douglass. Mr. Johnson had just been reading the "Lady of the Lake," and so pleased was he with its great character that he wished me to bear his name. Since reading that charming poem myself, I have often thought that, considering the noble hospitality and manly character of Nathan Johnson—black man though he was—he, far more than I, illustrated the virtues of the Douglas of Scotland. Sure am I that, if any slave-catcher had entered his domicile with a view to my recapture, Johnson would have shown himself like him of the "stalwart hand." ...My "Columbian Orator," almost my only book, had done nothing to enlighten me concerning Northern society. I had been taught that slavery was the bottom fact of all wealth. With this foundation idea, I came naturally to the conclusion that poverty must be the general condition of the people of the free States. In the country from which I came, a white man holding no slaves was usually an ignorant and poverty-stricken man, and men of this class were contemptuously called "poor white trash." Hence I supposed that, since the non-slave-holders at the South were ignorant, poor, and degraded as a class, the non-slave-holders at the North must be in a similar condition. I could have landed in no part of the United States where I should have found a more striking and gratifying contrast, not only to life generally in the South, but in the condition of the colored people there, than in New Bedford. I was amazed when Mr. Johnson told me that there was nothing in the laws or constitution of Massachusetts that would prevent a colored man from being governor of the State, if the people should see fit to elect him. There, too, the black man's children attended the public schools with the white man's children, and apparently without objection from any quarter. To impress me with my security from recapture and return to slavery, Mr. Johnson assured me that no slave-holder could take a slave out of New Bedford; that there were men there who would lay down their lives to save me from such a fate.



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1840

The 6th national census.¹⁰⁴ Black Americans were becoming more numerous, in Mississippi at this point, than white Americans. In Massachusetts, the average free black able-bodied workingman was receiving one dollar per day for a laboring year of 260 working days, or a total of \$260 annual income.

In the [Rhode Island](#) census, [Cato Pearce](#) was listed as an agricultural laborer living alone in [Cranston](#), with Thomas Cole as a neighbor. Cato indicates in his 1842 narrative that for many years he lived in Cranston with Deacon Thomas Cole and Mrs. Cole. Deacon Cole was a white man, a [Baptist](#), and had assisted Cato even before the 1820 incident with Potter Senior.

[Edward Jarvis](#) uncovered serious errors in the Massachusetts census of this year, and [Lemuel Shattuck](#) uncovered serious errors in the [Boston](#) census.

It having become abundantly clear that the new American Statistical Society had been poorly named, its initialism being ASS, the name was corrected to a less undignified American Statistical Association. (It's obvious that these were high-minded gentlemen — or they would have seen this one coming.)

As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day's travel inland

104. The rise in [manumissions](#) in the post-Revolutionary period had increased the proportion of free black Americans from about 8% to about 13.5%, where it had been holding steady. A decline in manumissions in the late antebellum period, combined with the lesser fecundity of free black Americans, would move the free-to-enslaved proportion back down to about 11% as we arrived at our [Civil War](#):

Census	% in Population
1790	8%
1810	13.5%
1840	13.5%
1861	11%

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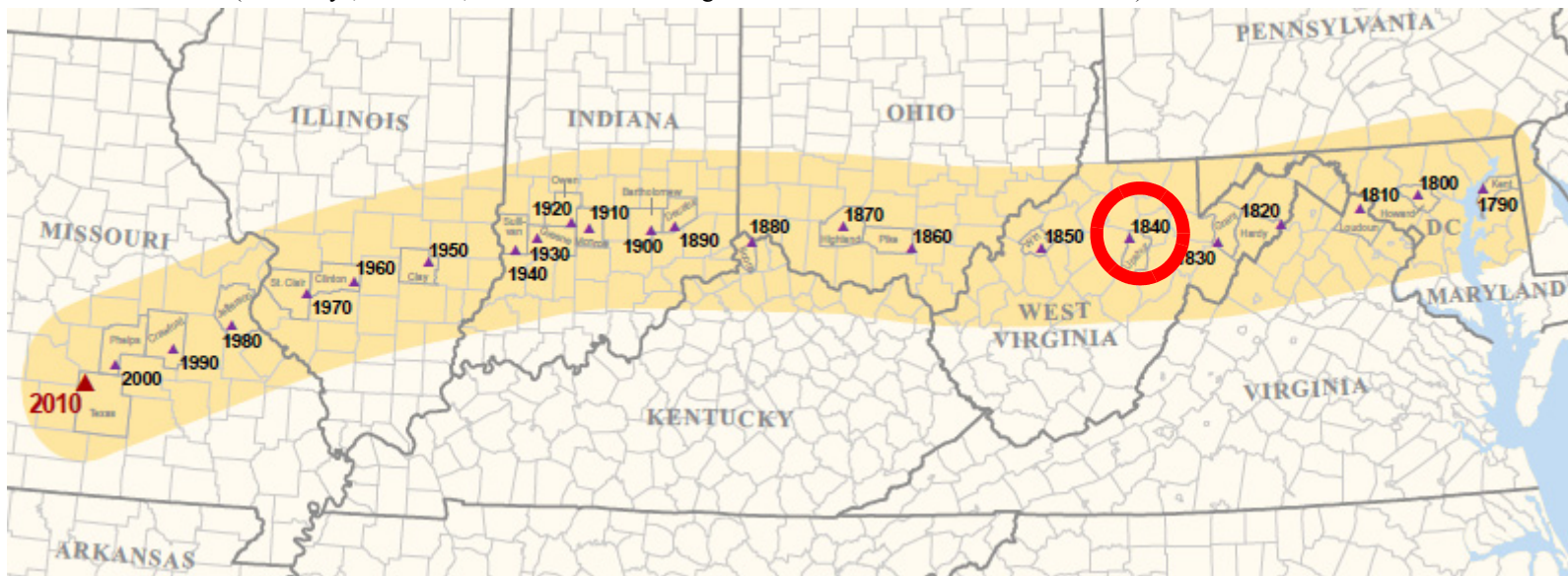
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from [Baltimore](#). By this period the center of population had relocated.



(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)





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February: The abolitionists persuaded the Reverend Dr. [William Henry Brisbane](#), a [Baptist](#) and a former slaveholder in South Carolina, to speak before the Female Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle in Cincinnati, Ohio, and explained to them in detail just how it was that he had been brought to change his views on the subject of slavery. He was repurchasing the 22 black field [slaves](#) that he had sold in South Carolina, and paying for their passage north, and [manumitting](#) them, despite the fact that this effort was impoverishing his white family. His speech would be issued as a pamphlet, which would produce his termination at the 1st Baptist Church in Cincinnati, so he would found a 6th Baptist Church opposed to slavery.

“WE ARE VERILY GUILTY CONCERNING OUR BROTHER”

BY the grace of God, having been fully convinced that slavery, perpetual, involuntary servitude, is a condition of wrong to man, and on the part of the master, of sin against God, I feel it a duty to myself as well as to society, to make known in a public manner, that I most heartily repent of all part that I have heretofore voluntarily taken in supporting this unholy system of wrong and oppression. Instructed from my earliest childhood, to regard as my inferiors, all who belong to the sable race of Africa, and being in bonds myself to that un- hallowed prejudice which presumes the black man was designed by. God to be the white man's slave, it was not until the year 1833, (Nov. 8th, when I was 27 years of age, that my attention was drawn to the subject of American Slavery. A number of an Anti-slavery pamphlet was put. into my hands; at first I threw it from me with disdain; but after a few hours, to gratify curiosity, I condescended to give it a perusal. The object of the pamphlet was to show that the doctrines of Mr. Calhoun applied to the colored people in bondage were of equal force as when brought in defence of the white man's rights. I had imbibed the political principles of this distinguished statesman; but I now felt the form of his arguments as applied where I had never anticipated their application. It was an entirely new thought to me, and feeling the religions obligation to have regard to the interests and rights of my fellow men, as well as my own, I trembled at the prospect of having to diminish my means of support by yielding to my convictions of duty. Yet I was on the point of proclaiming freedom at once to all on my plantation; but a second thought directed me to the Bible as the proper source from which to learn obligations and my duty. A few hours examination with my mind unconsciously warped by interest, and blinded by prejudice, brought me to the conclusion that the Bible taught that man has a right to hold his fellow man as property. It was easy for me in my circumstances to perceive that Canaan's curse was God's charter to Shem's and Japhat's posterity, to make Africans their slaves. It was easy to regard Abraham as the prototype of an American slaveholder. It was easy to understand the tenth commandment as a security to the slaveholder against the covetousness of his neighbor. It was easy to consider the servitude under the Mosaic law as strictly analogous to that in



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which I held my own slaves. It was easy to pervert the New Testament precepts to servants, of submission to wrong, and to masters, of regard for the interests of those servants, into a right on the part of the one to retain the other in bondage. In a word, it was easy for one who wished it so, to find in the Bible a sanction for American Slavery. And I became readily convinced that abolitionism was fanaticism, and that abolitionists were deserving the execration of the American people and the indignation of Almighty God. I wrote in vindication of slavery, to prove that the Bible sanctioned it. My essays were published in the Charleston Mercury, with commendation, and I rejoiced that the light of truth had fallen so brightly on my vision.

On the first of January 1835, I commenced editing a religious paper in Charleston, S. C. In this paper I honestly expressed my conviction in favor of slavery, and zealously defended the institution whenever I had a suitable opportunity. I read but little on the other side of the question, for it is regarded unsafe in that community to receive abolition documents, and in addition to this, as I myself conceived, necessary precaution, I felt so satisfied that my own views were incontrovertible, that I sought not for anti-slavery information. I thought I had light enough, and felt secure in my own interpretation of the Scriptures. Some few of the papers with which I exchanged did venture occasionally to call our attention to the subject, but without much attempt at argument or reason. Feeling themselves dependent upon patronage for support, they were cautious how they touched so delicate a subject, and I reflected with much quietude on the infallibility of my own conclusions. But in July of the same year, I received a paper containing Dr. Wayland's chapter on Personal Liberty, an extract from his Elements of Moral Science, just then published. This produced a powerful effect on my feelings, and I began to doubt the correctness of the views I had been entertaining. I thought, however, after reading the article a second time, that I detected its errors, and I sat down to write something in reply. After writing three pages on human rights, I found my own argument leading to such anti-republican conclusions as to startle myself. I then made a second effort at reply, but was, despite of myself, compelled to modify my views of slavery. I saw that I must either give up my republican principles, or admit that slavery in its origin was unjust, and that if freedom be a good, slavery is an evil. Yet I did not perceive how I could be blamed for the bondage of my slaves, inasmuch as they were slaves, before they came into my possession. I had an apprehension that those born on my place were made slaves by myself, but I was inclined to think that the responsibility could not rest on me, as I was only acting in agreement with the laws of the country. To my mind, too, the Bible seemed to justify the practice of slavery, although its principles must be opposed to the principle of slavery. I was greatly troubled – I read Dr. Wayland's treatise about seven times over. I found in Rees' Cyclopaedia some thoughts on the



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subject. I was anxious, exceedingly anxious, to have the subject fully before me; but I dared not have in my house any abolition publications, and so I had but a poor opportunity to find materials to work against my interest and my prejudices. With me, all was doubt. I could arrive at no definite conclusions. I saw clearly that slavery and republicanism were not consistent; but I thought slavery was justifiable on the ground of necessity. Our fathers had fixed it upon us. It was interwoven into the policy of the country, and a general emancipation, I feared, would be ruinous. Many would be reduced to poverty by it. It then occurred to me that, if necessity was the law by which it must be justified, that the law would not apply to myself, since I could grant freedom to those I had, and then not be reduced to want. On the whole, I was in such a state of doubt that I felt it my duty to choose the safe side, and since I had perfect right to liberate my slaves, but thought it at least possible that slavery was sinful, I made up my mind to offer to my slaves the liberty to go either to Liberia or any free state they might choose. I made them the proposal distinctly, fully, and honestly; but what could the poor creatures do? They had no knowledge of other countries, they knew not to what want they might be reduced in a strange land, and I could give them no satisfactory information, for I was not possessed of it myself. They had been accustomed to regard me as a kind master, and they preferred to be among the connections they had formed in the neighborhood. They therefore chose to remain where they were, and to work in my service. I dismissed my overseer, and left my plantation to their almost entire control, determined to supply them with what they needed, in proportion to the proceeds of the crops they made. No sooner did I take this step, than I became the object of calumny and abuse. Although I had broken no law of the State; had interfered with no man's privileges; had not urged my troubles upon any one; and was doing no more than a conscientious man was obliged to do; I was, nevertheless, so threatened and vilified; that it was a question whether I ought not at once to leave the country for my personal safety. That I was not an abolitionist was made evident, by the continued vindication of the system of slavery in the paper I was editing in Charleston; for although I had given up the defence of slavery in the abstract, yet I still apologized for it on the ground of necessity; and my course with regard to my slaves was my own private affair. But, "Millions of opening mouth to fame belong, And every mouth is furnished with a tongue, And round with listening ears the plague is hung." "Rumor was the messenger of defamation," and every thing was greatly exaggerated, as malice increased its publicity – yet even then, I had such an opinion of the abolitionists that I would rather have been called an assassin than an abolitionist. But suspicions were strong against me, and an effort was made by Christian people to take patronage from my paper, because I would no longer say that slavery was right in itself, and ought to be supported. A minister of the gospel, of my own denomination, and one of the



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most respected in that region of country, expressed it as his opinion that my paper ought not to be supported. He became so excited in conversation with me, that he was not in a state of mind to understand what my real sentiments were – yet this minister was my personal friend, for whom I still have the highest regard, and who, I am sure, did not feel conscious how he was affected by prejudice and self-interest. It became every where rumored that I was an abolitionist; it was reported that for my incendiary movements I was arrested and confined in Barnwell jail. Twice did I receive intelligence of a determination to tar and feather me. Members of churches would walk out as soon as I rose in the pulpit to preach. I was informed that in Barnwell District, it was a subject of agitation whether I should not be kept from their pulpits. Nor was the persecution confined to myself; my slaves were afraid to leave the plantation lest they might be abused – until as a question of humanity, I though I had better sell them than retain them in my possession. My own relatives would tell me of the impolicy of allowing my slaves so much more privilege and so much better fare, than other masters gave. Indeed, my regard, for them, my anxiety for my own family, my sympathy for my friends, the appeals to my feelings, the vituperation and abuse, and the threats of violence, all conspired to hinder me from coming to any definite conclusion with regard to the morality of slaveholding; and I began to think I must have been morbidly sensitive on a question that to other minds seemed so clear; that I had been in error in the course I had adopted with regard to my slaves; and I was forced by public sentiment to let the subject alone until I could regain my standing in the community. But I settled it in my own mind, that as soon as I could come away without being driven away and when my standing in my own denomination should be regained, and the way was clear before me, I would leave the jurisdiction of Lynch Law, and place myself in a condition to examine the subject, until my conscience could be fully satisfied either that slavery was or was not a wrong and a sin. I gave up my paper; I retired from all public associations, and kept as private as possible, until my persecutors were silenced and defamation had ceased. In the meantime I had nothing to read on the subject of slavery, and my mind tho' not satisfied, was quiet. Finally, the time came, when from my standing as a minister, and my position in my own denomination, I had the strongest personal inducements to remain at the South. It was then that I took the opportunity to come to this state. But before I came, the question must be settled, what shall I do with my slaves? I dared not attempt their freedom under the circumstances of the case. I could not with safety to themselves leave them without a protector; I was offered the market price for them in cash. This I refused, because I knew not where to go. I then proposed to my brother-in-law, to let him have them on a credit of seven years at somewhere about \$200 less each than I had been offered for them in cash. Had connexions among his slaves, and it suited them best to belong



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to him. I did this under the conscientious impression that it was the best plan which the circumstances of the case allowed me to adopt. And retaining three of my slaves, I came to this state. I came with my prejudices strong against the Abolition Society, and these prejudices were increased by the movements of a few unwise members of that Society, the temper and spirit of whose minds are enough to do injury to any cause. But, I determined to give the abolitionists a hearing; to investigate their principles, and to satisfy myself on the subject of slavery. I accordingly subscribed for the Philanthropist, although I almost felt like polluting my fingers whenever I touched it. Weld's Bible Argument I examined; it vexed me because its style seemed to be the language of bitter passions, and I lost the argument in my anger with the author. I seized my pen with the hope I could reply to it, and wrote six pages of objections to the author's introduction, but when I came to dispose his arguments, oh, my conscience; I found myself already convinced that he had the truth on his side, that slavery was wrong, however I might be scorched by the burning eloquence of the writer. I could cavil, but I could no longer say that the Bible sanctioned slavery, and I gave what I had written to the flames. I determined to emancipate fully the three slaves I had retained; although they were then worth not less than \$2200. Since that time, I have carefully investigated the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society; and the principles of their constitution, until I have become heartily sorry that I ever allowed the cry of "fanaticism" against them to hinder the truth from shining into my own mind, and my heart from sympathizing with them in the noble spirit of their philanthropic enterprise. I rejoice now that I am emancipated from that inglorious prejudice which enslaved me to error and to wrong, and by which even now, thousands of my fellow-citizens, even in the free states, are imprisoned and in darkness. Satisfied that slavery is a wrong to man and a sin against God, on my late visit to the South, I proposed to the gentleman to whom I sold out, to recant, but he declined it. (The sale amounted to about \$10,000.) After I returned, I wrote him a letter, of which the following is an exact copy.

CINCINNATI, OHIO: Jan. 4th 1840

DEAR EDWARD—

I have a proposition to make to you which I do not know how you, will receive. It is to get from you all the negroes I sold you and their issue, at the price you took them — or rather as many of them as I can secure freedom to. There may be some of them so situated as to refuse to come into a free state for their freedom. But what I wish of you is to let me have them all, if I can secure freedom to all, or as many of them as I can possibly succeed in emancipating. I feel that slavery is sinful, and that I was wrong to sell those I had. — I had no right from God to them, and thus convinced, I shall never be easy in mind until I can get them out of bondage fairly and honestly. I have thought about this matter from beginning to end, and as I love my Savior,



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I feel that I ought to clear my skirts entirely of the responsibility of slavery. If it must continue, let the responsibility rest upon those whose consciences allow them to uphold it. But I cannot stand my convictions on this subject any longer, and I now throw the responsibility entirely upon yourself, if those slaves I sold you be not emancipated. I make you the distinct offer to take them back. If you refuse, the account stands between you and God. I do my duty in making this appeal, and you must carry the matter to the judgement seat of Christ. But I beg you, Edward to ponder the subject well before you refuse. Remember that these are immortal souls whom you are to meet at the bar of God. Oh, let them not have to say, we were in prison and you comforted us not. I suppose it will be a struggle in your mind what to do; but, Edward, for the sake of making some of the sordid dust of the earth, let not your heart disregard the welfare of these poor slaves. I can get them here, and here provision can be made for them in one of the counties in this State, where they can have opportunity to rise in character as well as worldly prosperity. Let me know if you are willing to do it, and then I can adjust the matter for them. I will not occupy any part of this letter to prove to you that slavery is wrong, that it has no sanction in the word of God; but to show you what I think about it, I send you a little tract that has been one of the means of settling my mind. It may help to get your consent to let me have the negroes back. My love to Charlotte and the children.

Your affectionate brother, Wm. Henry BRISBANE - P. S. Let me know what you will take for June, and if I can get Jeffery, should you be willing to let me have their wives Diana and Daphne. W. H. B.

To Edward H. Peeples Lawtonville SC

My object in exhibiting this letter is, to show that I not only have the conviction that slavery is wrong, but that I am willing to make restitution for the wrong I did in selling those slaves that had a just right to demand of me their liberty, but whose ignorance and weakness, or Christian forbearance prevented their seeking that justice which by nature belongs to them. And now it will probably be asked, how I have arrived at the conclusion that slavery is a wrong to man and a sin against God. I will answer this first as a man, and then as a Christian. As a man, I honor the principles of our [Declaration of Independence](#). I believe that our noble fathers spoke, the truth when they declared "these truths to be self evident: - that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit, of happiness." There are some things so obvious, that their very simplicity makes it ridiculous to attempt to prove them. And hence it is, that our noble fathers made no attempt to prove that all men are created equal, that they have a natural right to liberty; they did not dream that their sons would be such simpletons as to require proof of this; and hence, instead of attempting to demonstrate it, they called



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it a self-evident truth. And there is not a man who has the spirit of a man, but feels he has as natural a right to freedom and independence as the proud monarch who sits upon a throne. And as a man, conscious of my own rights, and jealous of those rights, I feel that that man is degraded, who is so humbled as not to know he has a right to liberty and independence. As a Christian, he may submit to wrong, but as a man, he must feel that it is his tyrant's power alone that makes him a slave. What intelligent man is there who, when left to the impulses of his nature, uncontrolled by the grace of God, does not exclaim, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Yea, do not Christians themselves fight for freedom; and did not he who lives in the hearts of his countrymen as the Father of our Independence, fight for the liberty we enjoy; and was not Washington a Christian? I do not say that a Christian ought to fight even for liberty; but this I say that such is his consciousness of right to liberty, that it is hard to convince him that it is Christian forbearance to submit to slavery. It is a self-evident truth that man, immortal man, has the charter of freedom written in his heart, and nothing but injustice or want can make him a slave – and as I value my consistency, as I value my principles, those principles taught by Franklin, Jefferson and Washington, and into which I was indoctrinated by such men as Hamilton, Hayne and McDuffie, I will respect the rights of man, whatever be the color of his skin. And as I value justice, God forbid that I should dishonor humanity, by making even an ignorant African my slave. I may not indeed, be prepared to say with Cowper, "I had much rather be myself the slave;" but this I do say that if I will to own a slave, I deserve myself to be a slave. And now as a Christian, I will answer how I conclude that slavery is a wrong to man, and a sin against God. It is because slavery is a wrong to man, that it is a sin against God for God has said Love thy neighbor as thyself. Shall I teach you from the Bible that American slavery is a wrong to man? Is not the Bible itself given for the good of man, and does it not say to all, search the Scriptures? But do not the laws of slavery forbid man to read the chart that God has sent him to mark his way to Heaven? And is not this a wrong to man? Does not the Bible say, What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder? And do not the laws of slavery empower the wicked man to separate husbands and wives, and tear the infant from its mother's breast? And is this no wrong to man? Do not American laws declare that a colored man's word shall not be taken in a court of justice? And is he not refused a jury trial? And are these no wrong to man? Is it no wrong, no oppression, to keep a man in such a condition, that he must stand a cool spectator, to see his master abuse and chastise the partner of his honor, and to allow his own children to be scourged before his face? Is it no wrong to chain the immortal mind of man, and however noble and gifted the intellect which God has given him, to forbid the intellectual training of that immortal mind? Is it no oppression, to starve the soul, and prevent the growth of its moral powers? Is it no wrong, no



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oppression, when professing Christians will not allow their fellow Christians in the same church with them to enjoy equal church privileges with themselves, tho' God has enjoined them to have no respect of persons? Are all these things and vastly more that might be named, no wrong to man? I now know my Bible better than to believe it upholds a system like this. And you know that if the Bible did sanction such wrongs as these, you could not prevail upon men to believe the Bible to be the book of God. No – teach such a doctrine as this, and you dare not call the New Testament the glad tidings of salvation. The minister's voice would become powerless, and infidels would revel in triumph and victory. Does not the Bible teach us, that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men," that all men are our neighbors, and that we must love our neighbors as ourselves? Then do not belie the Bible by the assertion, that it sanctions such a system of legalized oppression as American slavery. But will it be said, that these oppressions are rather the abuse of slavery than slavery itself and tho' the Bible condemns these wrongs, it sanctions a condition of involuntary servitude? I answer that these things are the very essence of slavery; Teach the slave to read, and he will study your [Declaration of Independence](#) until it kindles in his bosom the free spirit of Patrick Henry. Teach him to read, and he will learn that his master is a tyrant and Christian forbearance alone will allow him to endure his bondage. Let the laws forbid the violent separation of husbands and wives and kindred; let the colored man be allowed to bear testimony in a court of justice; give him a right to jury trial; give him the right to defend his wife and children from abuse and wrong; repeal all laws that restrain his mental and his moral improvement; enact laws and enforce them, requiring masters to give to their servants wages, and whatever "is just and equal;" and let Christians give their colored brethren equality of church rights. Let these things be done, and the Abolition Society is dissolved instantly. These oppressions are not the mere abuse of slavery – they are the bone and sinew of involuntary servitude – without these slavery could not exist a day. And does the Bible uphold a system, which requires oppression to support its existence? Never, no, never. It is a calumny upon the Bible to say that it does. I look into the Old Testament, and there, when I am not blindfolded by my interests and my prejudices, I learn that slavery was regarded as a curse to be made use of as a punishment for crime; that it guarded against involuntary servitude by forbidding all covetousness; that it required that whoso stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death; that it provided for the freedom of those who by poverty and misfortune, might be brought into bondage, either at the expiration of six years, or of forty-nine years at most; that it secured the servant against cruel treatment, by demanding his freedom for the loss of even a tooth; that it required the master to give up his bondman whenever his kindred or himself could redeem him; that it forbid the



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restoration of one to slavery who ran away from his master. There too is the history of that people whom the Lord with a mighty hand delivered from Egyptian bondage, and whose masters he punished with tremendous plagues. I then looked into the New Testament, and I find Jesus standing up in the synagogue, and taking for his text that verse in Isaiah. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach, deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." I see that when he did lead captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men, that they who first imbibed the precious doctrines of his gospel, had all things common; and among them could therefore have been no distinction of master and slave. I see that this apostle preached that the law was made for men-stealers, and that tho' one who was bound should not seek to be loosed, yet if he could have his freedom, "use it rather" – and he taught masters to give unto their servants that which is just and equal – and to Philemon he wrote, that he had authority from Christ to enjoin it upon him to receive back Onesimus, not as a servant, but a brother beloved; tho' he would rather him do it willingly, than of necessity. And I read another Apostle saying, "Go to, now ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries, that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and your silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." These things, yea, all the principles of the Christian religion teach me, that no man can be a slaveholder without trampling upon some of those principles; without neglecting the great law, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Think, not that modern abolitionists alone teach the doctrine that slavery is a sin. Some of you admire much the distinguished Methodist, Adam Clarke – and if I were to be the author of such language as he has used in his Commentary on this subject with regard to slaveholders, I know not whether tarring and feathering would be considered by some, mild enough for me. Hear what he thought of Christians owning slaves. He says, "In heathen countries, slavery was somewhat excusable: among Christians, it is an enormity and a crime, for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment." Nor was Adam Clarke the only Methodist who thought slavery a sin; John Wesley, the father of Methodism, declared, "Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air. And no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature." Nor did Methodists only thus testify to the sin of slavery. You who admire the eloquent Robert Hall hear what he said; "The claims of the planters to hold their negroes in perpetual bondage, is vitiated in its origin; and



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having commenced in an act of injustice, can never acquire the sanction, of right." If then, I have erred in my judgment of what the Scriptures teach in regard to such slavery as exists in these United States, there is some reason for my error when some of the most eminent ministers of the Gospel have erred before me. And I am sure, it must be time to suspect that slavery is a sin against God, when such men as Clarke, and Wesley, and Robert Hall, and Francis Wayland so regard it. Having thus satisfied myself that slavery is wrong, I forthwith abandon it. I shall no longer be responsible for its existence. Nor can I conceive of any middle ground between right and wrong. If slavery be wrong, it cannot be right. And as I prefer to be right, and as I reverence the principles of the Christian religion above all things else, I will endure poverty, yea, die in a hospital, before I will allow myself to be the instrument of aiding and abetting a system of wrong against my fellow man, and of sin against my God. Yes, Before I will practice contrary to the principles of the gospel I profess to love, I will "hate father and mother, and wife and children, and friends, and all things," and trust my God for that "peace which passeth all understanding, and which the world can neither give nor take away." If the Scriptures be rather dark on this subject, perhaps, they are so for the same reason that Jesus spake to the Jews in parables; "because they seeing, see not; and hearing, they hear not; neither do they understand; for this people's heart is waxed gross and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted." But to my mind the conviction has come, that the principles of the gospel are incompatible with American slavery, and acting upon that conviction, I separate myself from it, and leave it for those who have easier consciences, to maintain a system, which originated in breaches of the eighth and tenth commandments of God's Moral Law, and can only be supported by doing violence to the gospel of Jesus Christ. But it may be asked, how is it that so many wise and good men can continue in the practice of holding their fellow men in bondage, if it be indeed so opposed to the principles of the gospel? For an answer to this question I would refer you to the life of that eminently pious man, Rev. John Newton, who even after he became a Christian, and one too of no ordinary character for piety, continued to visit the coast of Africa, to obtain slaves for the West India market, and he says of himself, "During the time I was engaged in the slave trade, I never had the least scruple as to its lawfulness. I was, upon the whole, satisfied with it as the appointment Providence had marked out for me." And yet this good man, according to his own account, was in an employment that "was perpetually conversant with chains, bolts, and shackles." Now, if a pious Christian could go on without compunction of conscience in, such a piratical trade as this, surely we need not be surprised that men accustomed from their infancy to regard the colored man as



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designed by God to be the white man's slave, and whose interest and friendships are identified with the system, find it easy to convince themselves that what the Bible teaches in regard to the servant's duty to his master, and the master's obligations to his servant, is plain proof that it is not a Christian's duty to liberate his slaves. It does not follow, because a man is pious, his judgment is correct. The wisest of men have erred in judgment, and the best of men have sinned against God. I do not accuse my brethren of the South of a want of religious feeling. They are bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh. It was with them I was taught the religion of Jesus. And would to God, I had the piety of many of my southern friends who by their daily walk and conversation give evidence that they are born of God, and whose works, and zeal, and labors of love, would put many an abolitionist to the blush. I know many, very many owners of slaves, who, I believe, will be brilliant gems in the crown of Jesus Christ; for Jesus has prayed for them, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And that mighty prayer will prevail, and not one of them whom the Father has given to Jesus will be lost. But oh! that they could see that they are doing injustice to their brethren whom they are to sit round the table of the Lord to drink the new wine in their Father's kingdom. Oh! spirit of free grace, open their eyes to see that the law of love requires that they "break every yoke and let the oppressed go free." But what is a Christian slaveholder to do, whose State laws forbid the emancipation of his slaves? I answer, that he who becomes convinced that slavery is a wrong to man and a sin against God, will soon find out how to get rid of it and clear himself of farther guilt in its participation. Whilst there are free states in this Union, there will be room enough for conscientious Christians to find a home where, with reasonable wages, their servants may still labor for their support. But if this cannot be done, then let them do what they can where they are towards ameliorating the condition of their slaves by paying them reasonable wages, and allowing them as much as possible the privileges of free men - and so leaving it in their wills that their heirs shall rather be the guardians than the masters of these slaves. Let them, too, use all their influence to have the law repealed that forbids manumission, and all other laws that allow one man to regard another as a chattel and a thing. Let no man plead necessity in excuse for slaveholding, so long as he has not made every effort to raise from the dust the poor slave whose rights he has so long been trampling beneath his feet. God does not require impossibilities, but he does require in full according to that which a man hath. And let no man console himself with the hope that because the laws of this State sustain oppression, he is not individually responsible for the support of those laws. In this country we are republicans, and not in the condition of those Christians who themselves being subject to the Roman powers, had no power to control the civil institutions of the Roman Empire. Every free citizen here is a part of the



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sovereignty of his State and his influence and his vote help to make and to repeal laws. And let Christians in the Southern States exert that influence against slavery which they now use in its favor, and the days of slavery are numbered. And that they be brought to use this influence, let Christians here in the free states do what in charity to their brethren they ought to do, towards convincing the South that slavery ought to be abolished. It is for these states themselves to legislate on this subject, and when the South becomes convinced that slavery ought to be abolished. They have wisdom enough to know how to accomplish it with the least disadvantage to their private interest and their political prosperity. In conclusion, let me say to the Anti-Slavery Society, God speed your efforts. Adhere strictly to the principles of your constitution; remember that it is by moral suasion and by peaceful measures, and not by resorting to physical force, that the rights of the oppressed ought to be vindicated. The slave is bound by the spirit of the gospel to submit patiently to his wrongs; but it is for those who can feel for other's pains, to remember them who are in bonds as bound with them, and by argument, by entreaty, by exhortation, by warning, persuade their master to manumit his slaves. It is to your efforts that I am principally indebted for that change of sentiments by which I am here pleading the cause of the oppressed, and although I am no great acquisition to your noble enterprise, yet since it has been the means of liberating at least two of the sons of Africa from slavery, and perhaps of twenty more, it is a success, small as it is, for which you may "thank God and take courage." Be not disheartened because you are weak, despised and abused: quail not before a vicious public sentiment; be prudent, be cautious, be wise, but never abandon the grand enterprise upon which you have entered, until the welkin rings with the joyous shouts of Africa's emancipated sons.

But finally, my respected audience allow me to say that it is by imbibing the spirit of the gospel we prepare ourselves for maintaining the principles of truth, and for doing justice to mankind. In a state of sin, we are ourselves slaves to our worst passions, and we need the blood of Jesus Christ to set our own souls at liberty from that hardest of all bondage in which Satan holds us with an iron grasp. There is an awful bondage, who are held in everlasting chains under darkness unto the "judgment of the great day." Whilst then we seek the liberty of man from a temporal yoke, let us not be ourselves the servants of corruption; but rather stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ would make us free. "This is freedom such as angels use, And kindred to the liberty of God."



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In this year [Sojourner Truth](#) (still as Isabella Van Wagenen) would have been approximately 43 years old. This was the year of freedom for Diana, her 1st child. (A process of mandatory indenture had been utilized in New York State to effectively extend the condition of servitude of young slaves, after they had on the 4th of July

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1827 received their formal [manumission](#) papers.)






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Here is an interesting piece of information reflecting upon the current project in [Northampton](#), to belatedly create a town statue of [Sojourner Truth](#): At some point during this decade, in Europe, Charles Cumberworth created a statuette, now lost, representing the quite unusual topic of a black female at a fountain. This topic for sculpture was remarkable in that.¹⁰⁵



[T]he age-old status of the slave combined with the newer concept of race created an extremely powerful cultural formation that rendered the African American virtually the embodiment of what was **not** classically sculptural.... Simply to represent black slaves in sculpture was in a sense to emancipate them. Before 1860 there are no known images whatsoever of African Americans, slave or free, in marble or bronze, the more permanent and prestigious materials of the sculptor's art.

Very possibly it was this little thing that had been done in the 1840s in "baser" artistic materials in Europe, strange and singular as it must have been, which inspired Harriet Beecher Stowe to make up what she would make up in April 1863  while in the pay of [The Atlantic Monthly](#), to wit, that Sojourner had been the

105. Kirk Savage's *STANDING SOLDIERS, KNEELING SLAVES: RACE, WAR, AND MONUMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA* (Princeton UP).

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inspiration of William Wetmore Story's famed "Libyan Sibyl" statue.¹⁰⁶



February 3, Monday: The 1st performance of Hans Christian Andersen's early play *Mullatten*, about a romance between a white woman and her mulatto [slave](#), had an appreciative audience at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen, and would go on to be performed also in Stockholm and Odense. Although a charge of plagiarism was leveled against the author, evidently nothing came of this. (This play, in which the white countess falls in love with her [Shakespeare](#)-reading mulatto slave named Horatio and [manumits](#) him, and they are wed, then totally fell off our radar screens — and has been recovered from the stacks of a library that has wisely implemented an electronic search capability! Now the Odense Theatre has commissioned the Danish composer Sebastian to create a festive musical based on this recently rediscovered play.)

RACE POLITICS

106. Harriet Beecher Stowe also intimated that [Sojourner Truth](#) was out of Africa — and that she was dead!



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1841

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled STAR OF EMANCIPATION (a copy of which, with the penciled inscription “Maria Thoreau / June 1st 1842,” would be present in the

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Thoreau home — and is now at the Concord Free Public Library).



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THE REFUGEE MOTHER IN CANADA

BY SARAH DYMOND.

Victoria! Oh Victoria,
Queen of the brave and free!
We come from the land of scourge and chain,
And tell our griefs to thee;
Through many a dark and dreary wild,
With beating hearts we come,
And here, beneath thy gentle sway,
We find a quiet home.

Oh! thou hast riven *thy* bondmen's chain,
Hast set *thy* captives free;
And thou dost still a home provide
For the wandering refugee;
For though a crown adorns thy brow,
Thy heroes all are brave,
Thou carest still for the poor and wrong'd,
Thou pitiest still the slave.

Then hear, thou royal lady, hear
The tale of the refugee;

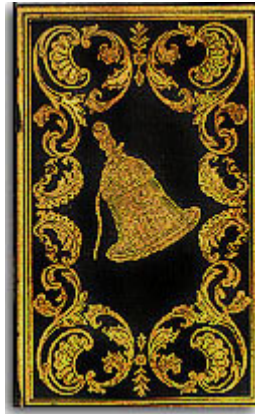
STAR OF EMANCIPATION



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The Fair also put out a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the “Friends of Freedom”:



- Pierpont, John. “Plymouth Rock”
- Godwin, B. “England and America”
- Bowring, John. “To the American Abolitionists”
- Child, Lydia Maria. “The Black Saxons”
- Anonymous. “The Trump of Jubilee”

Sprawling poem in which the metaphorical trumpet of freedom is heard across the land. In travelogue style, this poem maps a national landscape while asserting a broadened definition of abolitionism: Native Americans and the poor must also be freed.

- [Harriet Martineau](#). “Letter to a Student of History”
- Sargent, Henrietta. “The Voice of the Spirit of Freedom”

This poem’s language and imagery are derived from a [manumission](#) ceremony reported by William Adam in SLAVERY IN INDIA.

- Phillips, Wendell. “James C. Alvord”

This obituary essay is perhaps most interesting for what it reveals about nineteenth century constructions of masculinity. Phillips praises Alvord not only for his selfless service to the abolitionist cause, but also his innocence, purity, and simplicity--traditional feminine virtues.

- Winslow, Harriet. “The Lonely Hearted”

This poem laments the life of an unhappy slave girl. Her masters believe themselves “kind,” but do not understand that slave children have spiritual as well as physical needs. No master, however “kind,” can compensate the slave child’s loss of family and community.

- Anonymous. “The London Convention”

Essay expounding a non-coercive, anti-authoritarian theory and practice of education in line with abolitionist principles. Teachers are encouraged to scrutinize their methods closely, for such commonly accepted practices as corporal punishment of



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schoolchildren can only be justified by the same principles that justify slavery.

- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Sonnet [A little child! and yet he spake as one]"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "A Morning Walk"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "Sonnet to Liberty"
- ---. "Sonnet On Completing My Thity-Fifth [sic] Year"
- Child, David Lee. "All is in All"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnets [The chiming of the distant bell comes borne]"

I include both in a single entry because, rather than being two discrete sonnets, it seems to me that this is a single poem in two parts, each of which is in sonnet form. The poem's first part laments the church's indifference to abolitionism, and the second implores God to make His temple in the poet's heart instead.

- Quincy, Edmund. "Dinah Rollins"
- [Chapman, Maria Weston.] "Charles Follen"
- Follen, Charles. "Farewell to Life"



May 6, Thursday: There is still in existence a manuscript letter written on this date, from Cumberland, [Maryland](#) by a Mr. John Hoyer to a Mr. John Rogers in Morgantown VA in regard to the possible emancipation of a Mr. Calmes's slaves in court. The missive reads, in part, "But from what Mr. McKagg, our lawyer, now says, there is but a very little chance for the negroes obtaining their freedom...."

MANUMISSION

August: The Reverend Dr. [William Henry Brisbane](#) signed the requisite [manumission](#) documents to free the 3 house slaves his family had brought to Cincinnati from South Carolina, and the documents were witnessed by his friend who had prepared them for him, Salmon Portland Chase.¹⁰⁷

107. The employment situation for the freed blacks was so dire that they would need to remain with the family as unpaid domestic servants. His wife would become so resentful of the manner in which her husband's obsession was impoverishing the family, that she would refuse him the marriage bed (the couple's track record in making babies would indicate that this "refusal of the marriage bed" thingie could not have endured more than a couple of years at the most).



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1842

[Lydia Maria Child](#) offered a LETTER FROM NEW YORK in which she recounted her reading of the white planter Zephaniah Kingsley's TREATISE ON THE PATRIARCHAL, OR CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM OF SOCIETY and a fascinating conversation she had had with this miscegenating author. Since in order to conduct his interracial scheme –guess what– he had to have money, Kingsley had informed her, he needed to appropriate the forced labor of black [slaves](#). Otherwise he would not be able to [manumit](#) his own mulatto children. He offered his own operating principle, for our consideration: “The best we can do in this world is to balance evils judiciously.”



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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1843

January 27, Friday: Despite the fact that Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) had broken with [William Lloyd Garrison](#) – having made the judgment call that the goal of the abolitionists could better be accomplished through regular political channels– the 1st version of his poem “Massachusetts to Virginia” appeared anonymously in [The Liberator](#) (it’s the 1888 version, rather than this early one, which we now ordinarily see, as below). This poem had been written upon the poet’s reading an account of the proceedings of the citizens of Norfolk VA in reference to George Latimer, alleged fugitive slave who had been seized without warrant in Boston at the request of James B. Grey of Norfolk, because Grey was claiming to the authorities there that he owned Latimer. A petition was being sent to the federal Congress, signed by more than 50,000 citizens of Massachusetts, calling for such laws and proposed amendments to the US Constitution as should relieve the Commonwealth from all further participation in such crimes of oppression. The captive would eventually be granted [manumission](#) papers by Grey upon payment of a subscription sum of \$400.

MASSACHUSETTS TO VIRGINIA.

THE blast from Freedom’s Northern hills, upon its Southern way,
Bears greeting to Virginia from Massachusetts Bay:
No word of haughty challenging, nor battle bugle’s peal,
Nor steady tread of marching files, nor clang of horsemen’s steel.

No trains of deep-mouthed cannon along our highways go;
Around our silent arsenals untrodden lies the snow;
And to the land-breeze of our ports, upon their errands far,
A thousand sails of commerce swell, but none are spread for war.

We hear thy threats, Virginia! thy stormy words and high,
Swell harshly on the Southern winds which melt along our sky;
Yet, not one brown, hard hand foregoes its honest labor here,
No hewer of our mountain oaks suspends his axe in fear.

Wild are the waves which lash the reefs along St. George’s bank;
Cold on the shore of Labrador the fog lies white and dank;
Through storm, and wave, and blinding mist, stout are the hearts which man
The fishing-smacks of Marblehead, the sea-boats of Cape Ann.

The cold north light and wintry sun glare on their icy forms,
Bent grimly o’er their straining lines or wrestling with the storms;
Free as the winds they drive before, rough as the waves they roam,
They laugh to scorn the slaver’s threat against their rocky home.

What means the Old Dominion? Hath she forgot the day
When o’er her conquered valleys swept the Briton’s steel array?
How side by side, with sons of hers, the Massachusetts men
Encountered Tarleton’s charge of fire, and stout Cornwallis, then?

Forgets she how the Bay State, in answer to the call
Of her old House of Burgesses, spoke out from Faneuil Hall?
When, echoing back her Henry’s cry, came pulsing on each breath
Of Northern winds, the thrilling sounds of “Liberty or Death!”

What asks the Old Dominion? If now her sons have proved
False to their fathers’ memory, false to the faith they loved;
If she can scoff at Freedom, and its great charter spurn,
Must we of Massachusetts from truth and duty turn?



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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We hunt your bondmen, flying from Slavery's hateful hell;
Our voices, at your bidding, take up the bloodhound's yell;
We gather, at your summons, above our fathers' graves,
From Freedom's holy altar-horns to tear your wretched slaves!

Thank God! not yet so vilely can Massachusetts bow;
The spirit of her early time is with her even now;
Dream not because her Pilgrim blood moves slow and calm and cool,
She thus can stoop her chainless neck, a sister's slave and tool!

All that a sister State should do, all that a free State may,
Heart, hand, and purse we proffer, as in our early day;
But that one dark loathsome burden ye must stagger with alone,
And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves have sown!

Hold, while ye may, your struggling slaves, and burden God's free air
With woman's shriek beneath the lash, and manhood's wild despair;
Cling closer to the "cleaving curse" that writes upon your plains
The blasting of Almighty wrath against a land of chains.

Still shame your gallant ancestry, the cavaliers of old,
By watching round the shambles where human flesh is sold;
Gloat o'er the new-born child, and count his market value, when
The maddened mother's cry of woe shall pierce the slaver's den!

Lower than plummet soundeth, sink the Virginia name;
Plant, if ye will, your fathers' graves with rankest weeds of shame;
Be, if ye will, the scandal of God's fair universe;
We wash our hands forever of your sin and shame and curse.

A voice from lips whereon the coal from Freedom's shrine hath been,
Thrilled, as but yesterday, the hearts of Berkshire's mountain men:
The echoes of that solemn voice are sadly lingering still
In all our sunny valleys, on every wind-swept hill.

And when the prowling man-thief came hunting for his prey
Beneath the very shadow of Bunker's shaft of gray,
How, through the free lips of the son, the father's warning spoke;
How, from its bonds of trade and sect, the Pilgrim city broke!

A hundred thousand right arms were lifted up on high,
A hundred thousand voices sent back their loud reply;
Through the thronged towns of Essex the startling summons rang,
And up from bench and loom and wheel her young mechanics sprang!

The voice of free, broad Middlesex, of thousands as of one,
The shaft of Bunker calling to that of Lexington;
From Norfolk's ancient villages, from Plymouth's rocky bound
To where [Nantucket](#) feels the arms of ocean close her round;

From rich and rural Worcester, where through the calm repose
Of cultured vales and fringing woods the gentle Nashua flows,
To where Wachuset's wintry blasts the mountain larches stir,
Swelled up to Heaven the thrilling cry of "God save Latimer!"

And sandy Barnstable rose up, wet with the salt sea spray;
And Bristol sent her answering shout down Narragansett Bay!
Along the broad Connecticut old Hampden felt the thrill,
And the cheer of Hampshire's woodmen swept down from Holyoke Hill.

The voice of Massachusetts! Of her free sons and daughters,
Deep calling unto deep aloud, the sound of many waters!
Against the burden of that voice what tyrant power shall stand?
No fetters in the Bay State! No slave upon her land!



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Look to it well, Virginians! In calmness we have borne,
In answer to our faith and trust, your insult and your scorn;
You've spurned our kindest counsels; you've hunted for our lives;
And shaken round our hearths and homes your manacles and gyves!

We wage no war, we lift no arm, we fling no torch within
The fire-damps of the quaking mine beneath your soil of sin;
We leave ye with your bondmen, to wrestle, while ye can.
With the strong upward tendencies and godlike soul of man!

But for us and for our children, the vow which we have given
For freedom and humanity is registered in heaven;
No slave-hunt in our borders, — no pirate on our strand!
No fetters in the Bay State, —no slave upon our land!

SLAVERY

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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August 31, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was one of those tricked into shelling out \$0.⁰⁶ for a ferry ticket in order to cross over the water from New-York to the fields near Hoboken NJ to attend Phineas Taylor Barnum's heavily advertised pic nic *cum* "Grand Buffalo Hunt, Free of Charge." The native Americans were assigned to do the actual "hunting" proved to be utterly inept. None of the Bison bison were injured — although they were very likely frightened out of their wits. The affair was an innocent travesty and was thoroughly enjoyed by all.

It wasn't exactly free of charge¹⁰⁸ and it wasn't exactly like this:¹⁰⁹ From a letter written by a [manumitted slave](#)



to his former owner in New London, Connecticut.

My dear Master

Accept my thanks, ten thousand thanks, for having this evening opened my prison doors & set me free for know that such natures as mine rejoice in fulfilling our destiny by being ever active. Ours, is a willing servitude if we may but choose our masters, and to them how appoint works of justice and labors of love, we oft return.... Can you be surprised that I venture at this time to [petition] you in behalf of my companions, on whom you

108. Phineas Taylor Barnum had a deal going with the ferry captains, whereby he received an agreed %age of their extra profit for the day. His portion of the take would be almost \$3,400. Nobody in that era even suspected Barnum's angle.

109. There's a big hill like this one on Staten Island — but when's the last time you got a beautiful picture postcard featuring Hoboken?



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shut the door when permitting my exit. Consider, I pray you, whether it is undue love for them, or a principle of justice which leads you to retain them as you said to me - "Go forth, and aid those willing hands and patriotic hearts...."
Cash

September 3, Sunday: The 5th anniversary of [Frederick Douglass](#)'s freedom, which we may well elect to celebrate in lieu of **an unknown slave birthday**. This was the year in which Douglass's white "owner" Thomas Auld had promised, in April 1836, to an 18-year-old, that he would sign papers of [manumission](#). "Yes, I've been holding you in slavery, but you can of course trust me to start behaving decently toward you, beginning seven years from now, since my word is the word of a white man." –But in the meanwhile this ungrateful dusky SOB had gone ahead and freed himself, for efficiency quite eliminating that white middleman and his giving of permissions!





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1844

In [North Carolina](#), there were a couple of related [slavery](#) cases, known as “Newlin v. Freeman” and “Thompson v. Newlin.” In the 1st of the cases, Newlin sued the widower husband of the deceased Sarah Freeman for possession of a slave who had been willed to him by Sarah, the deceased. Sarah had willed her slave to Newlin because she had been barred by law from [manumitting](#) him herself, and because she felt that Newlin would treat her slave exactly as if he were free. Freeman’s widower was refusing to hand over the slave to Newlin. Chief Judge William Gaston of North Carolina ruled for Newlin, finding that the deceased Sarah Freeman had had the right to will her slaves to whomever she wished since a “deed of separate estate” (Would this have amounted to an early form of prenuptial agreement?) had been filed at the time of her first marriage. As a consequence of this deed of separate estate, the court held, Sarah did have the right to alienate her property without the consent of her husband. In the 2nd Newlin case, however, after Chief Judge William Gaston had been replaced by Chief Judge Ruffin, Freeman’s widower countersued to regain this slave, and he won because such a last will and testament was in North Carolina illegal on its face: “Slaves can only be held as property and deeds and wills having for their object the [emancipation](#), or a qualified state of slavery, are against public policy.”

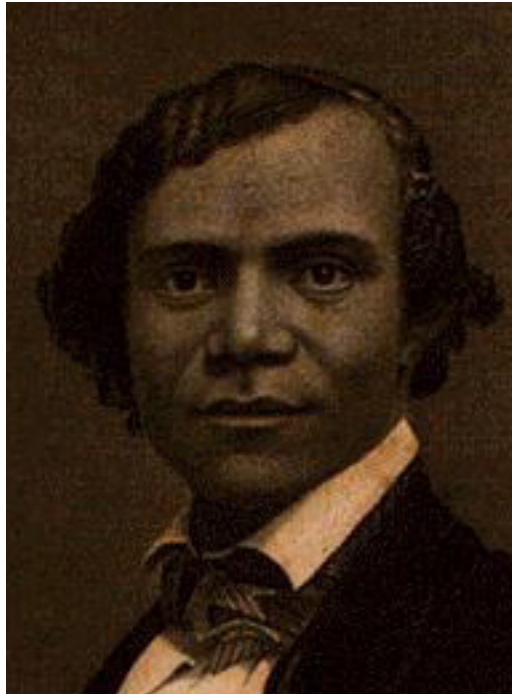


MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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1845

April 22, Tuesday: The Signal, an antislavery gazette of Michigan, coordinated the collection of moneys for the manumission of Henry Bibb's wife and child "if the objects be living." Interestingly, the arrangements made were that rather than allowing Bibb himself to collect the funds and coordinate the effort, friends of liberty in each area were to "appoint a collector"—a white man it goes without saying— "then transmit them to us." Pay careful attention to this fact: even the white abolitionists of America, since they were white, would not trust an abolitionist of color, even to act in his own professed interest.



Wendell Phillips provided one of the obligatory prefaces-by-a-white-man without which white men would of



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course have been quite unable to peruse Frederick Douglass's new book.¹¹⁰



Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

*Yet it is sad to think, that these very throbbing hearts which welcome your story, and form your best safeguard in telling it, are all beating contrary to the "statute in such case made and provided." Go on, my dear friend, till you, and those who, like you, have been saved, so as by fire, from the dark prisonhouse, shall stereotype these free, illegal pulses into statutes; and New England, cutting loose from a blood-stained Union, shall glory in being the house of refuge for the oppressed, – till we no longer merely "**hide** the outcast," or make a merit of standing idly by while he is hunted in our midst; but, consecrating anew the soil of the Pilgrims as an asylum for the oppressed, proclaim our **welcome** to the slave so loudly, that the tones shall reach every hut in the Carolinas, and make the broken-hearted bondman leap up at the thought of old Massachusetts.*

110. Even if you haven't noticed, this is just the way it is: **white men**, then as now, need to be told what to think by **other white men**. (Those who are impressed by THE BELL CURVE can probably see this, if they choose, as clear evidence of racial superiority.)

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PREFACE.

versee can be convicted of any outrage perpetrated on the person of a slave, however diabolical it may be, on the testimony of colored witnesses, whether bond or free. By the slave code, they are adjudged to be as competent to testify against a white man, as though they were indeed a part of the brute creation. Hence, there is no legal protection in fact, whatever there may be in form, for the slave population; and any amount of cruelty may be inflicted on them with impunity. Is it possible for the human mind to conceive of a more terrible state of society?

The effect of a religious profession on the conduct of southern masters is vividly described in the following Narrative, and shown to be any thing but salutary. The nature of the case, it must be in the highest degree pernicous. The testimony of Mr. DOUGLASS, on this point, is sustained by a cloud of witnesses, whose veracity is unimpeachable. "A slaveholder's profession of Christianity is a palpable imposture. He is a man of the highest grade. He is a man-stealer. It is of no importance what you put in the other scale." Under! are you with the man-stealers in sympathy and purpose, or on the side of their down-trodden victims? If with the former, then are you the foe of the oppressed man. If with the latter, what are you prepared to do and dare in their behalf? Be faithful, be untiring in your efforts to break every yoke, let the oppressed go free. Come what may — what it may — inscribe on the banner which you hold to the breeze, as your religious and political motto — "NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY! NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, May 1, 1845.

LETTER

FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Boston, April 23, 1845.

My Dear Friend:

You remember the old fable of "The Man and the Lion," where the lion complained that he should not be so misrepresented "when the lions write history."

I am glad the time has come when the "lions write history." We have been left long enough to gather the character of slavery from the involuntary evidence of the masters. One might, indeed, rest sufficiently satisfied with what, it is evident, must be, in general, the results of such a relation, without seeking farther to find whether they have followed in every instance. Indeed, those who stare at the half-peck of corn a week, and love to count the lashes on the slave's back, are seldom the "staff" out of which reformers and abolitionists are to be made. I remember that, in 1838, many were waiting for the results of the West India experiment, before they could come into our ranks. Those "results" have come long ago; but, alas! few of that number have come with them, as converts. A man must be disposed to judge of emancipation by other tests than whether it has increased the produce of sugar, — and to hate slavery for other reasons than because it starves men and whips women, — before he is ready to lay the first stone of his anti-slavery life

LIFE OF PHILLIPS, ESQ.

streets, and bear witness in safety against the cruelties of which he has been the victim.

Yet it is sad to think, that these very throbbing hearts which welcome your story, and form your best safeguard in telling it, are all beating contrary to the "statute in such case made and provided." Go on, my dear friend, till you, and those who, like you, have been saved, so as by fire, from the dark prison-house, shall stereotype these free, illegal poles into statutes; and New England, cutting loose from a blood-stained Union, shall glory in being the house of refuge for the oppressed; — till we no longer merely "hide the outcast," or make a merit of standing idly by while he is hunted in our midst; but, consecrating anew the soil of the Pilgrims as an asylum for the oppressed, proclaim our welcome to the slave so loudly, that the tones shall reach every hut in the Carolinas, and make the broken-hearted bondsmen leap up at the thought of old Massachusetts.

God speed the day!

N A

LIFE OF PH

I was born in about twelve miles Maryland. I have never having seen



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1846

Frederick Douglass was completing his highly successful lecture tour of England and Scotland. Meanwhile, back in America, within a year there had been 4 more printings of Douglass's NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, of 2,000 copies each. Douglass's new legal owner, Hugh Auld, Jr., was filing [manumission](#) papers on his slave, in the city hall of [Baltimore](#). This was in return for a payment of £150 sterling, made by British boosters.¹¹¹ Freedom, a surprise present!



111. £150 was then about \$1,250.⁰⁰ American.



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April 6, Monday: Dred Scott and Harriet Robinson Scott filed a petition to be allowed to bring suit against Mrs. Irene



Emerson for having beaten and bruised Dred, and for having locked him up for 12 hours, alleging that this had ought not to have been done because they were not slaves, but instead were free persons being held in a condition of servitude by the defendant. The sum of \$20 total in damages was requested of the court. The allegation that they were free rather than owned was based on a consistent principle in Missouri law, that a master who takes a slave to reside in a territory in which slavery is prohibited thereby effectively manumits that slave.

MANUMISSION

*his
Dred Scott
mark*


Now, it might seem that US government property, such as Fort Snelling, would not count as a territory in which slavery is prohibited, since federal law is entirely silent on the topic of human enslavement, the federal government having established no rule whatever in regard to the legality or illegality of slavery, or even as much as a definition of the word “slave” — but in fact the Missouri courts had already disposed of that consideration in another case dating to 1836, the case of the slave Rachel v. her master Walker, who also had been a slave being held in Fort Snelling: “No authority of law or the government compelled him [Walker] to



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keep the plaintiff [Rachel] there as a slave.” The Scotts therefore had a strong case and could hope to receive from a competent and unbiased judge a favorable ruling.

Unfortunate for them, the judge who would be assigned to hear their petition, Judge Alexander Hamilton (related to [Henry David Thoreau](#)’s landlady at Lake Calhoun? ) , would prove to be either incompetent or biased.

August 1, Saturday: [Margaret Fuller](#) embarked on the steamer *Cambria* for England and Europe, to be foreign correspondent for the New-York Herald Tribune at \$10.⁰⁰ per dispatch (her traveling companions were [Marcus and Rebecca Buffum Spring](#)).¹¹²

As reported in the Concord Freeman, the Woman’s Anti-Slavery Society of Concord held in Walden Woods its annual commemoration of the 1834 emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies by [William Wilberforce](#). According to the paper, the group included the anti-paganist Reverend [William Henry Channing](#) of Boston:



Rev. W.H. Channing of Boston..., Mr. [Lewis Hayden](#), formerly a slave, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Esq. and Rev. Mr. Skinner, the Universalist clergyman of this place. Rev. Mr. Channing, in his address, if we are correctly informed, went for the formation of a new Union and a new Constitution, and dissolution of all fellowship with slaveholding!

In all likelihood, [Henry Thoreau](#)’s recent night in the local lockup for refusing to pay his poll tax was not a topic of conversation at this celebration in and near [Thoreau’s \(Emerson’s\) shanty](#). We note that there is a

112. After the Springs returned to America, they and Fuller would continue to be dear friends and would keep up a correspondence. Presumably it was through the Springs that Walt Whitman kept informed of Fuller’s activities: “I never met Margaret Fuller, but I knew much about her those years.”



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comment in [WALDEN](#) that reflects the subject of this meeting at the pond:

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)

WALDEN: I sometimes wonder that we can be so frivolous, I may almost say, as to attend to the gross but somewhat foreign form of servitude called Negro Slavery, there are so many keen and subtle masters that enslave both north and south. It is hard to have a southern overseer; it is worse to have a northern one; but worst of all when you are the slave-driver of yourself. Talk of a divinity in man! Look at the teamster on the highway, wending to market by day or night; does any divinity stir within him? His highest duty to fodder and water his horses! What is his destiny to him compared with the shipping interests? Does not he drive for Squire Make-a-stir? How godlike, how immortal, is he? See how he cowers and sneaks, how vaguely all the day he fears, not being immortal nor divine, but the slave and prisoner of his own opinion of himself, a fame won by his own deeds. Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion. What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines, or rather indicates, his fate. Self-emancipation even in the West Indian provinces of the fancy and imagination, -what Wilberforce is there to bring that about?

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

[WILLIAM WILBERFORCE](#)

[JOSEPH ADDISON](#)

["CATO, A TRAGEDY"](#)

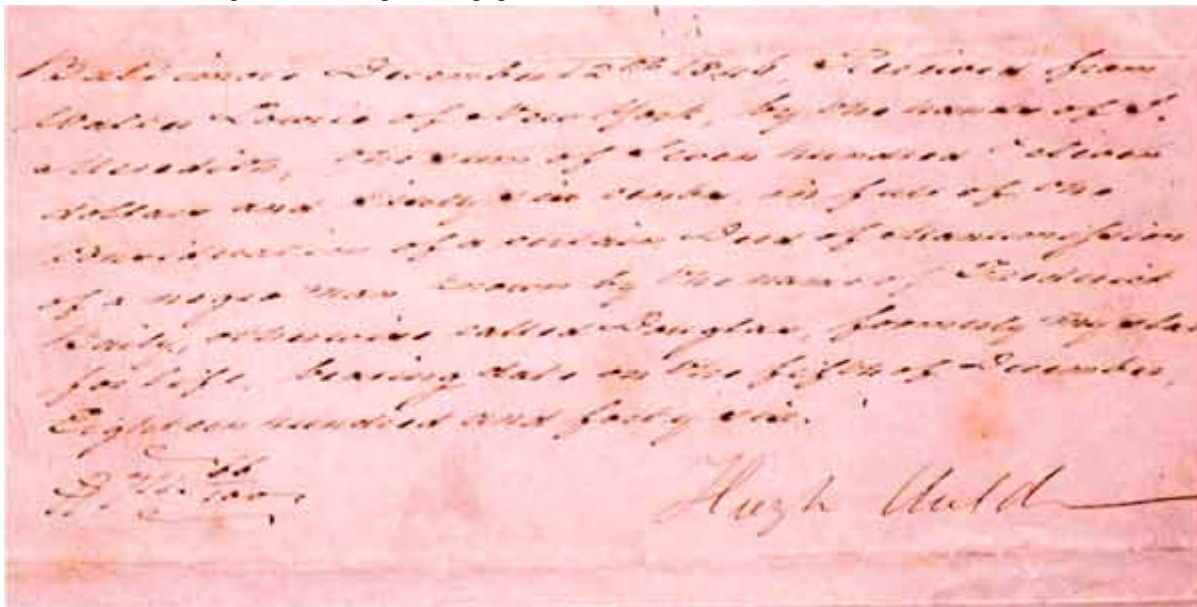
Although we have no direct evidence that Thoreau was present, the consensus opinion of Thoreau scholars is that, most definitely, he would have been present for this occasion.



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December 5, Saturday: The document catalogued as “FRDO 3861” had been merely a Bill of Sale written by Thomas Auld of [Baltimore](#) for the sale of a slave named Frederick Baily, alias Frederick Douglass, for \$100 to Hugh Auld of Talbot County, [Maryland](#) on November 30, 1846. It has been a straightforward 25.2 x 20 cm folded transfer of title to human property. (Inside, on the second page, was the continued part of the bill of sale signed by N.H. Arrington, a justice of the peace in Talbot County. The third page was blank.) At this point, however, we can view a quite different piece of paper:



MANUMISSION

The above 18.9 x 20.1 cm document, which we have catalogued as “FRDO 3862,” is the formal record of a deed written on this day by Hugh Auld of [Baltimore](#) to Walter Lewis of New-York in the sale of a Frederick Baily, alias Frederick Douglass, for \$711.⁶⁶, for the purposes of setting him free from [slavery](#) for life.





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December 10, Thursday: [Henry C. Wright](#) objected to Frederick Douglass's having allowed English friends to purchase his freedom: "[W]hy dignify a robbery with a bill of sale?" In this, of course, he did not show much appreciation of the precariousness of Douglass's position, since the obvious answer to Wright's impertinent question would be "Until something or other like this [manumission](#) was accomplished, Mr. Douglass had been, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days of the year, at risk of being waylaid and set upon and captured by one or another band of white thugs, who could chain him and transport him back to his slavemaster, potentially to be whipped to death. This was potentially a very serious problem, since such a band of white thugs would be operating within the letter and spirit of American federal law, and could appeal for help from the local police and judicial system in the commission of such a kidnapping and torture." We can be very sure that had the righteous Mr. Wright himself been thus at risk of abuse, he would most definitely have thought and thought – until he had fabricated one or another nice-sounding justification for dignifying such a robbery with a bill of sale.¹¹³



Believing all hope to be gone, Stephen W. Kearny began to plan to attempt a breakout from their entrapment at San Pasqual, scheduled for the following morning. That night, however 200 American troops on fresh horses arrived from San Diego, [California](#), summoned by [Kit Carson](#) and his scouts, and the Mexican military immediately dispersed.

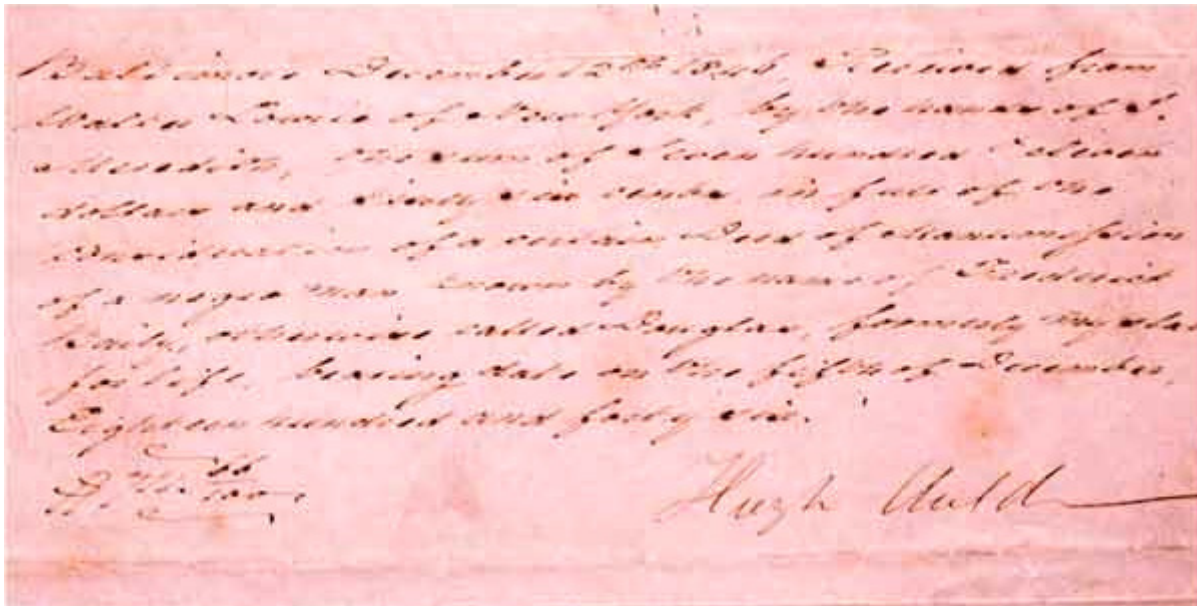
113. At some point Frederick Douglass would comment that [Henry C. Wright](#) had some sort of personal problem that resulted in the unfortunate fact, that he unwittingly "created against himself prejudices."



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December 12, Saturday: Frederick Douglass became potentially a free man, when Hugh Auld, Jr. filed a formal preliminary document with the [Baltimore](#) County court, identifying him as sold and paid for:



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Stephen W. Kearny and his dragoons arrived in San Diego, and [California](#) was in effect again in American hands. Frémont would be appointed as the new Governor of California and would dispatch [Kit Carson](#) again to carry triumphant messages overland to Washington DC. Carson would stop in St. Louis and met with Senator Thomas Benton, who had been instrumental in getting Frémont's expedition reports published by Congress. Upon arriving in Washington, Carson would deliver his precious messages to Secretary of State James Buchanan, and meet with Secretary of War William Marcy and President James Polk. They would dispatch him immediately back overland to California with messages, and instruct him to receive further messages there and bring those back yet again to the nation's capital.

The US and New Granada (Colombia) conclude a trade agreement. However, one clause includes a right-of-way for the US to build a [canal](#) across the [Isthmus of Panama](#).

AMANAPLANACANALPANAMA



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December 22, Tuesday: On December 10th, [Henry C. Wright](#) had written to Frederick Douglass, objecting to his allowing English friends to purchase his [manumission](#): “[W]hy dignify a robbery with a bill of sale?” Douglass, of course, was able to respond, and eventually, in [The Liberator](#) for January 29, 1847, his response would be made available to all.¹¹⁴



How titillating it must have been in an era such as this for an audience to be able to peruse an actual letter from a man of color to a white man, one in which the man of color is literate and in command of his language, and rational, and begins by addressing the white man as on a par with himself, and intimately as “Dear Friend”!

Frederick Douglass
22, St. Ann’s Square, Manchester (England)
December 22, 1846

To Henry C. Wright

Dear Friend:

Your letter of the 12th December reached me at this place, yesterday. Please accept my heartfelt thanks for it. I am sorry that you deemed it necessary to assure me, that it would be the last letter of advice you would ever write me. It looked as if you were about to cast me off for ever! I do not, however, think you meant to convey any such meaning; and if you did, I am sure you will see cause to change your mind, and to receive me again into the fold of those, whom it should ever be your pleasure to advise and instruct.

The subject of your letter is one of deep importance, and upon which, I have thought and felt much; and, being the party of all others most deeply concerned, it is natural to suppose I have an opinion, and ought to be able to give it on all fitting occasions. I deem this a fitting occasion, and shall act accordingly. You have given me your opinion: I am glad you have done so. You have given it to me direct, in your own emphatic way. You never speak insipidly, smoothly, or mincingly; you have strictly adhered to your custom, in the letter before me. I now take great pleasure in giving you my opinion, as plainly and unreservedly as you have given yours, and I trust with equal good feeling and purity of motive. I take it, that nearly all that can be said against my position is contained in your letter; for if any man in the wide world would be likely to find valid objections to such a transaction as the one under consideration,

114. At some point Frederick Douglass would comment that [Henry C. Wright](#) had some sort of personal problem that resulted in the unfortunate fact, that he unwittingly “created against himself prejudices.”



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I regard you as that man. I must, however, tell you, that I have read your letter over, and over again, and have sought in vain to find anything like what I can regard a valid reason *against the purchase of my body, or against my receiving the manumission papers, if they are ever presented to me.*

Let me, in the first place, state the facts and circumstances of the transaction which you so strongly condemn. It is your right to do so, and God forbid that I should ever cherish the slightest desire to restrain you in the exercise of that right. I say to you at once, and in all the fulness of sincerity, speak out; speak freely; keep nothing back; let me know your whole mind. "Hew to the line, though the chips fly in my face." Tell me, and tell me plainly, when you think I am deviating from the strict line of duty and principle; and when I become unwilling to hear, I shall have attained a character which I now despise, and from which I would hope to be preserved. But to the facts.

I am in England, my family are in the United States. My sphere of usefulness is in the United States; my public and domestic duties are there; and there it seems my duty to go. But I am *legally* the property of Thomas Auld, and if I go to the United States, (no matter to what part, for there is no City of Refuge there, no spot sacred to freedom there,) Thomas Auld, *aided by the American Government*, can seize, bind and fetter, and drag me from my family, feed his cruel revenge upon me, and doom me to unending slavery. In view of this simple statement of facts, a few friends, desirous of seeing me released from the terrible liability, and to relieve my wife and children from the painful trepidation, consequent upon the liability, and to place me on an equal footing of safety with all other anti-slavery lecturers in the United States, and to enhance my usefulness by enlarging the field of my labors in the United States, have nobly and generously paid Hugh Auld, the agent of Thomas Auld, £150—in consideration of which, Hugh Auld (acting as his agent) and the Government of the United States agree, that I shall be free from all further liability.

These, dear friend, are the facts of the whole transaction. The principle here acted on by my friends, and that upon which I shall act in receiving the manumission papers, I deem quite defensible.

First, *as to those who acted as my friends, and their actions.* The actuating motive was, to secure me from a liability full of horrible forebodings to myself and family. With this object, I will do you the justice to say, I believe you fully unite, although some parts of your letters would seem to justify a different belief.

Then, *as to the measure adopted to secure this result.* Does it violate a fundamental principle, or does it not? This is the question, and to my mind the only question of importance, involved in the discussion. I believe that, on our part, no just or holy principle has been violated.



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Before entering upon the argument in support of this view, I will take the liberty (and I know you will pardon it) to say, I think you should have pointed out some principle violated in the transaction, before you proceeded to exhort me to repentance. You have given me any amount of indignation against "Auld" and the United States, in all which I cordially unite, and felt refreshed by reading; but it has no bearing whatever upon the conduct of myself, or friends, in the matter under consideration. It does not prove that I have done wrong, nor does it demonstrate what is right, or the proper course to be pursued. Now that the matter has reached its present point, before entering upon the argument, let me say one other word; it is this—I do not think you have acted quite consistently with your character for promptness, in delaying your advice till the transaction was completed. You knew of the movement at its conception, and have known it through its progress, and have never, to my knowledge, uttered one syllable against it, in conversation or letter, till now that the deed is done. I regret this, not because I think your earlier advice would have altered the result, but because it would have left me more free than I can now be, since the thing is done. Of course, you will not think hard of my alluding to this circumstance. Now, then, to the main question.

The principle which you appear to regard as violated by the transaction in question, may be stated as follows:—*Every man has a natural and inalienable right to himself.* The inference from this is, *"that man cannot hold property in man"—and as man cannot hold property in man, neither can Hugh Auld nor the United States have any right of property in me—and having no right of property in me, they have no right to sell me and, having no right to sell me, no one has a right to buy me.* I think I have now stated the principle, and the inference from the principle, distinctly and fairly. Now, the question upon which the whole controversy turns is, simply, this: does the transaction, which you condemn, really violate this principle? I own that, to a superficial observer, it would seem to do so. But I think I am prepared to show, that, so far from being a violation of that principle, it is truly a noble vindication of it. Before going further, let me state here, briefly, what sort of a purchase would have been a violation of this principle, which, in common with yourself, I reverence, and am anxious to preserve inviolate.

Ist. It would have been a violation of that principle, had those who purchased me done so, *to make me a slave, instead of a free-man.* And,

2ndly. It would have been a violation, of that principle, had those who purchased me done so with a view to compensate the slaveholder, for what he and they regarded as his rightful property.

In neither of these ways was my purchase effected. My liberation was, in their estimation, of more value than £150; the happiness



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and repose of my family were, in their judgment, more than paltry gold. The £150 was paid to the remorseless plunderer, not because he had any just claim to it, but to induce him to give up his legal claim to something which they deemed of more value than money. It was not to compensate the slaveholder, but to release me from his power; not to establish my *natural right* to freedom, but to release me from all legal liabilities to, slavery. And all this, you and I, and the slaveholders, and all who know anything of the transaction, very well understand. The very letter to Hugh Auld, proposing terms of purchase, informed him that those who gave, *denied his right to it*. The error of those, who condemn this transaction, consists in their confounding the crime of buying men *into slavery*, with the meritorious act of buying men out of slavery, and the purchase of legal freedom with abstract right and natural freedom. They say, "If you BUY, you recognize the right to sell. If you receive, you recognize the right of the giver to give." And this has a show of truth, as well as of logic. But a few plain cases will show its entire fallacy.

There is now, in this country, a heavy duty on corn. The government of this country has imposed it; and though I regard it a most unjust and wicked imposition, no man of common sense will charge me with endorsing or recognizing the right of this government to impose this duty, simply because, to prevent myself and family from starving, I buy and eat this corn.

Take another case:—I have had dealings with a man. I have owed him one hundred dollars, and have paid it; I have lost the receipt. He comes upon me the second time for the money. I know, and he knows, he has no right to it; but he is a villain, and has me in his power. The law is with him, and against me. I must pay or be dragged to jail. I choose to pay the bill a second time. To say I sanctioned his right to rob me, because I preferred to pay rather than go to jail, is to utter an absurdity, to which no sane man would give heed. And yet the principle of action, in each of these cases, is the same. The man might indeed say, the claim is unjust—and declare, I will rot in jail, before I will pay it. But this would not, certainly, be demanded by any principle of truth, justice, or humanity; and however much we might be disposed to respect his daring, but little deference could be paid to his wisdom. The fact is, we act upon this principle every day of our lives, and we have an undoubted right to do so. When I came to this country from the United States, I came in the *second* cabin. And why? Not because my natural right to come in the *first* cabin was not as good as that of any other man, but because a wicked and cruel prejudice decided, that the second cabin was the place for me. By coming over in the second, did I sanction or justify this wicked proscription? Not at all. It was the best I could do. I acted from necessity.

One other case, and I have done with this view of the subject. I think you will agree with me, that the case I am now about to



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put is pertinent, though you may not readily pardon me for making yourself the agent of my illustration. The case respects the passport system on the continent of Europe. That system you utterly condemn. You look upon it as an unjust and wicked interference, a bold and infamous violation of the *natural* and *sacred* right of locomotion. You hold, (and so do I,) that the image of our common God ought to be a passport all over the habitable world. But bloody and tyrannical governments have ordained otherwise; they usurp authority over you, and decide for you, on what conditions you shall travel. They say, you shall have a passport, or you shall be put in prison. Now, the question is, have they a right to prescribe any such terms? and do you, by complying with these terms, sanction their interference? I think you will answer, no; submission to injustice, and sanction of injustice, are different things; and he is a poor reasoner who confounds the two, and makes them one and the same thing. Now, then, for the parallel, and the application of the passport system to my own case.

I wish to go to the United States. I have a natural right to go there, and be free. My natural right is as good as that of Hugh Auld, or James K. Polk; but that plundering government says, I shall not return to the United States in safety—it says, I must allow Hugh Auld to rob me, or my friends, of £150, or be hurled into the infernal jaws of slavery. I must have a "bit of paper, signed and sealed," or my liberty must be taken from me, and I must be torn from my family and friends. The government of Austria said to you, "Dare to come upon my soil, without a passport, declaring you to be an American citizen, (which you say you are not,) you shall at once be arrested, and thrown into prison." What said you to that Government? Did you say that the threat was a villainous one, and an infamous invasion of your right of locomotion? Did you say, "I will come upon your soil; I will go where I please—I dare and defy your government!" Did you say, "I will spurn your passports; I would not stain my hand, and degrade myself, by touching your miserable parchment. You have no right to give it, and I have no right to take it. I trample your laws, and will put your constitutions under my feet! I will not recognize them!" Was this your course? No! dear friend, it was not. Your practice was wiser than your theory. You took the passport, submitted to be examined while travelling, and availed yourself of all the advantages of your "passport"—or, in other words, escaped all the evils which you ought to have done, without it, and would have done, but for the tyrannical usurpation in Europe.

I will not dwell longer upon this view of the subject; and I dismiss it, feeling quite satisfied of the entire correctness of the reasoning, and the principle attempted to be maintained. As to the expediency of the: measures, different opinions may well prevail; but in regard to the principle, I feel it difficult to conceive of two opinions. I am free to say, that, had I possessed one hundred and fifty pounds, I would have seen Hugh



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Auld *kicking*, before I would have given it to him. I would have waited till the emergency came, and only given up the money when nothing else would do. But my friends thought it best to provide against the contingency; they acted on their own responsibility, and I am not disturbed about the result. But, having acted on a true principle, *I do not feel free to disavow their proceedings.*

In conclusion, let me say, I anticipate no such change in my position as you predict. I shall be Frederick Douglass still, and once a slave still. I shall neither be made to forget nor cease to feel the wrongs of my enslaved fellow-countrymen. My knowledge of slavery will be the same, and my hatred of it will be the same. By the way, I have never made my own person and suffering the theme of public discourse, but have always based my appeal upon the wrongs of the three millions now in chains; and these shall still be the burthen of my speeches. You intimate that I may reject the papers, and allow them to remain in the hands of those friends who have effected the purchase, and thus avail myself of the security afforded by them, without sharing any part of the responsibility of the transaction. My objection to this is one of honor. I do not think it would be very honorable on my part, to remain silent during the whole transaction, and giving it more than my silent approval; and then, when the thing is completed, and I am safe, attempt to play the *hero*, by throwing off all responsibility in the matter. It might be said, and said with great propriety, "Mr. Douglass, your indignation is very good, and has but one fault, and that is, *it comes too late!*" It would be a show of bravery when the danger is over. From every view I have been able to take of the subject, I am persuaded to receive the papers, if presented,—not, however, as a proof of my right to be free, for *that is self-evident*, but as a proof that my friends have been legally robbed of £150, in order to secure that which is the birth-right of every man. And I will hold up those papers before the world, in proof of the plundering character of the American government. It shall be the brand of infamy, stamping the nation, in whose name the deed was done, as a great aggregation of hypocrites, thieves and liars,—and their condemnation is just. They declare that all men are created equal, and have a natural and inalienable right to liberty, while they rob me of £150, as a condition of my enjoying this natural and inalienable right. It will be their condemnation, in their own hand-writing, and may be held up to the world as a means of humbling that haughty republic into repentance.

I agree with you, that the contest which I have to wage is against the government of the United States. But the representative of that government is the slaveholder, *Thomas Auld*. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The whole civil and naval force of the nation are at his disposal. He may command all these to his assistance, and bring them all to bear upon me, until I am made entirely subject to his will, or submit to be robbed myself, or allow my friends to be robbed, of seven



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hundred and fifty dollars. And rather than be subject to his will, I have submitted to be robbed, or allowed my friends to be robbed, of the seven hundred and fifty dollars.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick Douglass



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1847

During this year Frederick Douglass would attend the 8th National Negro Convention, held at Troy NY. Nathan Johnson, the [New Bedford](#) businessman who had suggested to him his freedom name, was president of this convention. Douglass would quote the following lines in one of his antislavery speeches:

Go, let a cage, with grates of gold,
And pearly roof, the eagle hold;
Let dainty viands be his fare,
And give the captive tenderest care;
But say, in luxury's limits pent,
Find you the king of birds content?
No, oft he'll sound the startling shriek,
And dash the grates with angry beak.
Precarious freedom's far more dear,
Than all the prison's pamp'ring cheer!
He longs to see his eyrie's seat,
Some cliff on ocean's lonely shore,
Whose old bare top the tempests beat,
And round whose base the billows roar,
When tossed by gales, they yawn like graves,—
He longs for joy to skim those waves;
Or rise through tempest-shrouded air,
All thick and dark, with wild winds swelling,
To brave the lightning's lurid glare,

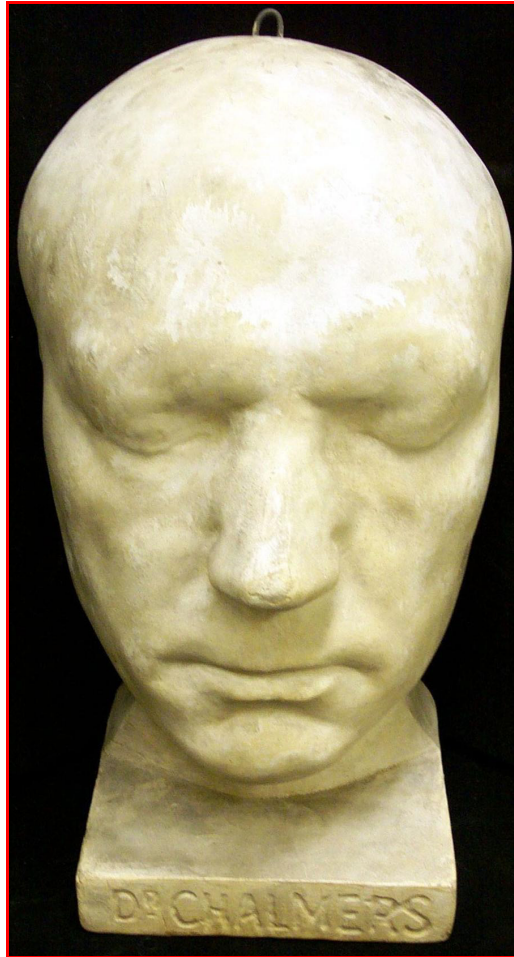


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And talk with thunders in their dwelling.

The Reverend Doctor [Thomas Chalmers](#), head of the Free Church of Scotland, the man who was being heavily mocked in speech after speech by Frederick Douglass as an “artful Dodger” with his hand gladly in the pocket of the slavemaster, in this year at the age of 67 made his appeal before the Bar of Judgment.



DEATHMASK

By this point, two editions of Douglass’s NARRATIVE had been published in Ireland and three in England. By 1850 there were some 30,000 copies floating around the English-speaking world. Beginning in 1848, a French paperback edition would be available. After Douglass returned during this year from his lecture tour of Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, 30 and with his [manumission](#) papers finally purchased, he would relocate his family from Lynn, Massachusetts to Rochester, New York and began an abolitionist newspaper, the North Star.

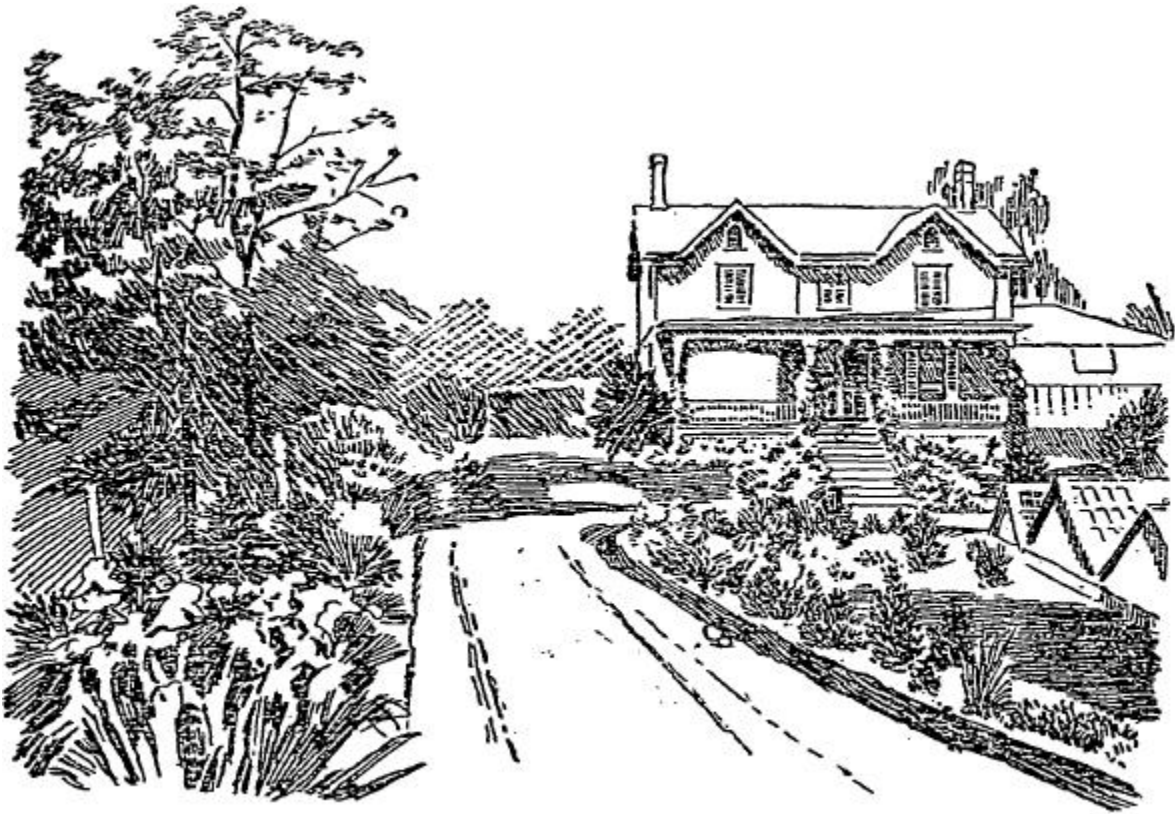
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Frederick Douglass's Homestead, Rochester, N. Y.

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(There were of course heavy penalties for distributing such materials where a slave might potentially access them.)

SLAVERY

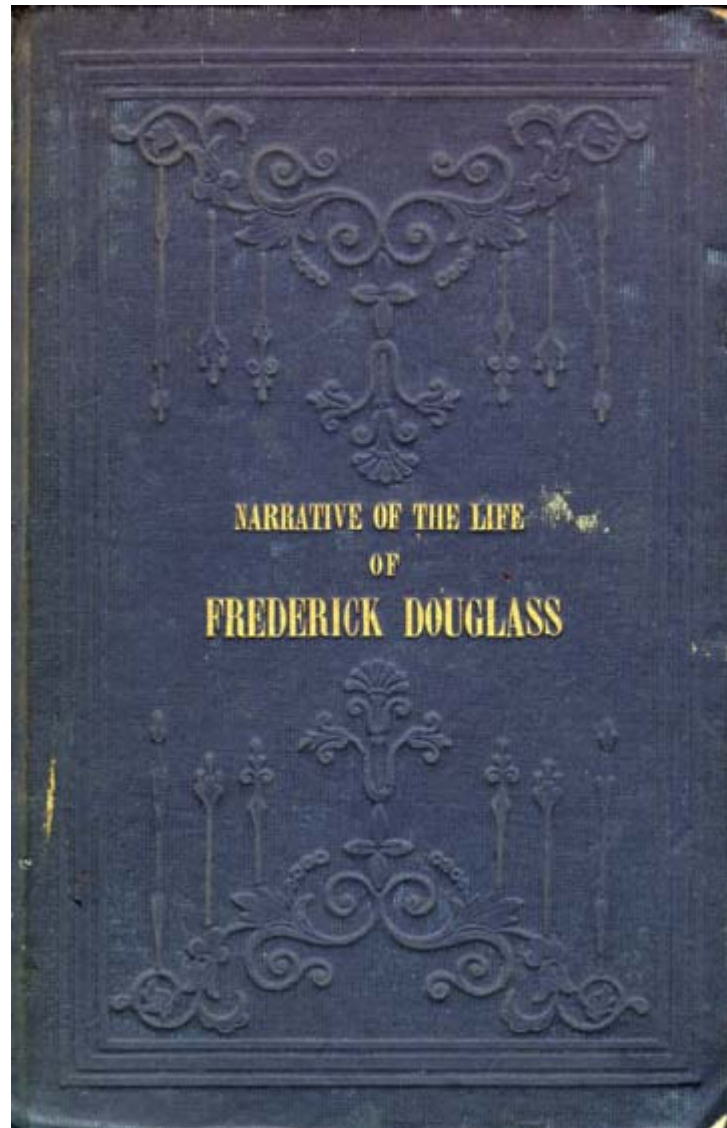
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January 29, Friday: On December 22nd, 1846 Frederick Douglass had replied to [Henry C. Wright](#), defending himself for allowing English friends to purchase his [manumission](#). At this point, in [The Liberator](#), his response was made available to all.¹¹⁵



How titillating it must have been in an era such as this for an audience to be able to peruse an actual letter from a man of color to a white man, one in which the man of color is literate and in command of his language, and rational, and begins by addressing the white man as on a par with himself, and intimately as “Dear Friend”!

Frederick Douglass
22, St. Ann’s Square, Manchester (England)
December 22, 1846

To Henry C. Wright

Dear Friend:

Your letter of the 12th December reached me at this place, yesterday. Please accept my heartfelt thanks for it. I am sorry that you deemed it necessary to assure me, that it would be the last letter of advice you would ever write me. It looked as if you were about to cast me off for ever! I do not, however, think you meant to convey any such meaning; and if you did, I am sure you will see cause to change your mind, and to receive me again into the fold of those, whom it should ever be your pleasure to advise and instruct.

The subject of your letter is one of deep importance, and upon which, I have thought and felt much; and, being the party of all others most deeply concerned, it is natural to suppose I have an opinion, and ought to be able to give it on all fitting occasions. I deem this a fitting occasion, and shall act accordingly. You have given me your opinion: I am glad you have done so. You have given it to me direct, in your own emphatic way. You never speak insipidly, smoothly, or mincingly; you have strictly adhered to your custom, in the letter before me. I now take great pleasure in giving you my opinion, as plainly and unreservedly as you have given yours, and I trust with equal good feeling and purity of motive. I take it, that nearly all that can be said against my position is contained in your letter; for if any man in the wide world would be likely to find valid objections to such a transaction as the one under consideration, I regard you as that man. I must, however, tell you, that I have read your letter over, and over again, and have sought in vain

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These, dear friend, are the facts of the whole transaction. The principle here acted on by my friends, and that upon which I shall act in receiving the manumission papers, I deem quite defensible.

First, *as to those who acted as my friends, and their actions.* The actuating motive was, to secure me from a liability full of horrible forebodings to myself and family. With this object, I will do you the justice to say, I believe you fully unite, although some parts of your letters would seem to justify a different belief.

Then, as to the measure adopted to secure this result. Does it violate a fundamental principle, or does it not? This is the question, and to my mind the only question of importance, involved in the discussion. I believe that, on our part, no just or holy principle has been violated.

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habitable world. But bloody and tyrannical governments have ordained otherwise; they usurp authority over you, and decide for you, on what conditions you shall travel. They say, you shall have a passport, or you shall be put in prison. Now, the question is, have they a right to prescribe any such terms? and do you, by complying with these terms, sanction their interference? I think you will answer, no; submission to injustice, and sanction of injustice, are different things; and he is a poor reasoner who confounds the two, and makes them one and the same thing. Now, then, for the parallel, and the application of the passport system to my own case.

I wish to go to the United States. I have a natural right to go there, and be free. My natural right is as good as that of Hugh Auld, or James K. Polk; but that plundering government says, I shall not return to the United States in safety—it says, I must allow Hugh Auld to rob me, or my friends, of £150, or be hurled into the infernal jaws of slavery. I must have a "bit of paper, signed and sealed," or my liberty must be taken from me, and I must be torn from my family and friends. The government of Austria said to you, "Dare to come upon my soil, without a passport, declaring you to be an American citizen, (which you say you are not,) you shall at once be arrested, and thrown into prison." What said you to that Government? Did you say that the threat was a villainous one, and an infamous invasion of your right of locomotion? Did you say, "I will come upon your soil; I will go where I please—I dare and defy your government!" Did you say, "I will spurn your passports; I would not stain my hand, and degrade myself, by touching your miserable parchment. You have no right to give it, and I have no right to take it. I trample your laws, and will put your constitutions under my feet! I will not recognize them!" Was this your course? No! dear friend, it was not. Your practice was wiser than your theory. You took the passport, submitted to be examined while travelling, and availed yourself of all the advantages of your "passport"—or, in other words, escaped all the evils which you ought to have done, without it, and would have done, but for the tyrannical usurpation in Europe.

I will not dwell longer upon this view of the subject; and I dismiss it, feeling quite satisfied of the entire correctness of the reasoning, and the principle attempted to be maintained. As to the expediency of the: measures, different opinions may well prevail; but in regard to the principle, I feel it difficult to conceive of two opinions. I am free to say, that, had I possessed one hundred and fifty pounds, I would have seen Hugh Auld *kicking*, before I would have given it to him. I would have waited till the emergency came, and only given up the money when nothing else would do. But my friends thought it best to provide against the contingency; they acted on their own responsibility, and I am not disturbed about the result. But, having acted on a true principle, *I do not feel free to disavow their proceedings*. In conclusion, let me say, I anticipate no such change in my position as you predict. I shall be Frederick Douglass still,



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and once a slave still. I shall neither be made to forget nor cease to feel the wrongs of my enslaved fellow-countrymen. My knowledge of slavery will be the same, and my hatred of it will be the same. By the way, I have never made my own person and suffering the theme of public discourse, but have always based my appeal upon the wrongs of the three millions now in chains; and these shall still be the burthen of my speeches. You intimate that I may reject the papers, and allow them to remain in the hands of those friends who have effected the purchase, and thus avail myself of the security afforded by them, without sharing any part of the responsibility of the transaction. My objection to this is one of honor. I do not think it would be very honorable on my part, to remain silent during the whole transaction, and giving it more than my silent approval; and then, when the thing is completed, and I am safe, attempt to play the *hero*, by throwing off all responsibility in the matter. It might be said, and said with great propriety, "Mr. Douglass, your indignation is very good, and has but one fault, and that is, *it comes too late!*" It would be a show of bravery when the danger is over. From every view I have been able to take of the subject, I am persuaded to receive the papers, if presented,—not, however, as a proof of my right to be free, for *that is self-evident*, but as a proof that my friends have been legally robbed of £150, in order to secure that which is the birth-right of every man. And I will hold up those papers before the world, in proof of the plundering character of the American government. It shall be the brand of infamy, stamping the nation, in whose name the deed was done, as a great aggregation of hypocrites, thieves and liars,—and their condemnation is just. They declare that all men are created equal, and have a natural and inalienable right to liberty, while they rob me of £150, as a condition of my enjoying this natural and inalienable right. It will be their condemnation, in their own hand-writing, and may be held up to the world as a means of humbling that haughty republic into repentance.

I agree with you, that the contest which I have to wage is against the government of the United States. But the representative of that government is the slaveholder, *Thomas Auld*. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The whole civil and naval force of the nation are at his disposal. He may command all these to his assistance, and bring them all to bear upon me, until I am made entirely subject to his will, or submit to be robbed myself, or allow my friends to be robbed, of seven hundred and fifty dollars. And rather than be subject to his will, I have submitted to be robbed, or allowed my friends to be robbed, of the seven hundred and fifty dollars.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick Douglass



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March 19, Friday: President [James Knox Polk](#) had rented the slave Paul Jennings from the widow [Dolley Madison](#) in 1845 for \$120 upon Jennings's pledge that he would work out that sum at \$8 per month while being provided by Webster with board, clothes, and washing.



This term of service had begun when they returned to [Washington DC](#) from the *Lorette*. However, in September 1846 Dolley had turned around and sold Paul to Pollard Webb for \$200. Therefore [Daniel Webster](#) needed to pay Webb \$120 when he gave Jennings's [manumission](#) papers to him and recorded them at the public records office in Washington DC:

Mar: 19. 1847. —

I have paid \$120 for the freedom of Paul Jennings — He agrees to work out the sum, at 8 dollars a month, to be found with board, clothes + washing — to begin when we return from the *Lorette* — His freedom papers I gave to him; they are recorded in this district.

Daniel Webster
Washington.

Jennings was no longer the property of the former President's beloved widow, or of Pollard Webb, a Washington insurance agent. At approximately 49 or 50 years of age he had become a free man, entitled to contract his own labor for as much as he could get for it, with whomever would engage his services. —Is this a wonderful country, or what?



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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Meer: 19. 1847. —


I have paid \$120 for
the Freedom of Paul
Jennings — He
agrees to work out the
debt, at 8 dollars a
month, to be found
with board, clothes
& washing — to begin
when we return from
the South — His
freedom papers I send
to him; they are
recorded in this District.

David Webster
Washington.



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 December 12, Sunday: It had turned out that Frederick Douglass's new "owner" Hugh Auld, Jr., had been bluffing, pure and simple. Rather than making good any of those threats about how he was going to seize him should he ever return to the United States of America, this great land of freedom to abuse others, when the English friends Anna and Ellen Richardson raised the sum of £150 sterling — **money had talked and the man had listened.**¹¹⁶ On this date the final papers of [manumission](#) were placed on file in the government records office in [Baltimore](#).



116. On the exchange market at that time £150 in English currency was valued at \$711.⁶⁶ in US currency, and that amount would have represented approximately two years income for a relatively skilled white craftsman. Basically, Frederick Douglass had paid Auld back for the two years of labor which Auld had not received, between the date on which Douglass stole himself away and the date on which Auld had been promising to Douglass that he would set him free.



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1848

The last of Connecticut's [slaves](#), Onesimus Brown, who had refused [manumission](#), died. (Although this state had passed a law abolishing slavery in 1788, and although that law had specified that newborns would be free and all others were to be freed when they reached the age of 25 — in fact Connecticut's gradualism had been so utterly gradualistic that it had never emancipated any females who had been over 21 years of age at the time of its passage, or males who had been over 25.)

The city of Savannah, Georgia, to discourage freed rural black Americans from moving into the urban center, was attempting to impose a \$100-per-person-per-year tax upon any such relocations.

The Reverend Dr. [William Henry Brisbane](#) took his wife Glorianna Lawton Brisbane back to South Carolina for a visit and engaged not to conduct any abolitionist activities while there, or even speak of [slavery](#). He would, however, be coaxed into such discussions, and after she retired for the night, would sit up for hours arguing with friends about the ethics of slavery. In the middle of one night a relative would wake the family to warn that an angry mob was on its way to tar-and-feather this traitor — the Brisbanes would be forced into hastily flight.

The Reverend Dr. [Brisbane](#) was asked to fill a [Baptist](#) pulpit in Camden, New Jersey.

In 1836 Isaac Ross, the owner of a 5,000-acre plantation with 225 [slaves](#), Prospect Hill in Jefferson County in Mississippi, had instructed on his deathbed that at the point of his daughter Margaret's death, "Prospect Hill would be sold and the money used to pay the way for his slaves who wanted to emigrate to Liberia." Early in this year, the first group of Prospect Hill's [manumitted](#) slaves began their long journey of exile to a foreign continent. Ultimately there would be a colony made up of several hundred of Isaac Ross's slaves, conjoining themselves with another several hundred people who had been freed by other members of the extended Ross family in a colony at the mouth of the Sinoe River that they would refer to as "Mississippi in Africa." Initially, in part because of disagreements between the Mississippi Colonization Society and the American Colonization Society, this was not considered to be part of the colony of Liberia that centered at Monrovia, but it would come under attack by local tribespeople who resented the privileged position of these freed slaves, the way they lorded it over the native Africans, and so eventually it would need to be made part of that independent nation.

August 1, Tuesday: In [New Bedford](#) during the late 1840s, bands and other marching groups and societies were turning out in force for parades on the anniversary of the [emancipation](#) of the slaves of the British West Indies, with the city's schoolchildren joining in as well.

EMANCIPATION DAY



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1849

In this year [Sojourner Truth](#) would have been approximately 52 years old, and it was an auspicious year, the year of freedom for Peter, her 2d child.¹¹⁷

117. A process of mandatory indenture had been utilized in New York State to effectively extend the condition of servitude of young slaves, after they had on the 4th of July 1827 received their formal [manumission](#) papers. Isabella had received some financial assistance from the [Quakers](#) in seeking the return of her son Peter from the South.



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William Wells Brown's marital relation with Elizabeth Spooner Brown went sour, and he began a lecture tour of Britain. He would remain abroad until British friends had purchased [manumission](#) papers for him in 1854. An English edition of his Narrative was published:



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**NARRATIVE
OF
WILLIAM W. BROWN,
AN AMERICAN SLAVE.**

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Is there not some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man
Who gains his fortune from the blood of souls!
Cowper.

ELEVENTH THOUSAND.

**LONDON:
CHARLES GILPIN,
BISHOPGATE-ST. WITHOUT.**

1849:

**Printed, chiefly from the American Stereotype Plates,
by Webb and Chapman
Great Brunswick-Street, Dublin.**



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January: From the will of Jonathan Coit of New London, Connecticut, which encompassed \$137,000 in gifts (multiple millions of dollars, in today's money):

To John Evans a free black servant man ... I give two thousand dollars in consideration of his temperate habits his honesty & general good conduct this sum to be placed in the Savings Bank of New London to said Evans credit with this condition that the interest only to be paid him the principal to remain in said Bank not be removed until after the decease of said Evans when it is to be paid over to his legal representatives for the benefits of his wife & children

To John C. Coit ... for the purpose of obtaining the freedom of a Slave named Prince a Negro man formerly belonging to me but now the property of James Wright of Cheran So. Carolina I give two thousand dollars in the hope (altho I do not make this a condition) that Prince will come and reside here with some of my relatives and that he bring along his son if his freedom can also be produced. To effect this I give ... one thousand dollars more intending that what remain ... be given to said Prince....

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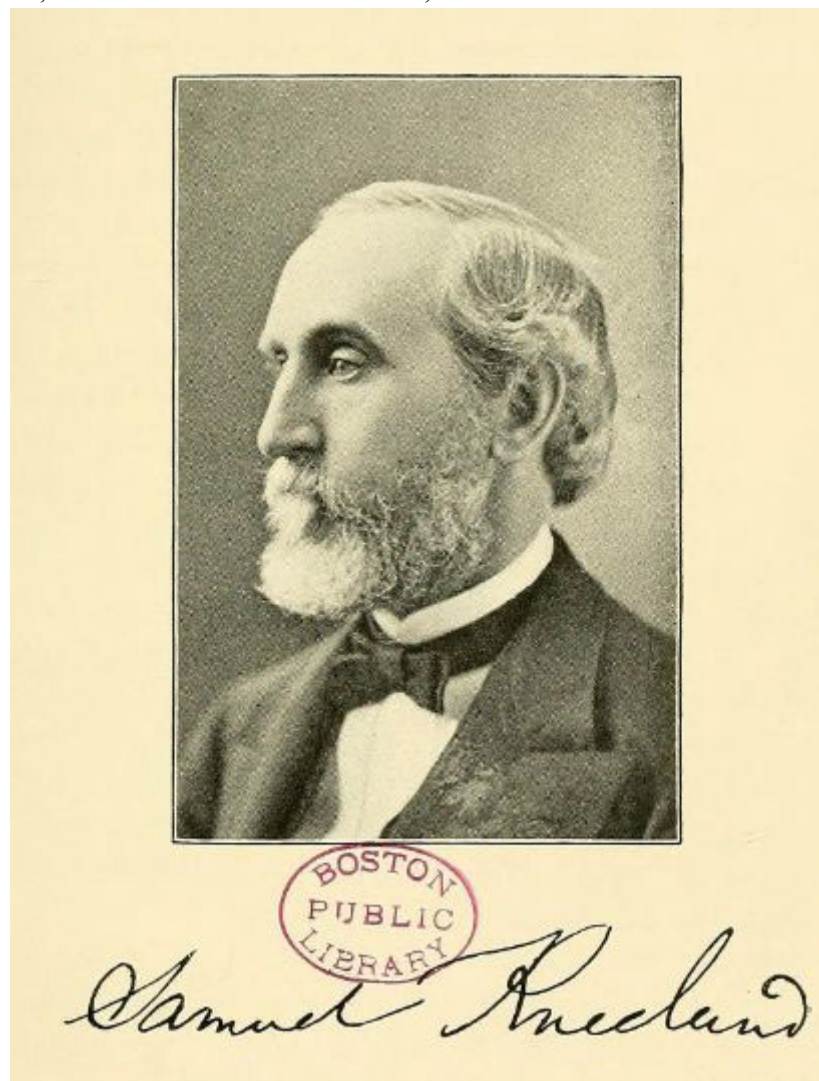
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

August 1, Wednesday: In [New Bedford](#) during the late 1840s, bands and other marching groups and societies were turning out in force for parades on the anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, with the city's schoolchildren joining in as well.

EMANCIPATION DAY

ABOLITIONISM

[Dr. Samuel Kneeland, Jr.](#) got married with Eliza Maria Curtis, daughter of Daniel T. Curtis, Esq. of Cambridge, Massachusetts, grand-daughter of General Paul Curtis of the American Revolution. They would have a son and a daughter, Samuel Kneeland on December 10, 1850 and Eliza Curtis Kneeland on October 21, 1852.



(We can be quite certain that in the case of this 1850 childbirth by Mrs. Kneeland, and in the case of this 1852 childbirth by Mrs. Kneeland, her murderous physician husband did not experiment to demonstrate yet again as he had proved in 1846, that “puerperal fever could be produced by the inoculation of a woman with fluid from a sick woman or from the body of one who had died after labor.” No, this particular mother was no charity patient — who might be killed for the improvement of science and her unfortunate infant left motherless. This



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one was the physician's spouse, and the infant in question was the physician's own child, and thus mother and infant would be awarded the very best of care! She, no, *she* was not injected.)

The [cholera](#) was making an extraordinary visit to [Ireland](#). The [Morning Herald](#) editorialized that "A feeling is becoming very general that some mode of nationally supplying the DIVINE mercy should be immediately adopted, with reference to the pestilence which is now raging among us. It is no longer to be doubted or denied that not in our generation has a visitation of like severity been known. The worst periods of the cholera of 1832 did not approach in extent or intensity to that through which we are passing. We entirely accord with the feeling we have described, and trust that Parliament will not separate without some appeal being made to the heads of her Majesty's Government as to the propriety of such a step. There is something exceedingly awful in the mysterious character of this pestilence. Nearly twenty years has it been a known disease, in one sense, throughout Europe; and yet, in another sense, it remains utterly unknown to this moment. Medical professors of the highest attainments are obliged to admit that they know not how or whence it comes; how or in what cases or circumstances it acts; or of what character the remedies ought to be. All the modes of dealing with it are little better than guesses. One insists on brandy, another prefers ice mixed with salt. Chloroform is the remedy here, bleeding there. Heat or cold, stillness or friction, all manner of differing or opposing modes of treatment, are advocated on all sides, and with equal zeal. The plainest facts are called in question. A Doctor H., at Liverpool, declares that in one week he effected 74 cures! All the other doctors of the town assert with decision, that he has effected no cures at all." The [Limerick Chronicle](#) reported, on the bright side, that the supply of potatoes was looking up this year, so that although you might fear to die of the cholera this season, this season you need not fear to die of [famine](#): "Precisely at this time last year unmistakable symptoms of the potato disease were generally visible in our market. At present, we have sincere pleasure in announcing that no sign of any distemper affects the large supply now at market in Limerick."

The last week of August: At the Peace Convention in Paris, William Wells Brown represented the American Peace Committee for a Congress of Nations. (Because of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, our representative to this august body would not be able to return to his homeland until his friends were able to raise enough money to purchase his [manumission](#) — which would happen in 1854.)





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December 26, Wednesday: [David Ruggles](#) died of a bowel infection in Florence, Massachusetts.

A process was set in motion in our nation's puzzle palace on the Potomac (note that our national District of Columbia was then still wholly within the state of [Maryland](#), and thus the property laws of that state applied), that would reach its completion on December 14, 1857:

*Know all men by these presents that I, **Mary Watts** of Saint Mary's County and State of [Maryland](#) for and in consideration of the sum of seven hundred dollars current money, to me in hand paid by Thomas Sumerville F.B. of the county and state aforesaid, at and before the sealing and delivery hereof, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge; have granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents, do, grant, bargain and sell unto the said **Thomas Sumerville F.B.** his executors, administrators and assigns, one Negro woman **Maria** aged twenty five years, one Negro child named **Sarah Ann** ages six years, one Negro child named **Thomas Randolph** aged three years, and one other Negro child named **Mary Ellen** aged one year, all which Negroes are slaves for life. To have and hold the said described Negroes above bargained and sold to the said Thomas Somerville F.B. his executors, administrators and assigns, forever unto his and their only proper use and benefit, and I, the said Mary Watts for myself, my executors and administrators, shall and will warrant, and forever defend by these presents to the said Thomas Somerville F.B. his executors, administrators and assigns, the said described Negroes, against my executors and administrators, and against and all every other person or persons whomsoever I administer the same or any part thereof. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal the twenty sixth day of December Eighteen Hundred and Forty Nine.*
Signed, sealed and delivered

in the presence of }
N. Furck

Mary Watts {seal}

*Received of **Thomas Sumerville F.B.** the sum of seven hundred dollars in the full of the consideration specified to be paid in the above Bill of sale.*
26th December 1849 Mary Watts
State of [Maryland](#), St. Mary's County, J.P.
*On this 26th day of December 1849 before one of the justices of the peace of the state of Maryland in and for said county, personally appeared **Mary Watts** and acknowledges the foregoing bill of sale or instrument of writing to be her act and deeds according to the purport true intent and meaning thereof-And at the same time and place also appeared before me **Thomas Somerville F.B.** the grantee oath that the consideration set forth in the said Bill of sale is true and bona fide as therein set forth.*
Acknowledged & sworn before
N. Furck, J.P. {seal}

*Jany. 3rd 1850. Recd. of **Thomas Sumerville** the sum of one dollar*



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*the stamp duty required by law on this Bill of sale.
Wm. T. Maddox*

St. Mary's Cnty.

*Saint Marys County to wit
Thereby certify that the foregoing is truly taken from the
original field in my office on the 3rd Jany. 1850.
In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the
seal of my office this 12th day of March eighteen hundred and
fifty.
Wm. Maddox*

St. Mry's. Cnty. Clk.

*Deed of manumission
District of Columbia, County of Washington
To all whom it may concern. Be it known that I, **Thomas Sumerville**
of the city of Washington in the district of Columbia for divers
good causes and considerations, me thereunto moving have
released from slavery, liberated, manumitted and set free and
by means presents do hereby release from slavery, liberate,
manumit and set free my wife **Maria** being of the age of thirty
four years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and
maintenance and she the said Negro slave named **Maria Somerville**
I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted, discharged from
all manner of service or servitude to me, my executors and
administrators forever.
In witness whereof I have this fourteenth day of December in the
year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty Seven set
my hand and seal.
Thomas (X) Sumerville {seal}
Signed Sealed
and delivered in presence of
Witness Jas. Cull
?Alexander Cull*

*District of Columbia, Washington County
On this 14th day of December 1857 before me the subscriber a
Justice of the Peace for the County aforesaid personally
appeared **Thomas Sumerville** and acknowledged the above Deed of
manumission to be his act and deed for the purpose set forth.
Jas. Cull, J.P. {seal}*



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1850

Let us here attempt a graphic contrast between decency and indecency. By this decade only a very few of the slave states (such as I think Arkansas, Missouri, and perhaps [Maryland](#)) were allowing slavemasters to [manumit](#) their slaves without a special bill by the legislature.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

The [Reverend Joel Hawes](#)'s LESSONS FOR THE YOUNG AND THE OLD: FROM THE EXAMPLES OF WASHINGTON AND JAY (Brown & Parsons).

A 2d drawing of the [manumitted](#) slave West Ford was made, by the reporter Benson Lossing who was interviewing him about his slave life at [Mount Vernon](#). Refer to <http://www.westfordlegacy.com/home.htm>.

GEORGE WASHINGTON



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At this point [Harriet Tubman](#) had set aside enough money from her pittance as a fugitive laundress/cook to make her first courageous trip back into the slave states, to rescue members of her family. As a conductor on the “[Underground Railroad](#)” she would be making at least 18 additional trips into slave territory and would be leading some 300 fugitives –counting her parents– to freedom. Although slaveholders would offer rewards of up to \$40,000 for her capture, she would never be intercepted. During her journeys guiding other slaves to the North, she often would resort to “coaxing” weary and frightened fugitives by the waving of a loaded pistol, but somehow she managed never having to shoot a single one of her charges. From Annapolis, [Maryland](#), if you cross the bridge linking to the Eastern Shore and drive south to Cambridge, you will arrive at the Long Wharf at which she arrived by boat to boldly [manumit](#) her sister — who was being sold on the courthouse steps a few blocks away.¹¹⁸

Here is the scene as imagined by one of our artists of today, Paul Collins (he would be pleased to sell you a

118. It is an interesting perspective on the noble life of [Harriet Tubman](#), that the family name “Tubman” was an occupational title, a synonym for “nightsoil-collector,” in the manner in which a white family might know itself as Cooper (barrel-maker) or Fletcher (arrow-maker). One may imagine that the humor of the situation –that they were being carried north to freedom by a tubman and were therefore analogous to human wastes– would not have been lost on the black escapees whom this Underground Railroad conductor escorted out of the South.



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print):



Harriet Tubman's Underground Railroad
— Paul Collins —

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

This was the approximate year of [manumission](#) for Elizabeth, 3rd child of [Sojourner Truth](#). (A process of mandatory indenture had been utilized in New York State to effectively extend the condition of servitude of young slaves, after they had on the 4th of July 1827 received their formal papers.)

As of the turn of the century South Carolina had passed a law requiring that any slaves who were manumitted possess, or receive from their manumitting masters, “the capacity... to function in a free society...” The goal had been to end such abuses as the “freeing” of the aged, the infirm, and those considered by the slavemaster to be useless due to bad or depraved character. After the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion, most southern states passed such laws restricting (or prohibiting) manumission. By this decade only Delaware, Missouri, and Arkansas were allowing masters to free slaves without requiring their departure from the state. (Refer to Ira Berlin, *SLAVES WITHOUT MASTERS: THE FREE NEGRO IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH*, NY: Pantheon Books, 1974, pages 138-153. Note 2 on pages 138-139 provides a comprehensive list of state laws regulating or prohibiting [manumission](#).)



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Holyoke was incorporated and the first [cotton](#) mill there began operation. Settlement of the new city would proceed slowly over this decade. Several textile mills, some paper mills and a machine shop would be beginning production. The water power companies would be divesting themselves of their manufacturing assets.

Basil Dorsey, the team-master for the [cotton](#) factory in [Northampton](#), had at this point saved up some \$50.¹¹⁹ It was hard for him to make a decent salary, however, among other reasons because he was fearful of going into any larger city in New England, where there were greater numbers of strangers. To be able to take merchandise into Boston without running afoul of the roving slavecatchers would be of great help to him. Therefore a collection was taken up, and the Southern white family from whom Dorsey had escaped was paid off with the accumulated \$50 savings plus this money collected locally, and eventually Dorsey would receive his [manumission](#) papers.

August 21, Thursday/22, Friday: A Fugitive Slave Law Convention was held in the orchard of Grace Wilson's School, on Sullivan Street in Cazenovia, [New York](#). Attending were Mary Edmondson and Emily Edmondson, who had been among 14 siblings born into slavery in [Washington DC](#) because their mother (not their father) was enslaved. In 1848 they, with their brothers Samuel Edmondson and Richard Edmondson and 73 others, had attempted to flee aboard the schooner *Pearl*. When that ship was intercepted, the girls had been carried by a slavetrader to New Orleans to serve as "fancy girls," but their father Paul Edmondson had however gone to New-York to petition the New York Anti-Slavery Society, and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher and the congregation of his Plymouth Church had raised a sum of money to purchase his daughters. Harriet Beecher Stowe having undertaken responsibility for their education, Emily Edmondson and Mary Edmondson would in 1852 enroll in Oberlin's Preparatory Department with the intention of becoming missionaries to American blacks who were escaping to Canada. Mary Edmondson was, however, suffering from [phthisis](#), and would

119. To get a sense of what that amounted to in today's money, consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>
≥

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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become progressively weaker throughout her first year at Oberlin College and die on May 18, 1853. Emily Edmundson would, until her marriage, assist at Myrtilla Miner's school for black girls in the District of Columbia. She would, with the sponsorship of [Frederick Douglass](#), armed with her [manumission](#) papers, go to the deep South and buy one of her brothers out of slavery. On this Daguerreotype plate exposed by local photographer Ezra Greenleaf Weld, Mary Edmondson is wearing a shawl, at the elbow of Frederick Douglass. Gerrit Smith, whose home was in nearby Peterboro, is gesturing behind Douglass, and the figure at center is presumably [Abby Kelley Foster](#), with Emily Edmundson behind her in a bonnet. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May is standing behind the man who is taking notes. [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), recognizable by his miss-shapen skull, is in front of Douglass. We suspect therefore that the diminutive figure between Emily Edmundson and the Reverend May would be [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#).





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1851

This was the approximate year of freedom for Sophia, 4th child of [Sojourner Truth](#), whom she had carried with her as a baby when she had voted with her feet at the end of 1826. (A process of mandatory indenture had been utilized in New York State to effectively extend the condition of servitude of young slaves, after they had on the 4th of July 1827 received their formal [manumission](#) papers.)

Those of us who take an interest in this sort of thing will be fascinated by a document dating to this year:



It is the Certificate of Freedom of one Harriet Bolling of Petersburg, Virginia, a 42-year-old woman of mixed descent who had in 1842 been [manumitted](#) by James Bolling. Although freeborn blacks could stay in Virginia, emancipated slaves were required by law to leave the state. Notwithstanding, the court issued this certificate to allow Bolling specifically “to remain in this Commonwealth and reside in Petersburg.” –That was pretty damn white of him! –She must have been pretty white! –Was she, perhaps, Mr. Bolling’s daughter?



March 23: For a week past the elm buds have been swollen. The willow catkins have put out. The ice still remains in Walden though it will not bear. Mather Howard saw a large meadow near his house which had risen up, but was prevented from floating away by the bushes.

March 24, Monday: After this date if any slaves were [manumitted](#) in Kentucky they would be required to leave the state. Also, any free Negroes returning to or coming into Kentucky, if they remained over 30 days, were to be arrested and punished by confinement.

March 26, Wednesday: The first synagogue in Boston dedicated and paraded its scrolls of the *Torah*.¹²⁰

March 27, Thursday: The Mariposa Battalion of about 200 armed white men entered Yosemite Valley.



March 27: Walden is $\frac{2}{3}$ broken up. It will probably be quite open by to-morrow night.

120. There was already a synagogue in Worcester.



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August 1, Friday: In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, there was a particularly large procession, which drew the New-York Cadets accompanied by the New-York Brass Band. Guest speakers included Charles Lenox Remond, a liberty orator from Salem, and Robert Morris, a black lawyer from Boston.

EMANCIPATION DAY

ABOLITIONISM

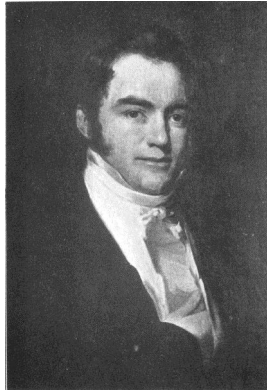
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1852

Using the pen name “Agricola,” [William Elliott](#) had expressed his ideas in favor of race [slavery](#) and in opposition to disunion in a series of letters to newspapers, and these were collected and published as THE LETTERS OF AGRICOLA.



From a lithograph published by Nathaniel Currier in this year, we can see that the intimate connection between our nation’s Founding Fathers and the peculiar institution of race [slavery](#) had not been nearly so problematic in this antebellum year, as it has become in more recent times. Here is President [George Washington](#), captured in the act of doing his white-masterly stuff at Mount Vernon:





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By way of a medium at a seance with the supernatural, in this year the spirit of the deceased Nathaniel Peabody Rogers would be made to offer to [William Lloyd Garrison](#) the revealed truth that immediatism was wrong. To force a slavemaster to free his slaves would be to make that slavemaster become the slave of the enforcing power. But such a course of action would not be to **eliminate** slavery, rather it would be to **perpetuate** it. The spirit of Rogers professed that it had learned during its afterlife that those who are enslaved must wait until the slavemasters have themselves persuaded themselves freely, of the iniquity of their being slavemasters — and have freely and voluntarily granted to them their uncoerced [manumission](#).

June 29, Tuesday: Henry Clay died of [tuberculosis](#) in [Washington DC](#). According to the text of his will, which you may inspect at <http://www.uky.edu/Libraries/KLP/gallery/clay1991/page-4.gif> and <http://www.uky.edu/Libraries/KLP/gallery/clay1991/page-5.gif>, he had set up a scheme for the gradual [manumission](#) of those of his [slaves](#) who were female, and for their issue, and sending them off to Africa. Although we don't know whether any of Clay's slaves actually obtained their manumission in accordance with this will, or actually were sent to Liberia in accordance to this will, there is an intriguing question (a question of the sort that might be asked by Charlie McCarthy of Edgar Bergen): What do you suppose it might have been that would have motivated a Southern gentleman to **free his female slaves and their issue** while freeing **neither his male slaves nor their issue**?

You don't suppose, that there may have been a wooden puppet hiding in his woodpile?

[Henry Thoreau](#) made an entry in his journal that he was later to copy into his early lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" It would be combined with an entry made on September 7, 1851 to form the following:

[Paragraph 6] I cannot easily buy a blank book to write thoughts in; they are all ruled for dollars and cents. If a man was tossed out of a window when an infant, and so made a cripple for life, or scared out of his wits by the Indians, it is regretted chiefly because he was thus incapacitated for—business! I think that there is nothing, not even crime, more opposed to poetry, to philosophy, ay, to life itself, than this incessant business.

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1854

During the Anthony Burns case, after Transcendentalist poets and preachers had attacked the Boston courthouse, the building had been converted into a sort of armored slavepen, in that it was guarded by a



detachment of US Marines, and two artillery companies with loaded cannons and with fixed bayonets on their rifles, as well as by the US Marshall's guard consisting of "a gang of about one-hundred and twenty men, the lowest villains in the community, keepers of brothels, bullies, blacklegs, convicts...." Not even the judges, let alone the jurors, the witnesses, and the litigant attorneys, were being permitted inside the courthouse without first passing a cordon of men five men deep, and proving their right to be there. Boston abolitionists had offered the [slavemaster](#) of Burns the sum of \$1,200 in return for a document in [manumission](#), but had been



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refused.



Nothing in the whole record of the Burns affair is more striking to a modern audience or at first more off-putting than the apparent incapacity of even the most committed of the radicals to express a direct, authentic outrage on Burns's personal behalf. Phillips's unelaborated reference to his "suffering" is as close as they come. The evil that Parker undertakes to agitate against is the threat to the civil liberties of Northern white men. There is an oddity about this argument even on the supposition that it consciously appeals to self-interest ... if they are to be made to fight again, it must probably be for the same thing [their own personal liberty] and not ... for ... the right of another man than oneself to be free.

WENDELL PHILLIPS

THEODORE PARKER

At some point in the year, in regard to the enforcement of the federal Fugitive Slave Act in regard to the Burns case, the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) would deliver a sermon entitled "Massachusetts in Mourning."

After British abolitionists had "purchased" his [manumission](#) papers, redeeming him from the danger of re-enslavement under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, William Wells Brown returned to reside in the Boston area. While abroad he had created CLOTEL, which would be the 1st novel by an American of color, and he had ST. DOMINGO, a work indicative of growing antislavery militancy, in process. (He had also produced a travelogue complete with a rolled 24-scene panorama, and would produce a play, a compilation of antislavery songs, and finally three volumes of black history.)

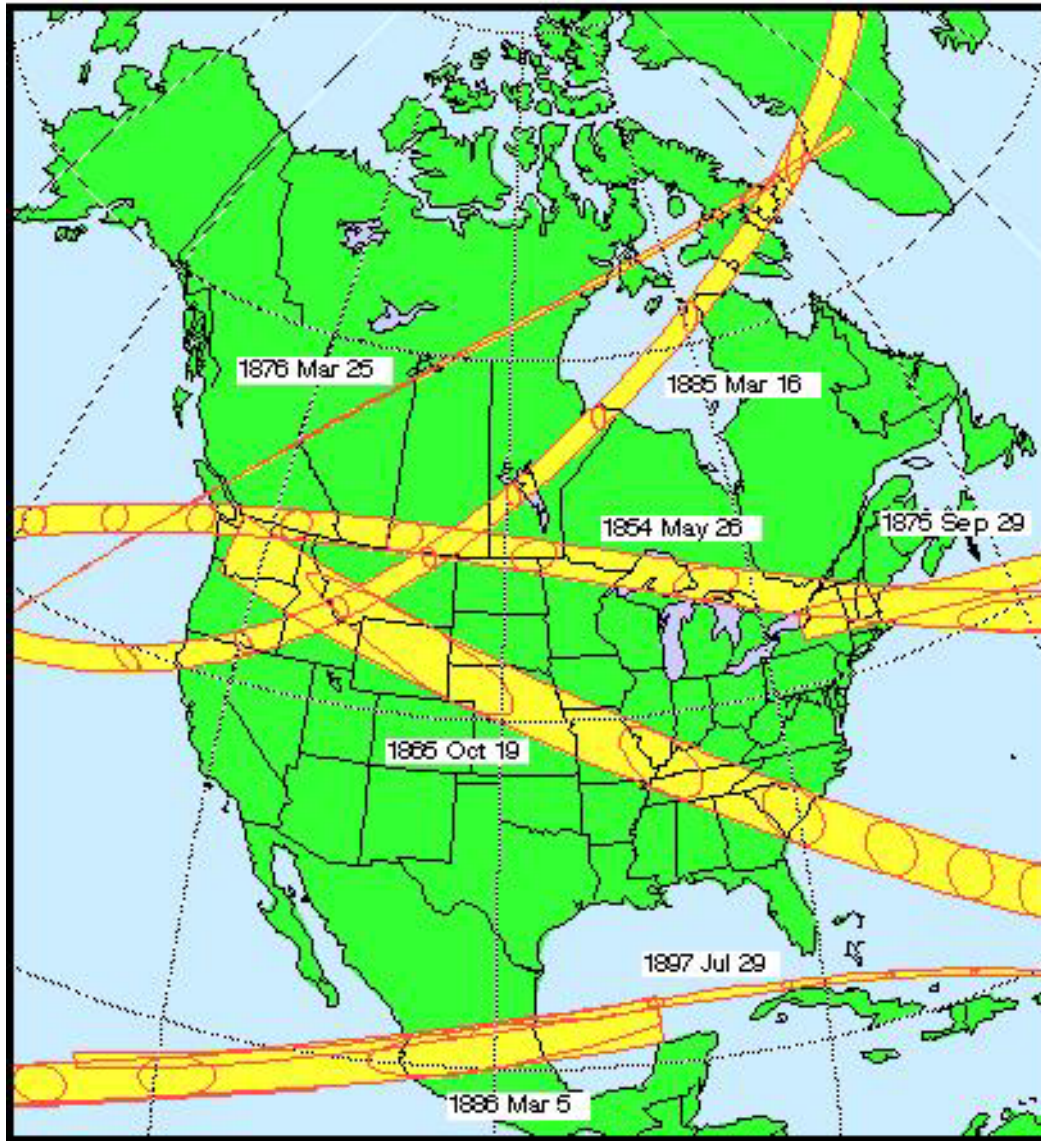
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May 26, Friday: An annular solar [eclipse](#) (#7298) was visible (local weather conditions permitting) in a path from Washington state along the Canadian border and across New England and Nova Scotia:

Annular Solar Eclipses: 1851 - 1900

[ASTRONOMY](#)

In Boston, the solar eclipse was precluded by clouds and rain. However, in Roxbury, Caroline Barrett White got a view and was able to mark down the totality as occurring precisely at 5:40 PM. In Cambridge, [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) wrote in his journal that “Yesterday a fugitive slave was arrested in Boston! To-day there is an eclipse of the sun. ‘Hung be the heavens in black!’”

At 5:30 AM [Henry Thoreau](#) visited the climbing ivy, and in the afternoon he went to [Walden Pond](#). Presumably he caught no glimpse of the eclipse through the clouds.

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[Moncure Daniel Conway](#) heard the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)'s incendiary oration at Faneuil Hall:

There is a means, and there is an end; liberty is the end, and sometimes peace is not the means toward it.



Hey, that's not bad, coming from a white man who believed his own Caucasian race to be uniquely humane, civilized, and progressive, never enslaved because able to conquer by use of the head as well as by use of the hand. (Yeah, that's just about a quote unquote, for the Reverend Parker besides being a warmonger was also a racist.) Let's have a war so that superior and inferior races can live together in harmony!

The lawyer Seth Webb, Jr. managed to persuade Judge Daniel Wells of Boston's Court of Common Pleas to issue to Boston's coroner, Charles Smith, a writ of personal replevin according to which US Marshal Watson Freeman was to surrender "the body of Anthony Burns." Freeman, however, refused to comply with this writ. Meanwhile, there were maneuvers to raise \$1,200 to purchase the escaped slave in order directly to manumit him.¹²¹

[MANUMISSION](#)

This Anthony Burns affair made Conway (among others) into an abolitionist, by forcing him to choose sides. As the industrialist Amos Lawrence of the Secret "Six" conspiracy commented,

We went to bed one night old-fashioned, conservative, Compromise Union Whigs and waked up stark mad Abolitionists.

121. It would have been at best problematic, for such a sale of Burns to the abolitionists for \$1,200 to have gone through. Under Massachusetts law, the sale of a slave within the Commonwealth would have been a criminal offense committed by the seller and punishable by a fine of \$1,000 plus ten years in prison. Even if Mr. Charles Francis Suttle were to carefully phrase the transaction as a [manumission](#) financed by others rather than as a financial transaction for gain, he very well knew that this would provide his enemies with a pretext for indefinite legal harassment — a pretext upon which in the utter absence of all good will they would be quite likely to act.



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Bronson Alcott took the train from Boston for Worcester on a mission for the Boston Vigilance Committee. He was to attract the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), who had organized the guerrilla action of 1851 which had failed to rescue Thomas Simms (Sims), to head the Vigilance Committee and to take action in regard to the kidnapping of Burns.¹²²

122. For the attempt at rescuing Anthony Burns, see the [Reverend Higginson](#)'s *CHEERFUL YESTERDAYS* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898).



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1855

The free blacks of New Orleans responded enthusiastically when the state's [slave manumission](#) policy began to be liberalized. They would soon, however, have this initial enthusiasm driven out of them, for the Louisiana legislature—among other state legislatures—would begin reacting to the great servile-insurrection scare that would begin in 1856 because a presidential candidate considered to be pro-negro was being offered by the new Republican Party. The state's white powers-that-be would in 1857 again sharply restrict the possibility of manumission. This rancid history would reach its low point in the election of 1860. Many industrious free blacks of the South would experience a white backlash in which they would be accused of subversive sympathies with the black slaves, in a bond supposedly arising out of their African-Americans kinship and out of a common experience of white prejudice.

February: Anthony Burns had been kept in the traders' jail in Richmond, Virginia until he had been sold to a white man from [North Carolina](#), and in this month this man retailed him to a Massachusetts minister at Barnum's Hotel in [Baltimore](#) for the sum of \$1,325.⁰⁰. (Carefully, discretely, by way of an acceptable mediary, the black community of Boston was purchasing Burns's freedom.) On March 7, 1855 a slave would be feted at Tremont Temple and handed his [manumission](#) papers. The former slave free at last would attend the School of Divinity at Oberlin College and become a minister of the gospel, God bless him.





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March 7, Wednesday: Anthony Burns, back from his 2nd enslavement at a ransom price of \$1,325.⁰⁰, was feted at the Tremont Temple and handed [manumission](#) papers. The former slave, free at last, would attend the School of Divinity at Oberlin College and become a minister of the gospel, pastor at the Zion [Baptist](#) Church of St. Catherine's, [Canada](#) West.



During that spring, however, in Boston, due to the parental boycott of racially segregated school facilities, enrollment at Boston's all-black [Smith School](#) was standing at but 28. In the petition drive to desegregate Boston's system, [William C. Nell](#) would obtain 311 signatures and [Lewis Hayden](#) would obtain 87. A bill prohibiting all distinction of color and religion would be passed by the Massachusetts House of Representatives, at that time under the control of [Know-Nothings](#). Then that bill would be passed by the Massachusetts Senate, also at that time under the control of these people.¹²³



March 7. P. M. — To Red-Ice Pond. A raw east wind and rather cloudy. Methinks the buds of the early willows, the willows of the railroad bank, show more of the silvery down than ten days ago. Did I not see crows

123. In Massachusetts at least, this party was not only [nativist](#) and anti-immigrant but also anti-aristocratic and anti-slavery. Nothing in this blazing amazing world is so strange and strained as politics! An explanation for this phenomenon might be that the Catholic Irish, who had to compete with free blacks for the roughest and dirtiest of laboring jobs, were violently pro-slavery and, since the [Know-Nothings](#) were violently anti-Catholic and anti-Irish and the Catholic Irish were reaching what were seen as dangerous proportions, actually in Boston by that point the majority of the citizenry, then, on the principle "an enemy of my enemy is my friend," the Know-Nothings were making common cause with the free black minority. One Know-Nothing representative is recorded as having stated that he resented the idea that some black children had to travel a long way to Black Smith, passing other schools on the way, when the "dirtiest Irish" could step directly from their teeming tenements into the nearest and most convenient public school. The Boston [Pilot](#), a Catholic paper, suggested that this integration of the public schools was intended "as an insult" to Boston's Catholics, who were of course all white. Boston Catholics were at this time so anti-black that they didn't even bother to establish a segregated section in their cathedral for blacks. When a temperance speaker who had spoken against slavery in Ireland, where it was unpopular, came to speak of temperance in the Catholic churches of America, for the most pragmatic of reasons he needed to cease saying anything at all about this topic of slavery.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM



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flying northeasterly yesterday toward night? The redness in the ice appears mostly to have evaporated, so that, melted, it does not color the water in a bottle. Saw, about a hemlock stump on the hillside north of the largest Andromeda Pond, very abundant droppings of some kind of mice, on that common green moss (forming a firm bed about an inch high, like little pines, surmounted by a fine red stem with a green point, in all three quarters of an inch high), which they had fed on to a great extent, evidently when it was covered with snow, shearing it off level. Their droppings could be collected by the hand probably, [550307a.jpg (2597 bytes)] a light brown above, green next the earth. There were apparently many of their holes in the earth about the stump. They must have fed very extensively on this moss the past winter [Vide Mar. 14th.]. It is now difficult getting on and off Walden. At Brister's Spring there are beautiful dense green beds of moss, which apparently has just risen above the surface of the water, tender and compact. I see many tadpoles of medium or full size in deep warm ditches in Hubbard's meadow. They may probably be seen as soon as the ditches are open, thus earlier than frogs. At his bridge over the brook it must have been a trout I saw glance, — rather dark, as big as my finger. To-day, as also three or four days ago, I saw a clear drop of maple sap on a broken red maple twig, which tasted very sweet. The *Pyrola secunda* is a perfect evergreen. It has lost none of its color or freshness, with its thin ovate finely serrate leaves, revealed now the snow is gone. It is more or less branched. Picked up a very handsome white pine cone some six and a half inches long by two and three eighths near base and two near apex, perfectly blossomed. It is a very rich and wholesome brown color, of various shades as you turn it in your hand, — a light ashy or gray brown, somewhat like unpainted wood. as you look down on it, or as if the lighter brown were covered with a gray lichen, seeing only those parts of the scales always exposed, — with a few darker streaks or marks ([DRAWING]) and a drop of pitch at the point of each scale. Within, the scales are a dark brown above (i. e. as it hangs) and a light brown beneath, very distinctly being marked beneath by the same darker [550307b.jpg (3940 bytes)] brown, down the centre and near the apex somewhat anchorwise. We were walking along the sunny hillside on the south of Fair Haven Pond (on the 4th), which the choppers had just laid bare, when, in a sheltered and warmer place, we heard a rustling amid the dry leaves on the hillside and saw a striped squirrel eying us from its resting-place on the bare ground. It sat still till we were within a rod, then suddenly dived into its hole, which was at its feet, and disappeared. The first pleasant days of spring come out like a



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squirrel and go in again

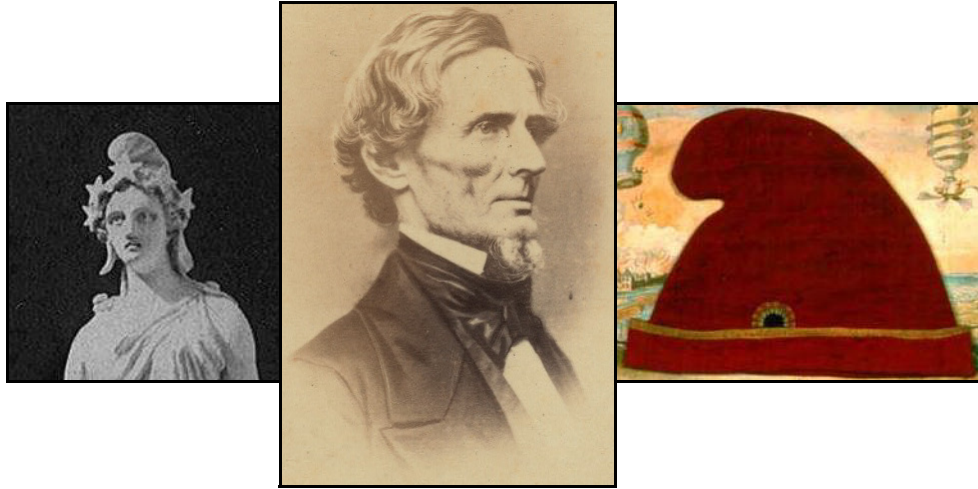




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July 12, Thursday: Thomas Crawford proposed to create, in his studio in Rome, a statue “Freedom” to top the dome of the Capitol Rotunda in [Washington DC](#). The statue is a female figure nearly 20 feet tall weighing in at about 15,000 pounds, holding in her right hand a sheathed sword and in her left a laurel wreath of victory and the



shield of the United States of America, but Crawford supposed that our big bronze lady ought to be sporting as her chapeau a liberty cap adorned with stars. It was Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, one of the South’s major slaveholders, who was overseeing the building plans, and he of course pointed out the obvious — not only had this liberty cap been outlawed in England as suggestive of the French Revolution but, since it had

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been the classic Roman symbol of a [manumitted](#) slave, was a non-starter.



(If you zoom in with a telephoto lens, you will see that our big bronze lady has been attired instead in something resembling a military helmet bearing an eagle head and crest of feathers. It's a much improved design because such a chapeau can't be made to mean anything.)¹²⁴



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

124. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term "slaveholder" as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term "slaveholder" in preference to "slaveowner" not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term "slave."



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July 12. Peterson says he dug one hundred and twenty-six dollars' worth of small clams near his house in Truro one winter, — twenty-five bucketfuls at one time. One man forty. Says they are scarce because they feed pigs on them. I measure a horseshoe on the back side twenty-two inches by eleven. The low sand-downs between East Harbor head and sea are thinly covered with beach-grass, seaside goldenrod, and beach pea. Fog wets your beard til twelve o'clock. [Cape Cod, page 165; Riv. 198.]

Long slender seaside plantain leaf (?) at East Harbor head. *Solanum* (with white flowers) *nigrum* (?) in marsh. *Spergularia rubra* var. *marina*. Great many little shells by edge of marsh — *Auricula bidentata* (?) and *Succinea avara* (?).

Great variety of beetles, dor-bugs, etc., on beach. I have one green shining one. Also butterflies over bank. Small thought the pine land was worth twenty-five cents an acre. I was surprised to see great spider-holes in pure sand and gravel, with a firm edge, where man could not make a hole without the sand sliding in, — in tunnel form. They are gone off for mackerel and cod; also catching mackerel, halibut, and lobsters about here for the market. The upland plover begins with a quivering note somewhat like a tree-toad and ends with a long, clear, somewhat plaintive (?) or melodious (?) hawk-like scream. I never heard this very near to me, and when I asked the inhabitants about it they did not know what I meant. [Frank Forester](#), in "Manual for Young Sportsmen," 1856, page 308, says, "This bird has a soft plaintive call or whistle of two notes, which have something of a ventriloquial character and this peculiarity, that when uttered close to the ear, they appear to come from a distance, and when the bird is really two or three fields distant, sound as if near at hand." It hovers on quivering wing, and alights by a steep dive.

My paper so damp in this house I can't press flowers without mildew, nor dry my towel for a week. [Cape Cod, page 165; Riv. 198.]

Small thought there was no stone wall west of Orleans. Squid the bait for bass. Small said the blackfish ran ashore in pursuit of it. Hardly use pure salt at Small's. Do not drink water. [Cape Cod, page 165; Riv. 198.] S. repeats a tradition that the back side was frozen over one mile out in 1680 (?). Often is on Bay, but never since on Atlantic.

August 1, Wednesday: In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, Frederick Douglass led the speaker's list.

EMANCIPATION DAY
ABOLITIONISM



August 1 P.M.— To Conantum by boat.

Squirrels have eaten and stripped pitch pine cones. Small rough sunflower a day or two. *Diplopappus cornifolius* (how long?) at Conant Orchard Grove. In the spring there, which has not been cleared out lately, I find a hairworm, eight or nine inches long and big as a pin-wire; is biggest in the middle and tapers thence to tail; at head is abruptly cut off; curly in your fingers like the tendril of a vine. I spent half an hour overhauling the heaps of clamshells under the rocks there. Was surprised to find the anodon and the green-rayed clams there.

Pennyroyal and alpine enchanter's-nightshade well out, how long? Young Adams of Waltham tells me he has been moose-hunting at Chesuncook. Hunted with a guide in evening without horn, it being too early to call them out. Heard the water dropping from their muzzles when they lifted their heads from feeding on the pads, as they stood in the river.



August 2. Silas Hosmer tells me of his going a-spearing in Concord River up in Southboro once with some friends of his. It is a mere brook there, and they went along the bank without any boat, one carrying a large basket of pine and another the crate and a third the spear. It was hard work. He afterward showed them how they did here, by going in midsummer with them and catching a great many.



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1856

[Elihu Burritt](#)'s A PLAN OF BROTHERLY CO-PARTNERSHIP OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH FOR THE PEACEFUL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY (New York: Dayton and Burdick). Also, his THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE NATIONS, FOR 1856 (New York: D. Appleton & Co).

There was an attempt at a national crusade to abolish slavery by financial compensation of Southern slaveholders through sale of public lands: simply buy up all slaves, by right of eminent domain or whatever, and then issue them all their [manumission](#) papers. After the raid on Harpers Ferry, [Elihu Burritt](#) would be forced to abandon this crusade as pointless, and when the Southern states actually would secede, Burritt and the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) and Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would urge that the Southern whites be allowed peaceably to set up their own separate American nation — one in which they could all abuse one another relentlessly and generally go to hell whatever way they wanted.





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1857



March 6, Friday morning at 11AM: The Dred Scott announcement was made by US Supreme Court Chief



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Justice Roger Brooke Taney, 79 years of age.



Scott was in St. Louis at the time, hired out, working for his current owner. He didn't even get the day off. John F.A. Sanford, the currently alleged injured party, actually was in an insane asylum. In two months he would be dead. He was actually so utterly irrelevant to the case at hand that the court system was even persistently misspelling his name. The vote was seven to two. Various of the justices disagreed with various of the comments that Chief Justice Taney was making, but none of them spoke up. Legally, this decision didn't amount to a glass half full of warm spit, as it legitimized an expansion of slavery which in fact could never be allowed to occur, and since it refused freedom to a slave who was anyway shortly to be [emancipated](#) and then



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expire. The dicta of the court ignored everything known about the US history of race relations, in favor of setting up its own officious just-so story of what race relations in the US amounted to: for instance, the decision declared that no black had ever voted, when the justices, even the chief justice himself, well knew that to be historically about as tendentious as any falsehood ever could be.

When Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney wrote in the decision that America's blacks had implicitly been excluded from the [Declaration of Independence](#), his pseudohistorical argument was that allegedly American blacks "had for more than a century before [the Declaration] been regarded as beings of an inferior order." According to Winthrop Jordan, "Until well into the nineteenth century, Jefferson's judgment on that matter, with all its confused tentativeness, stood as the strongest suggestion of inferiority expressed by any native American."¹²⁵ While [Thomas Jefferson](#) had been directing a tepid, patronizing letter to Benjamin Banneker himself, he had meanwhile been writing letters to other white men like himself in which he had been being curtly dismissive of Banneker's accomplishments.



For a person more obstinately holding to the doctrine of the genetic inferiority of all blacks to all whites, during an era in which educated opinion was strongly favored environmental explanations, only the foul [David Hume](#) comes to mind!



125. WHITE OVER BLACK, page 455: "native American" would be of course his polite euphemism for "white USer."



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"I am apt to suspect the negroes and in general all other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences."

– [David Hume](#) (my father Benjamin B. Smith also said this but not so quotably. As a curious coincidence both Hume and my dad were proud and white.)



Jefferson was an enthusiastic supporter of Thomas Cooper, the white man who became perhaps the earliest propagator of a systematic theory of racism and who would profoundly influence an entire generation of Southern youth, including the notorious Josiah Nott.¹²⁶ On whom other than this President Jefferson himself might Taney have been relying? Not on James Otis, for sure, because that founding father had written "That the colonists, **black and white**, born here are freeborn British subjects and entitled to all the essential civil rights of such, is a truth not only manifest from the provincial charters, from the principles of common law, and acts of Parliament, but from the British constitution, which was established and the [Glorious] Revolution with a professed design to secure the liberties of all the subjects to all generations."¹²⁷

However we may deprecate Justice Taney's thought process, his assertion must be accepted as little more than a statement of fact. Why? Because we can point to this putative, claimed author of the wording of the [Declaration of Independence](#) as incontrovertible evidence of its truth. Jefferson is without a doubt the most problematic figure in American history, despite the fact that he was recently characterized in a poll of historians as the most admired American after Lincoln.

126. Cooper later became the president of South Carolina College.

127. RIGHTS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES ASSERTED AND PROVED, 1766.

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The Scott family of slaves which had attempted to sue for their freedom on the grounds of having been kept in illegal servitude, in Fort Snelling a United States government facility in which slavery should have been forbidden in the Minnesota Territory where slavery was in fact contrary to the law (and one of them, Harriet, in fact **resold** by one government functionary to another, after her freedom had been promised to her by her owner, while in this U.S. facility in this free territory), was found to be still property,¹²⁸ and remanded to the custody of its current owner, who, actually, was in the process of manumitting Mr. Scott:



In the first place our Blacks are attentive to their business, and are no idlers, as they are represented to be in the slave States. Secondly, they are a useful class, and here on the confines of Barbarism do as much to put a civilized aspect upon the face of society as any other class. Their barber shops are favorite places of resort for many bachelor Whites who meet there, as on a social exchange. Thirdly, the Blacks are our musicians. A negro's music always has a charm for every ear — whether it is the music of the rosin and the bow, or the guitar, or the soft lubly voice; each separately or all combined, as of a stillly night, in a serenade.



Lizzie Scott, slave

Eliza Scott, slave

Portrait of Dred Scott, slave by an unknown artist (property of New York Historical Society) who lived in a US government installation in a free territory and yet was not set free by this Government of free men by free men sworn to uphold the law and administer justice.

Harriet Robinson Scott, mother of two slave girls —one of whom happened to have been born in “free territory”— who lived in a US government installation in a free territory and was sold by one sworn agent of our government to another, so she could be the slave wife of a slave.

Lizzie Scott, slave born in 1846 in a slave state to two parents one of whom, at least (maybe), should not have been being treated as anyone else's property.

Eliza Scott, slave born in 1838 aboard a steamboat between two free territories technically not property unlike her sister and her mother and father — but then she was a black girl as you can see.

Obviously in an attempt to transit this nation from a discriminatory system based primarily upon condition and upon geographical location into a discriminatory system based no longer in any manner upon identifiers of

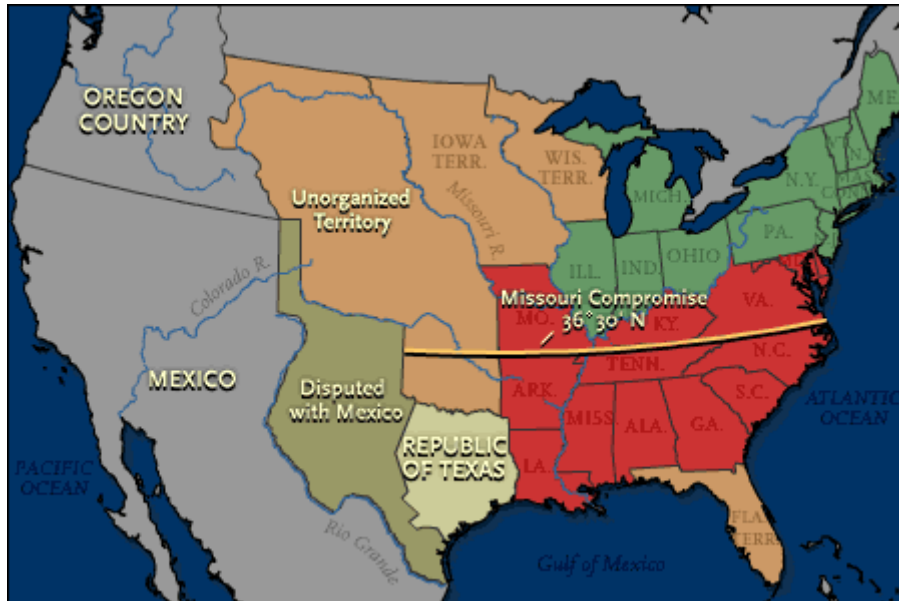
128. I forget: was Justice Clarence Thomas on the bench at that time?

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condition or upon identifiers of geographical location, but solely upon identifiers of race, in effect our Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney had announced, in the Supreme Court's decision in the case of the black man Dred Scott, that the Congress's "Missouri Compromise" legislation was null and void.



Our Chief Justice pointed out that, what the hey, it isn't as if these buckras have any rights that a USer is bound to respect.

They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.



This man had no rights that any white American was bound to respect. None at all. Nope.

Well, the actual words might have been a bit more judicious as shown, but they certainly were words to with the impact of the more mundane vocabulary I had mimicked. And in order to deploy these phrases, he had to override the clear and indisputable historical warnings of other justices and attempt directly to nullify the



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historical record that not all black Americans had been slaves:

In writing the majority opinion in *Dred Scott vs. Sanford*, Chief Justice Taney wrote that no slave or descendant of a slave could ever be considered a citizen under the U.S. Constitution (and thus Scott had no standing to sue in federal court and was still a slave despite having accompanied his master to nonslaveholding territory) because, in his incorrect assertion, all blacks had been slaves at the time of the constitution's framing – the incorrectness of his assertion was noted in the dissenting opinion. [Justice Curtise in dissent: "At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors on equal terms with other citizens."] For Taney, the question of whether Scott was *currently* a slave or a free man had no bearing on his claim to U.S. citizenship; slavery as a legal identity was subsumed in the "prior" question of race. Thus at the very moment when sectionalist tensions were at their highest –when the "north" and the "south" seemed to designate wholly separate moral orders– the distinction between being a slave and being a freedman was elided, and that elision was given juridical sanction.

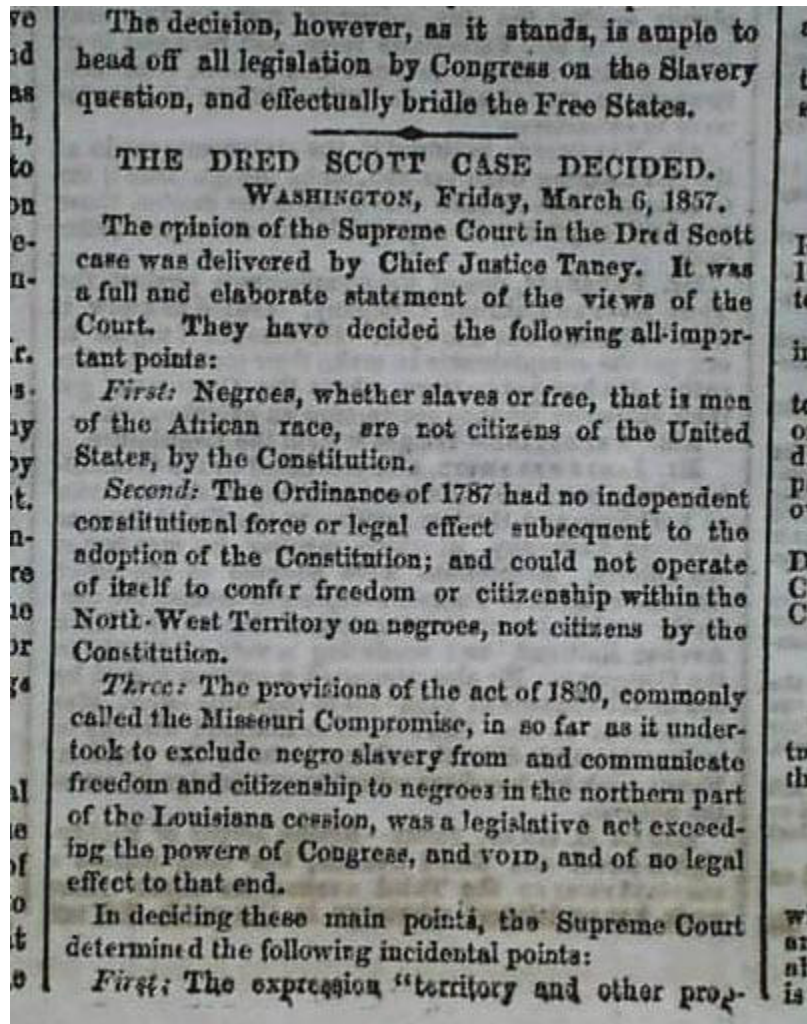


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On the following day, in their gazettes, Americans would be reading in the coldest of cold black-and-white about this significant new development in the national proslavery/antislavery struggle:



[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

May: The Scott family of black slaves was transferred by the Chafees to Taylor Blow, who promptly issued papers in [manumission](#) for all.

July 29, Wednesday: A filing:

*To all whom it may concern, be it known that I, **John Austin** of Washington County in the District of Columbia, for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving and also in further consideration of five dollars (illegible) money to me in hand paid, have released from slavery, liberated and set free*



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my negro man named **Charles Shiles** being of the age of thirty-three (33) years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance, and him the said negro man named Charles Shiles I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted and discharged from all manner of servitude or service to me, my executors or administrators forever.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand & affixed my seal this twenty second day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred & fifty seven.

John Austin

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of G. B. Barnard, Henry Reeves

District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit:

On this 29th day of July 1857 personally appeared **John Austin**, party to the above instrument of writing, before me the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in & for said County and acknowledged the same to be his act & deed for the purposes within mentioned and the said Negro man within named to be henceforth manumitted & discharged from all services to him or to any claiming under him and to be free and manumitted according to the act of assembly in such case made & provided.

Acknowledged before me

Henry ?Beaver, J. Peace¹²⁹

July 31, Friday: A filing:

District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit:

On this 31st day of July in the year 1857 before me the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for said County, personally appeared **Jonathan Kirkwood** and made oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God that **Lilah Lancaster** aged about twenty three years is a free woman and a resident of Washington City for several years.

Jon. Kirkwood

Subscribed and sworn to before me this thirty first day of July 1857.

H.C. Spalding, J. Peace¹³⁰

FREE PAPERS

129. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "Manumission Papers, 1857-1863.")

130. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "Manumission Papers, 1857-1863.")

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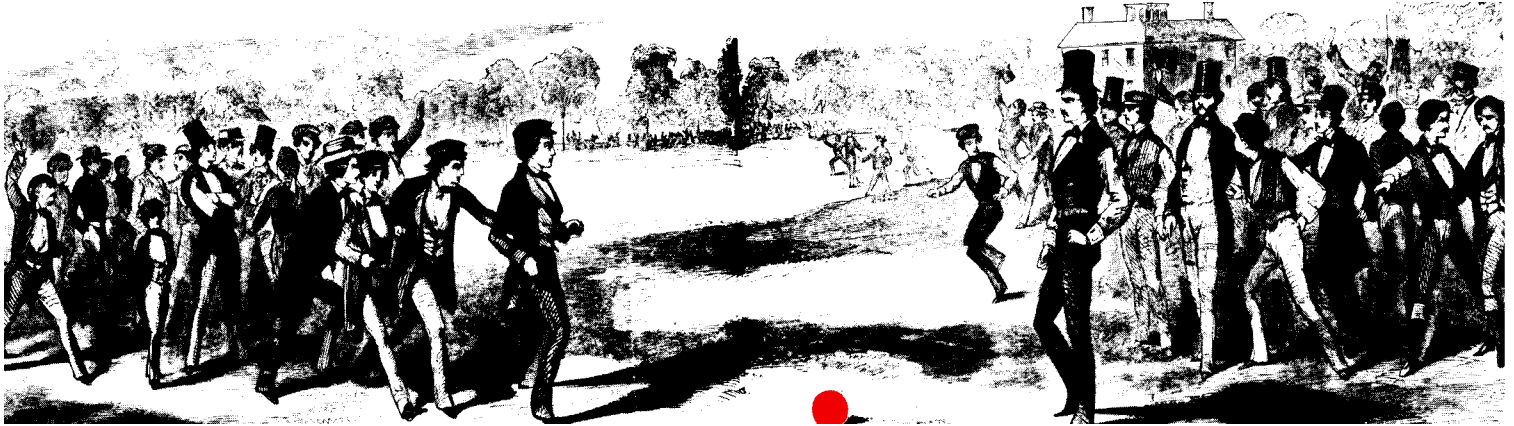
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August 1, Saturday: Football match between top-hatted [Harvard College](#) Sophomores, and Freshmen. "The Match between Sophs and Freshmen — The Opening," engraved by [Winslow Homer](#) for [Harper's Weekly Gentleman's Magazine](#).



A filing, very appropriately on the anniversary of the [emancipation](#) of the slaves of the British West Indies:

*District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit:
On this 31st day of July A.D. 1857 before me the subscriber a
Justice of the Peace in and for the County aforesaid personally
appeared **Elizabeth Ann Hausell** and made oath in due form of law
that **Elizabeth Ann Liles** now present is a free person of color
aged about twenty one years and was born free and that her
mother, **Seamus Liles** now present, is also free and was so at the
time of the birth of her said daughter Elizabeth.
Sworn before me
J.W. Goddard, J.P.¹³¹*

EMANCIPATION DAY

ABOLITIONISM

FREE PAPERS



August 1, Saturday, Noon: ... My companion having lost his pipe asked the Indian if he could not make him one. "O yer," said he, and in a minute rolled up one of birch-bark, telling him to wet the bowl from time to time. ...

EDWARD HOAR



August 1, Saturday, Evening: ... We camped about two miles below Nickertow, on the south side of the West Branch, covering with fresh twigs the withered bed of a former traveller, and feeling that we were now in a settled country, especially when in the evening we heard an ox sneeze in its wild pasture across the river. Wherever you land along the frequented part of the river, you have not far to go to find these sites of temporary inns, the withered bed of flattened twigs, the charred sticks, and perhaps the tent-poles. And not long since, similar beds were spread along the Connecticut, the Hudson, and the Delaware, and longer still ago, by the Thames and Seine, and they now help to make the soil where private and public gardens, mansions and palaces are. We could not get fir twigs for our bed here, and the spruce was harsh in comparison, having more twig in proportion to its leaf, but we improved it somewhat with hemlock. The Indian remarked as before, "Must have hard wood to cook moose-meat," as if that were a maxim, and proceeded to get it. My companion cooked some in California fashion, winding a long string of the meat round a stick and slowly turning it in his hand before

EDWARD HOAR

131. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")



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the fire. It was very good. But the Indian not approving of the mode, or because he was not allowed to cook it his own way, would not taste it. After the regular supper we attempted to make a lily soup of the bulbs which I had brought along, for I wished to learn all I could before I got out of the woods. Following the Indian's directions, for he began to be sick, I washed the bulbs carefully, minced some moose-meat and some pork, salted and boiled all together, but we had not patience to try the experiment fairly, for he said it must be boiled till the roots were completely softened so as to thicken the soup like flour; but though we left it on all night, we found it dried to the kettle in the morning, and not yet boiled to a flour. Perhaps the roots were not ripe enough, for they commonly gather them in the fall. As it was, it was palatable enough, but it reminded me of the Irishman's limestone broth. The other ingredients were enough alone. The Indian's name for these bulbs was *Sheepnoc*. I stirred the soup by accident with a striped maple or moose-wood stick, which I had peeled, and he remarked that its bark was an emetic.

He prepared to camp as usual between his moose-hide and the fire, but it beginning to rain suddenly, he took refuge under the tent with us, and gave us a song before falling asleep. It rained hard in the night and spoiled another box of matches for us, which the Indian had left out, for he was very careless; but, as usual, we had so much the better night for the rain, since it kept the mosquitoes down.

August 3, Monday: [Sam Houston](#) was defeated for the office of Governor of [Texas](#) by Hardin R. Runnels.

[Henry Thoreau](#) and [Edward Sherman Hoar](#) returned to Portland by train and to Boston by night boat, arriving in Concord early on August 8th.

*To all whom it may concern: Be it known that I, **Gregory Ennis** of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, for divers good causes and considerations, me thereunto moving, have released from slavery, liberated, [manumitted](#) and set free, and do, by these presents release from slavery, liberate, manumit and set free my negro woman named **Amelia Brown** being of the age of thirty-five years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance, and her the said negro woman I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted and discharged from all manner of service or servitude to me, my executors or administrators forever.*

In witness thereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this third day of August in the year 1857.

Gregory Ennis

Witnesses:

John F. Ennis

Jno. C. Hamilton

District of Columbia, Washington County Pct.

*I, Joseph Pick, a Justice of the Peace in and for the District and County aforesaid, do hereby certify that **Gregory Ennis**, party to an instrument of writing dated the 3rd day of August 1857 and hereto annexed, personally appeared before me in my County aforesaid, the said Gregory being personally well known to me, as the person who executed the said instrument of writing and acknowledged the same to be his act & deed. Taken & certified before me this 3rd day of August 1857.*

*Jos. Pick, J.P.*¹³²



August 3, Monday, Morning: ... We started early before breakfast, the Indian being considerably
132. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863.
(National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")



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better, and soon glided by Lincoln, and after another long and handsome lake-like reach, we stopped to breakfast on the west shore, two or three miles below this town. ...




August 3, Monday, Afternoon: ... Soon after the Indian houses came in sight, but I could not at first tell my companion which of two or three large white ones was our guide's. He said it was the one with blinds. We landed opposite his door at about four in the afternoon, having come some forty miles this day. From the Piscataquis we had come remarkably and unaccountably quick, probably as fast as the stage on the bank, though the last dozen miles was dead water. Polis wanted to sell us his canoe, said it would last seven or eight years, or with care, perhaps ten; but we were not ready to buy it. We stopped for an hour at his house, where my companion shaved with his razor, which he pronounced in very good condition. Mrs. P. wore a hat and had a silver brooch on her breast, but she was not introduced to us. The house was roomy and neat. A large new map of Oldtown and the Indian Island hung on the wall, and a clock opposite to it. Wishing to know when the cars left Oldtown, Polis's son brought one of the last Bangor papers, which I saw was directed to "Joseph Polis," from the office. This was the last that I saw of Joe Polis. We took the last train, and reached Bangor that night.

EDWARD HOAR

[Henry Thoreau](#) and Edward Sherman Hoar returned to Portland by train and to Boston by night boat, and Thoreau drew up a list of the birds he had seen such as this **Red-headed Woodpecker**  *Melanerpes erythrocephalus*:



A red-headed woodpecker [*Melanerpes*  *erythrocephalus*] flew across the river, and the Indian remarked that it was good to eat. As we glided swiftly down the inclined plane of the river, a great cat owl launched itself across the stream, and the Indian, as usual, imitated its note. Soon the same bird flew back in front of us, and we afterwards passed it perched on a tree. Soon afterward a white-headed eagle sailed down the stream before us. We drove him several miles, while we were looking for a good place to camp, for we expected to be overtaken by a shower, -and still we could distinguish him by his white tail, sailing away from time to time from some tree by the shore still farther down the stream. Some shecorways being surprised by us, a part of them dived, and we passed directly over them, and could trace their course here and there by a bubble on the surface, but we did not see them come up.

August 5, Wednesday: A filing:

*District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit:
On this 6th day of August A. D. 1857 personally appeared **Ann Anderson** before me, a Justice of the Peace in and for said County, and made oath according to law that **Fanny Butler**, a mulatto woman aged about thirty two years is a free woman and born free in the County of Washington aforesaid.
Sworn to before me,*

E. J. Middleton, J. Peace¹³³

FREE PAPERS

August 6, Thursday: An excerpt from a will:

*Certificate of freedom issued to **Ann Williams** at the (illegible) request of **H. Naylor***

"It is my will, that all my slaves that are over the age of thirty five years shall be free immediately after my death, and all my slaves that are under the age of thirty-five years shall

133. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")



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serve: the males till they arrive to the age of thirty years, after which respective ages, they and each of them shall be free - and my executor is accordingly authorized and required, by proper deed in writing, to execute this clause of my will; should any of my female slaves have children during their period of service, as aforesaid it is my will that the male children serve until they are thirty five ~~and the females until they are thirty years of age and then be free.~~ And in all cases of future female descendants, the males shall never serve beyond thirty five, nor the females beyond thirty years of age --- and then in all cases they shall forever after be free."

FREE PAPERS

District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit:
I certify that the foregoing is a true copy "Extract" from the original (will of **John B. Kerbey**, deceased, executed the 15th day of November 1827 and filed, approved & recorded the 10th day of May, 1828) filed and recorded in the office of the Register of Wills for Washington County, aforesaid.

Witness my hand and seal this 7th day of August, A. D. 1857
Ed Roach, Reg. of Wills¹³⁴

August 8, Saturday: A filing:

District of Columbia, Washington County
On this 8th day of August 1857 personally appeared **Augustus E. Perry** before me the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the said County, and makes oath on the Holy Evangelical of Almighty God that he is well acquainted with a negro man named **Joseph Ambush** about twenty one years of age, and knows him to be free and verily believes he was born free in the city of Washington D.C.
H. Naylor, J.P.¹³⁵

FREE PAPERS

August 10, Monday: A filing:

District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit:
On this tenth day of August A.D. 1857 before me the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the County aforesaid, personally appeared **Jane Fagans** and made oath on the Holy Evangelical of Almighty God that she knows **Theodore Ross** and **Martha M. Ross**, negroes aged about twenty two and eighteen years respectively and now before me, from their birth and that she knew the mother of said negroes before their birth and that she knows the said Theodore Ross and Martha M. Ross to be free and to have been born free.

Sworn before me,

134. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")

135. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")



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Wm. Woodward, J.P.¹³⁶

FREE PAPERS



August 11, Tuesday: Red cohosh berries well ripe in front of Hunt's, perhaps a week or more, —a round, conical spike, two and a half inches long by one and three quarters, of about thirty cherry-red berries. The berries oblong, seven sixteenths of an inch by six sixteenths, with a seam on one side, on slender pedicels about five eighths of an inch long.

August 12, Wednesday: [William Daniel Conybeare](#) died at Itchenstoke near Portsmouth shortly after the death of his son the Reverend William John Conybeare (a loss which had weighed heavily on his mind).

A filing:

*District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit:
Before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the
County aforesaid in the District of Columbia, personally
appeared **Jonas P. Keller** and made oath on the Holy Evangely of
Almighty God that **Albert Bouldin and Prissy**, his wife, and **Kate**
the mother of said Albert and **Maria** known as Maria Smith, are
each and every of them free persons of color, and are now
residing in the District of Columbia, to the best of his
knowledge and belief.*

*Sworn to before me this eleventh day of August 1857.
N. Callan, J.P.¹³⁷*

FREE PAPERS

August 13, Thursday: A filing:

*To all whom it may concern, be it known that I, **Abraham Williams**
of Georgetown in the District of Columbia, for divers good
causes and considerations, me thereunto moving, have released
from slavery, liberated, [manumitted](#) and set free my wife a Negro
woman named **Harriet** about fifty two years of age and able to
gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance, and she the said
Harriet I do release to be henceforth free, manumitted and
discharged of and from all manner of service and servitude to
me, my executors or administrators forever.*

*In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this
13th day of August A.D. 1857.*

Abraham Williams

Witness

*M. N. Cavian
Reldien Ronzee*

136. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")

137. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")



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District of Columbia, County of Washington to wit:
Before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the
county aforesaid in the District of Columbia personally appeared
Abraham Williams and acknowledged the above deed to be his act
and deed.

Acknowledged before me this 13th day of August A. D. 1857.

M. N. Cavian, J. P. {seal}

I do hereby agree to let **Abraham Williams** have his wife & child
for two hundred & fifty dollars provided he pays me two hundred
dollars in hand & I will give him twelve months to pay the
balance given under my hand this 2nd day of June 1855.

G. B. Magruder

We have no claim to the above.

July 27th '57

T.W. Magruder

H. Magruder

District of Columbia, Washington County to wit:

This is to certify that I **Hezekiah Magruder** heir of the late
George B. Magruder for and in consideration of the sum of two
hundred and fifty dollars in hand paid to the late George B.
Magruder. The receipts whereof is hereby acknowledged have
bargained and sold unto Abraham Williams the following named
slaves to wit **Harriet** his wife and **Eliza Jane** his daughter.

H. Magruder

Witness

T.W. Magruder

Georgetown August 4th, 1857¹³⁸

August 14, Friday: A filing:

District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit:

On this fourteenth day of August A. D. 1857 personally appeared
before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the
County aforesaid **Margaret M. Bangs** and made oath in due form of
law and saith: that she knew **John Wesley Lee**, a colored man, for
about twenty two years or since his birth, and that he was born
free, and had been free up to this date.

Given under my hand and seal this fourteenth day of August 1857.

Chas. Walker, J.P.¹³⁹

FREE PAPERS

August 17, Monday: A filing:

District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit:

On this seventeenth day of August 1857 before me the subscriber,
one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the County aforesaid,
personally appeared **P.C. Riley**, who made oath on the Holy

138. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863.
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139. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863.
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*Evangelical of Almighty God that **Littleton Leatherbury** is a free man of color, that he has known the father and mother of said Littleton for the past fifteen or sixteen years as free people; and that there is not the slightest doubt that he is fully entitled to free papers, for which he is now an applicant.*

Phil C. Riley

Subscribed and sworn to before me.

D. Smith, J.P.¹⁴⁰

FREE PAPERS

August 25, Tuesday: A filing:

James Charlton to Mary Ann Charlton & Children

*To all whom it may concern. Be it known that I **James Charlton**, of the city of Washington for divers good causes and considerations, me thereto moving, have released from slavery, liberated, manumitted, and set free **Mary Ann Charlton** who was purchased by me from John C. Weeden, and also **Lavinia, Virginia, Mary Frances, James and Frank**, the children of the said Mary Ann; and I do hereby declare the said Mary Ann and her said children above named to be henceforth free from slavery, and from all manner of servitude or obligation of service to me, my executors or administrators, as slaves forever.*

In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and affixed my seal this twenty fifth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven.

James (X) Charlton

District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit:

Be it remembered that on the 25th day of August 1857 before me the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said County, personally appeared James Charlton, and acknowledged the foregoing writing to be his free act and will.

Thomas C. Donn¹⁴¹

September 8, Tuesday: A filing:

*District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit. On this 8th day of September 1857 before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the said county and District aforesaid appeared **John Mills** a person of lawful age and worthy of due credit and made oath on the Holy Evangelical of Almighty God that he is well acquainted with a man named **John F. Gray** who resides in the city of Washington and have known him about eight years. Said John F. Gray is about 21 years of age and was born of a free woman of color named Jane Gray who has always been reported as free*

140. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "Manumission Papers, 1857-1863.")

141. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "Manumission Papers, 1857-1863.")



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*and passed in the community as such.
Sworn before*

*Thomas Dunn
Justice of the Peace for District of Columbia¹⁴²*

FREE PAPERS

September 18, Friday: In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation's puzzle palace, on this day, somebody had a decent idea:

*Know all men by these presents that I, **William Tucker** of Washington County in the District of Columbia, for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving have liberated, [manumitted](#), set free and discharged from slavery and by these presents do liberate, manumit, set free and discharge from slavery my Negro slave woman named and called **Eleanor Ann Norris** aged about forty years, and of sound mind and body and fully able to work and maintain herself by her own labour, the said Negro slave woman to be forever hereafter liberated, manumitted, set free and discharged from slavery and all manner of servitude whatever.*

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my hand and affixed my seal this eighteenth day of September 1857.

*Signed, sealed & delivered in presence of
(illegible) William Tucker {seal}
John S. Johnson
Thomas Dunn*

District of Columbia, Washington County to wit:

*On this nineteenth day of September 1857 personally appeared before me the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace duly commissioned and qualified in and for the county and District aforesaid, **William Tucker** party grantor to the foregoing and annexed deed of manumission or instrument of writing and acknowledged the same to be his act and deed for the purposes therein set forth and the Negro slave woman therein named to be forever liberated, [manumitted](#), set free and discharged from all manner of slavery or servitude to him or any person claiming by through or under him or to any person or persons whatsoever.
Thomas Dunn J.P. {seal}*

September 25, Friday: In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation's puzzle palace, on this day, somebody had a decent idea:

*District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit, on this 23rd day of Sept. 1857 personally appears **Joseph H. Bradley Jr.** before the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in & for the said county and makes oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God that he is well acquainted with a yellow boy named **Dennis Taylor** about fourteen years of age and knows him to be free and born free in*

142. RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RELATING TO SLAVES, 1851-1863. (National Archives Microfilm Publication M433, Roll #3: "[Manumission](#) Papers, 1857-1863.")



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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

*the city of Washington D.C.
H. Naylor J. Peace*

FREE PAPERS

September 29, Tuesday: [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#) wrote to the Reverend [Isaac Hecker](#) stranded in Rome.

In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation's puzzle palace, on this day, somebody had a decent idea:

*District of Columbia, Washington County to wit:
On this 29th day of September A.D. 1957 before me the subscriber,
a Justice of the Peace in and for the county aforesaid,
personally appeared **William J. Gaszler** and made oath in due form
of law that **Ellen Ridgley** and her daughter **Mary Jane Logan** now
present are free persons of color, that he has known them for
the last twenty six years, and that they were set free by the
last will and testament of Robert Sinclair of Richmond,
Virginia.
J.H. Goddard J.P.*

FREE PAPERS

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote in his journal:



September 29, Tuesday: All sorts of men come to Cattle-Show. I see one with a blue hat.
I hear that some have gathered fringed gentian. Pines have begun to be parti-colored with yellow leaves.

October 1, Thursday: In Syracuse NY, the 6th annual "Jerry Celebration" sponsored by
the [Unitarian](#) congregation of the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, honoring the freeing of Jerry McHenry from
the federal marshals who had been seeking to "return" him to his "owner" on October 1, 1851.



RESISTING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote in his journal:



October 1, Thursday: P.M. -To second stone bridge and down Assabet home.
The ash trees are a dull red, and some quite mulberry-color. Methinks it has to do with the smart frost of
yesterday morning; i. e., that after the maples have fairly begun, the young red oaks, ash trees, etc., begin with
the first smart frost. The pines now half turned yellow. the needles of this year are so much the greener by
contrast. The arbor-vitae changes with them so completely that it looks as if the lower parts were dead. All very
much exposed button-bushes are brown and sere; so their yellowish season does not amount, to much away
from the river.¹⁴³...It seemed to me that it was no compliment to their god to suppose that he would not let them
go to Ktaadn without so much ado.¹⁴⁴ They'd better have put their shoulders to the wheel and stumped it along
at a good round pace....
I boiled some rice at the carry, for our dinner, in cooking which I consider myself adept, having had a good deal
of experience in it. P. said that he sometimes used it, but boiled it till it all fell apart, and, finding this mess
unexpectedly soft though quickly prepared, he asked if it had not been cooked before.
Washing the dishes, especially the greasy ones, is the most irksome duty of the camp, and it reminded me of
that sacred band in Fourier's scheme, who took upon themselves the most disagreeable services. The
consequence is that they do not often get washed.

143. Vide [4] pages forward [October 4].

144. THE MAINE WOODS, pages 214, 215; Riv. 265.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

District of Columbia, Washington County
On this 1st day of Oct. 1857 personally appears **Mrs. Elizabeth Toole** before the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said county, and makes oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God that she is well acquainted with a yellow girl named **Mary Virginia Howe**, about eighteen years of age and knows her to be free and born free in Portsmouth, Virginia.
H. Naylor J. Peace

FREE PAPERS

October 6, Tuesday: In the [District of Columbia](#), our nation's puzzle palace on the Potomac, somebody had a good idea:

To all whom it may concern, be it known that I, **Hopkins Lightner**, Executor of the last will and testament of **Stephen Pleasanton** deceased, by virtue of the provisions of said will, for divers good causes and considerations, me thereunto moving, have released from slavery, liberated, [manumitted](#) and set free, and by these presents do hereby release from slavery, liberate, manumit, and set free the negro man named John commonly called **John Dutch** being of the age of thirty seven years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance and him the said Negro man John Dutch under and by virtue of the will aforesaid. I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted and discharged from all manner of service or servitude to me, my executors or administrators forever.
In witness whereof
I have hereunto set
my hand & seal
this sixth day of
October 1857
Hopkins Lightner {seal}
Signed, sealed & delivered
in presence of
Wm. B. Randolph
H.B. Groggan

District of Columbia, County of Washington
On this sixth day of October in the year eighteen hundred and fifty seven before the undersigned, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the county aforesaid, personally appears **Hopkins Lightner** to me well known and acknowledges the signing, sealing and delivery of the within instrument of writing to be his act and deed.
Given under my hand and seal this 6th day of October A.D. 1857.
N. Allan J.P. {seal}

October 7, Wednesday:

To all whom it may concern. Be it known that I, **Jacob Ross** of



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

*Rockbridge County in the state of Virginia but now temporarily in the city and county of Washington in the District of Columbia for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving have released from slavery, liberated, manumitted and set free, and by these presents doth hereby release from slavery, liberate, manumit and set free my negro woman named **Keziah**, being of the age of forty two years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance: and her the said negro woman named Keziah I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted and discharged from all manner of servitude or service from my executors or administrators forever. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven.*
Signed, Sealed and delivered Jacob Ross
in the presence of
Benjamin N. Brown
William R. Woodward

District of Columbia, County of Washington to wit:
*Be it remembered that on this seventh day of October in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven personally appeared **Jacob Ross** party of the aforegoing instrument of writing before me the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county aforesaid, and acknowledged the same to be his act and deed for the purposes in said deed mentioned.*
Acknowledged before and certified by
Wm. R. Woodward J.P. {seal}

October 17:

District of Colu., Washington Cnty.
*On this 17th day of Oct. 1857 personally appears **Ms. Eliza Lucas** before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the said county and makes oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God that she is well acquainted with a colored girl named **Eliza Jane Jackson** about sixteen years of age and knows her to be free and born free in Georgetown in the district aforesaid.*
H. Naylor J. Peace

FREE PAPERS



October 17, Saturday: Very high wind in the night, shaking the house. I feel it taking hold under the eaves, which project at the end of the house, each time with a jerk. Some rain also, and these two bring down the leaves. A great many more ash trees, elms, etc., are bare now. What a new beauty the blue of the river acquires, seen at a distance in the midst of the various-tinted woods, great masses of red and yellow, etc.! It appears as color, which ordinarily it does not, —elysian. The trainers are out with their band of music, and I find my account in it, though I have not subscribed for it. I am walking with a hill between me and the soldiers. I think, perhaps, it will be worth the while to keep within hearing of these strains this afternoon. Yet I hesitate. I am wont to find music unprofitable; it is a luxury. It is surprising, however, that so few habitually intoxicate themselves with music, so many with alcohol. I think, perchance, I may risk it, it will whet my senses so; it will reveal a glory where none was seen before. It is remarkable that men too must dress in bright colors and march to music once in the year. Nature, too, assumes



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her bright hues now, and think you a subtle music may not be heard amid the hills? No doubt these strains do sometimes suggest to Abner, walking behind in his red-streaked pants, an ideal which he had lost sight of, or never perceived. It is remarkable that our institutions can stand before music, it is so revolutionary.

P.M. –To Clintonia Swamp.

Glossy-brown white oak acorns strew the ground thickly, many of them sprouted. How soon they have sprouted! I find some quite edible, but they too, like wild apples, require an outdoor appetite. I do not admit their palatableness when I try them in the house. Is not the outdoor appetite the one to be prayed for?

The cinnamon ferns surrounding the swamp have just lost their leaflets, except the terminal ones. They have acquired their November aspect, and the wool now adheres to my clothes as I go through them. The protected ones are not yet bare. The dicksonia ferns are killed sere and brown where exposed, but in woods are still pretty green even, only some faded white. They grow in patches.

The swamp floor is covered with red maple leaves, many yellow with bright-scarlet spots or streaks. Small brooks are almost concealed by them. The Lycopodium lucidulum looks suddenly greener amid the withered leaves.¹⁴⁵

It is cooler to-day, and a fire is necessary, which I have not had for about a week. The mountains are more distinct in the horizon, and as I come home the sunset sky is white and cold; recently it was a warm orange (?) tint.

November 16, Monday: [George Robins Gliddon](#) died drug-addled in a hotel room in Panama City, where he had been acting as a deputy agent for the Honduras Inter-oceanic Railway. The cause of death, depending on which account you credit, was ODing on [opium](#), pulmonary congestion, or “fatal isthmus fever.”

On this day Henry Thoreau made no entry in his journal.

In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation’s puzzle palace, somebody had a decent idea:

District of Columbia, County of Washington, to wit:

*On this sixteenth day of November A.D. 1857 personally appeared before the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace for the county aforesaid, **William Henry Upperman** and made oath in due form of law that **George Lucas** a colored boy aged twenty two years of the county of Washington D. C. was born free, and that no one has a claim against his freedom according to his best knowledge & beliefs.*

Given under my hand & seal this 16th day of November 1857.

Chas. Walter J.P. {seal}

FREE PAPERS

November 20: In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation’s puzzle palace, somebody had a decent idea:

*To all whom it may concern be it known that I, **Ann Blanchard** of Washington County, District of Columbia, for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving, as well as in consideration of the sum of five dollars, lawful money, to me in hand paid at and before the unsealing & delivery hereof, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, am releasing from slavery, liberated [manumitted](#) and set free, and by these presents do hereby release from slavery liberate manumit and set free my slave **Mary Taylor** aged about forty years, and able and capable to gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance. And her*

145.Excursions, p. 266; Riv. 326.



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*the said Mary Taylor I do hereby declare to be henceforth free,
and forever discharged from all manner of servitude or service
to me, my heirs, executors and administrators.*

*In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and
affixed my seal this twentieth day of November eighteen hundred
and fifty seven.*

Signed sealed &

Del in presence of
Wm. R. Woodward} Ann Blanchard {seal}
H.M. Nance

District of Columbia, Washington County, to wit
On this 20th day of November 1857 before the subscriber a Justice
of the Peace in and for the county & district aforesaid,
*personally appeared **Ann Blanchard**, party grantor in the*
foregoing deed of manumission and acknowledges the same to be
her act and deed, agreeably to the act of assembly in such cases
made and provided.

Acknowledged before Wm. R. Woodward, J. Peace

HDT

WHAT?

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MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

November 25, Wednesday: At the intentional community of [Eagleswood](#), [New Jersey](#), James Gillespie Birney died.

James G. Birney
Born Feb 4 1792
In Danville, Kentucky
Passed Away
Nov 25 1857
at Eaglewood, New Jersey

Elizabeth P. Fitzhugh
wife of
James G. Birney
Passed Away
Jan 12 1869
Aged 66 Years



Ann Hughes
daughter of
James G. and Elizabeth
Birney
Born Nov 27 1843
at Bay City, Michigan
Passed Away
March 8 1846

Maj. Fitzhugh Birney
A.A.C. of the 2nd Div.
2 Corps Army of the Potomac
son of
James G. and Elizabeth Birney
Born at Saginaw City, Mich.
Jan 9 1842
Passed Away
at Washington City, D.C.
July 17 1864

In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation's puzzle palace, somebody was having a decent idea, an idea with which Birney, had he known, would have enthusiastically concurred:

*To all whom it may concern. Be it known that **Letty Speaks** of the city of Washington in the District of Columbia, for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving, also in further consideration of five dollars current money to me in hand paid, have released from slavery, liberated, [manumitted](#) and set free, and by these presents do hereby release from slavery, liberate,*



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*manumit and set free my Negro woman named **Winney** being of the age of twenty five years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance and her the said Negro woman named Winney I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted, and discharged from all manner of servitude or service to me, my executors and administrators forever. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and seal, this twenty fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord Eighteen Hundred and fifty seven—*

Signed Sealed and Delivered

in the presence of

H. Naylor

Letty (X) Speaks {seal}

Jas. H. McKenney

District of Columbia, Washington County

*On this 25th day of November 1857 personally appeared **Letty Speaks** (colored woman) party to the above and foregoing deed of manumission, before me the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said county and district, and acknowledges the same to be her act and deed for the purposes therein expressed and the Negro woman therein named to be herewith free manumitted and discharged from all services to her or to any claims made on her, and to be free and manumitted according to law.*

Acknowledged before me

H. Naylor J. Peace {seal}



November 25, Wednesday: P.M. —To Hubbard's Close and thence through woods to Goose Pond and Pine Hill.

A clear, cold, windy afternoon. The cat crackles with electricity when you stroke her, and the fur rises up to your touch.

This is November of the hardest kind, —bare frozen ground covered with pale-brown or straw-colored herbage, a strong, cold, cutting northwest wind which makes me seek to cover my ears, a perfectly clear and cloudless sky. The cattle in the fields have a cold, shrunken, shaggy look, their hair standing out every way, as if with electricity, like the cat's. Ditches and pools are fast skimming over, and a few slate-colored snowbirds, with thick, shuffling twitter, and fine-chipping tree sparrows flit from bush to bush in the otherwise deserted pastures. This month taxes a walker's resources more than any. For my part, I should sooner think of going into quarters in November than in the winter. If you do feel any fire at this season out of doors, you may depend upon it, it is your own. It is but a short time, these afternoons, before the night cometh, in which no man can walk. If you delay to start till three o'clock, there will be hardly time left for a long and rich adventure, —to get fairly out of town. November Eatheart, —is that the name of it?¹⁴⁶ Not only the fingers cease to do their office, but there is often a benumbing of the faculties generally. You can hardly screw up your courage to take a walk when all is thus tightly locked or frozen up and so little is to be seen in field or wood. I am inclined to take to the swamps or woods as the warmest place, and the former are still the openest. Nature has herself become like the few fruits which she still affords, a very thick-shelled nut with a shrunken meat within. If I find anything to excite or warm my thoughts abroad, it is an agreeable disappointment, for I am obliged to go abroad willfully and against my inclinations at first. The prospect looks so barren, so many springs are frozen up, not a flower perchance and but few birds left, not a companion abroad in all these fields for me, I am slow to go forth. I seem to anticipate a fruitless walk. I think to myself hesitatingly, Shall I go there, or there, or there? and cannot make up my mind to any route, all seem so unpromising, mere surface walking and fronting the cold wind, so that I have to force myself to it often and at random. But then I am often unexpectedly compensated, and the thinnest yellow light of November is more warming and exhilarating than any wine they tell of; and then the mite which November contributes becomes equal in value to the bounty of July. I may meet with something which interests me, and immediately it is as warm as in July, as if it were the south instead of the northwest wind that blowed.

146.Channing, p. 107.

CAT



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I do not know if I am singular when I say that I believe there is no man with whom I can associate who will not, comparatively speaking, spoil my afternoon. That society or encounter may at last yield a fruit which I am not aware of, but I cannot help suspecting that I should have spent those hours more profitably alone.

Pools under the north sides of hills are frozen pretty thick. That cold one of Stow's is nearly an inch and a half thick. It is already dusty, though the ice is but a day or two old. That of Jarvis's, opposite Breed's, is also skimmed over thinly, but Goose Pond very little way as yet. The main crystals of this new ice remind me where massed together sometimes of spiny cactus leaves. Meeting each other, they inclose figures of a more or less triangular form rather than squarish. Sometimes many are closely parallel, half an inch apart, and in favorable lights you see a resemblance to large feathers. Sometimes those large spiny crystals ray from a centre, star-like, somewhat like the folds of a garment taken up by a point. The plaited ice. Also you may say the waved ice, – still speaking of the first thin ice of the season.

I notice a thimble-berry vine forming an arch four feet high, which has firmly rooted itself at the small end. The roar of the wind in the trees over my head sounds as cold as the wind feels.

I come to what seems an old ditch a dozen feet long, in Hubbard's Close. It is skinned over, but I see where a spring wells up from its bottom under the ice. When I come to it, small black-looking fishes (?), four or five inches long, apparently trout, dart about it with incredible velocity, trying to escape or to bury themselves in the mud. It is some time before all have succeeded in burying themselves to their minds, but when I shake the bog they start again.

Ascending the hill on the east of the Close, I find, in the pine wood on its top, some fragments of a frozen white fungus or toadstool, which apparently a squirrel has eaten, for he has also dropped some at the base of a pine. These look almost exactly like asbestos, so white and stringy to the eye.

Methinks there has been more pine-sap than usual the past summer. I never saw a quarter part so much. It stands there withered in dense brown masses, six or eight inches high, partly covered with dead leaves. The tobacco-pipes are a darker brown.

You see here and there, under pitch pines, bits of gray bark which have fallen, reminding you very strongly of the scaly armor, perhaps, of fossil fishes or other creatures. I see, under a large white pine, three quarts at least of scales in a heap, where a squirrel has sat on the instep of the tree and stripped the cones. Further in Ebbys Hubbard's wood, I see a great two-storied mass of black spunk which has fallen.

I shiver about awhile on Pine Hill, waiting for the sun to set. Methinks the air is dusky soon after four these days. The landscape looks darker than at any season, –like arctic scenery. There is the sun a quarter of an hour high, shining on it through a perfectly clear sky, but to my eye it is singularly dark or dusky. And now the sun has disappeared, there is hardly less light for half a minute. I should not know when it was down, but by looking for [it] as I stand at this height.

Returning, I see a fox run across the road in the twilight from Potter's into Richardson's woods. He is on a canter, but I see the whitish tip of his tail. I feel a certain respect for him, because, though so large, he still maintains himself free and wild in our midst, and is so original so far as any resemblance to our race is concerned. Perhaps I like him better than his tame cousin the dog for it.

It is surprising how much, from the habit of regarding writing as an accomplishment, is wasted on form. A very little information or wit is mixed up with a great deal of conventionalism in the style of expressing it, as with a sort of preponderating paste or vehicle. Some life is not simply expressed, but a long-winded speech is made, with an occasional attempt to put a little life into it.

DOG

December 2, Wednesday: In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation's puzzle palace, somebody had a decent idea:

District of Columbia, County of Washington
*On this 2nd day of December 1857 personally appeared before me a Justice of the Peace in and of said County **Enoch Burnett** to me well known and made oath in due form of law: That a **Alexander Jones** a Negro belonging to the estate of **Ann Camalon Decd.** late of the city of Washington D.C. has become of true age and according to the will of said **Ann Camalon Decd.** of whose estate I am the administrator is entitled to his freedom and*



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free papers and a release from all service as a slave.

Enoch Burnett

Sworn and subscribed to before me the day and year aforesaid.

John Hollingshead J.P.

FREE PAPERS

MANUMISSION

December 14, Monday: [Henry Thoreau](#) repeated his survey of March 1850 in “Samuel Heywood’s pasture” south of [Walden Pond](#) in Lincoln, a plot of 13 acres 80 rods, to adjust the woodlot lines between [Waldo Emerson](#) and Charles Bartlett who owned land east of his.



SAMUEL HEYWOOD

(Cyrus Hubbard had surveyed this land for Emerson on December 16, 1848. According to a letter written by Emerson to his brother William Emerson on October 4, 1844, he had bought the land from some men whom he met while walking in the woods. The next day he went back with some “well beloved gossips” and they persuaded him to buy about 3 more acres from Heartwell Bigelow to protect his investment. This is the land on which Thoreau built his house. Thoreau may also have done some surveying for Warren Nixon, of Lincoln land near the Emerson-Bartlett land.)

View [Thoreau](#)’s personal working drafts of his surveys (but not this one) courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.net/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/Thoreau_surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

In the [District of Columbia](#), home of our nation’s puzzle palace on the Potomac, an idea reached its completion that had begun process ’way back on December 26, 1849:

*Know all men by these presents that I, **Mary Watts** of Saint Mary's County and State of [Maryland](#) for and in consideration of the sum of seven hundred dollars current money, to me in hand paid by Thomas Sumerville F.B. of the county and state aforesaid, at and before the sealing and delivery hereof, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge; have granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents, do, grant, bargain and sell unto the said **Thomas Sumerville F.B.** his executors, administrators and assigns, one Negro woman **Maria** aged twenty five years, one Negro child named **Sarah Ann** ages six years, one Negro child named **Thomas Randolph** aged three years, and one other Negro child named **Mary Ellen** aged one year, all which Negroes are slaves for life.*

To have and hold the said described Negroes above bargained and sold to the said Thomas Somerville F.B. his executors, administrators and assigns, forever unto his and their only proper use and benefit, and I, the said Mary Watts for myself, my executors and administrators, shall and will warrant, and forever defend by these presents to the said Thomas Somerville F.B. his executors, administrators and assigns, the said



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described Negroes, against my executors and administrators, and against and all every other person or persons whomsoever I administer the same or any part thereof. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal the twenty sixth day of December Eighteen Hundred and Forty Nine.

Signed, sealed and delivered

in the presence of }

Mary Watts {seal}

N. Furck

Received of **Thomas Sumerville F.B.** the sum of seven hundred dollars in the full of the consideration specified to be paid in the above Bill of sale.

26th December 1849 Mary Watts

State of Maryland, St. Mary's County, J.P.

On this 26th day of December 1849 before one of the justices of the peace of the state of Maryland in and for said county, personally appeared **Mary Watts** and acknowledges the foregoing bill of sale or instrument of writing to be her act and deeds according to the purport true intent and meaning thereof-And at the same time and place also appeared before me **Thomas Somerville F.B.** the grantee oath that the consideration set forth in the said Bill of sale is true and bona fide as therein set forth.

Acknowledged & sworn before

N. Furck, J.P. {seal}

Jany. 3rd 1850. Recd. of **Thomas Sumerville** the sum of one dollar the stamp duty required by law on this Bill of sale.

Wm. T. Maddox

St. Mary's Cnty.

Saint Marys County to wit

Thereby certify that the foregoing is truly taken from the original field in my office on the 3rd Jany. 1850.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of my office this 12th day of March eighteen hundred and fifty.

Wm. Maddox

St. Mry's. Cnty. Clk.

Deed of manumission

District of Columbia, County of Washington

To all whom it may concern. Be it known that I, **Thomas Sumerville** of the city of Washington in the district of Columbia for divers good causes and considerations, me thereunto moving have released from slavery, liberated, manumitted and set free and by means presents do hereby release from slavery, liberate, manumit and set free my wife **Maria** being of the age of thirty four years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance and she the said Negro slave named **Maria Somerville** I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted, discharged from all manner of service or servitude to me, my executors and



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administrators forever.

In witness whereof I have this fourteenth day of December in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty Seven set my hand and seal.

Thomas (X) Sumerville {seal}

Signed Sealed

and delivered in presence of

Witness Jas. Cull

?Alexander Cull

District of Columbia, Washington County

On this 14th day of December 1857 before me the subscriber a Justice of the Peace for the County aforesaid personally appeared **Thomas Sumerville** and acknowledged the above Deed of manumission to be his act and deed for the purpose set forth.

Jas. Cull, J.P. {seal}

December 16, Wednesday: In our nation's puzzle palace, somebody had a decent idea:

District of Columbia, County of Washington} to wit

On this 16th day of December A.D. 1857 personally appeared before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for the County aforesaid **Nicholas Snyder** and made oath in due form of law and saith that he knows a certain colored girl of light complexion named **Dilialy Ann Payne** of the County of Washington D.C. for the time of about eighteen years and knows further that the same was born free and that nobody has any claim against her freedom, to the best of his knowledge & belief.

Given under my hand & seal this sixteenth day of December A.D. 1857.

Chas. Walters, J.P.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FREE PAPERS



December 16, Wednesday: Begins to snow about 8 A.M., and in fifteen minutes the ground is white, but it soon stops. Plowed grounds show white first.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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1858

October: With the Newby family moving to Bridgeport, Ohio, where its slaves who went with it (including his mulatto children) would automatically become free, Henry Newby in his old age filed [manumission](#) papers for five who wanted to remain in Virginia near their relatives. Although his slave son [Dangerfield Newby](#) was married to Harriet Roberts Newby, the property of another white Culpeper County family, the Jenningses, and had children by her, nevertheless he went with the Newby family to freedom in Ohio.



Life is full of hard choices.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

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1859

Georgia prohibited the post-mortem [manumission](#) of [slaves](#) by last will and testament. The state legislature voted to permit free Africans to be sold into slavery if they had been indicted as vagrants.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

March 2, Wednesday: Headmaster [Caleb G. Forshey](#) and four of his [Texas](#) Military Institute cadets at Ruttersville in Fayette County were able to trace the zodiacal band as it "reached entirely across the sky" from the western horizon, through Gemini and Leo, all the way to the foot of Virgo near the eastern horizon.

ASTRONOMY



[Henry Thoreau](#) delivered his lecture "AUTUMNAL TINTS" before a Concord audience containing, among others, Waldo and Lidian Emerson, Edward Emerson, and Franklin Benjamin Sanborn. According to a record made by Ellen Emerson, "Father said there were constant spontaneous bursts of laughter and Mr Thoreau was applauded." According to a letter from Franklin Benjamin Sanborn to the Reverend Theodore Parker, either Emerson or Sanborn or both considered the lecture to be "as good as anything he ever wrote," in fact downtown-quality material, fit for the reverend's Sunday religious entertainments in the Boston Music Hall.

In his journal, [Thoreau](#) made a record of his afternoon activities:



March 2, Wednesday: P.M.– To Cassandra Ponds and down river.

It is a remarkably cold day for March, and the river, etc., are frozen as solidly as in the winter and there is no water to be seen upon the ice, as usually in a winter day, apparently because it has chiefly run out from beneath on the meadows and left the ice, for often, as you walk over the meadows, it sounds hollow under your tread. I see in the Deep Cut, on the left-hand, or east, side, just beyond the clay, a ravine lately begun, in a slightly different manner from the Clamshell one. The water running down the steep sand-bank (which is some thirty or thirty-five feet high), it being collected from the field above, had worn a channel from four to six inches wide, gradually, through the frozen crust of the sand, which was one to two feet thick, and, reaching the loose unfrozen sand beneath, had washed it downward, and out through the narrow channel lower down, until quite a cavern was formed, whose bottom was eight or ten feet below the surface, while it was five or six feet wide. But within a few days the crust, thawing, had fallen in, and so the cavern, with its narrow "crack," or skylight, was turned into an open ravine, and there is no telling where the mischief will end.

The willow catkins by the railroad where you first come in sight of the [*sic*] have now all (on one or two bushes) crept out about an eighth of an inch, giving to the bushes already a very pretty appearance when you stand on the sunny side, the silvery-white specks contrasting with the black scales. Seen along the twigs, they are




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somewhat like small pearl buttons on a waistcoat. Go and measure to what length the silvery willow catkins have crept out beyond their scales, if you would know what time o' the year it is by Nature's clock.

As I go through the Cassandra Ponds, I look round on the young oak woods still clad with rustling leaves as in winter, with a feeling as if it were their last rustle before the spring, but then I reflect how far away still is the time when the new buds swelling will cause these leaves to fall. We thus commonly antedate the spring more than any other season, for we look forward to it with more longing. We talk about spring as at hand before the end of February, and yet it will be two good months, one sixth part of the whole year, before we can go a-maying. There may be a whole month of solid and uninterrupted winter yet, plenty of ice and good sleighing. We may not even see the bare ground, and hardly the water, and yet we sit down and warm our spirits annually with this distant prospect of spring. As if a man were to warm his hands by stretching them toward the rising sun and rubbing them. We listen to the February cock-crowing and turkey-gobbling as to a first course, or prelude.

The bluebird [**Eastern Bluebird**  *Sialia sialis*] which some woodchopper or inspired walker is said to have seen in that sunny interval between the snowstorms is like a speck of clear blue sky seen near the end of a storm, reminding us of an ethereal region and a heaven which we had forgotten. Princes and magistrates are often styled serene, but what is their turbid serenity to that ethereal serenity which the bluebird embodies? His Most Serene Birdship! His soft warble melts in the ear,— as the snow is melting in the valleys around. The bluebird comes and with his warble drills the ice and sets free the rivers and ponds and frozen ground. As the sand flows down the slopes a little way, assuming the forms of foliage where the frost comes out of the ground, so this little rill of melody flows a short way down the concave of the sky. The sharp whistle of the blackbird, too, is heard like single sparks or a shower of them shot up from the swamps and seen against the dark winter in the rear.

Under the alders at Well Meadow I see a few skunk-cabbage spathes fairly open on the side, and these may bloom after a day or two of pleasant weather. But for the most part, here and generally elsewhere, the spathes are quite small, slender, and closed as yet, or frostbitten. The caltha leaves have grown decidedly. They make nearly a handful in one place, above the surface of the springy water, the leaves not yet quite flatted out, but curled up into a narrow ellipse. They barely peep above the water. Also what I take to be a kind of cress is quite fresh-looking, as if it had grown a little there. The chrysosplenium may have looked as it does, even under the snow, or all winter (?). It already, at any rate, makes pretty (dirty) green beds, about level with the surface of the water. These plants (i. e. first ones) are earlier than any pads, for the brooks, and ditches even, are generally frozen over still, firmly.



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On this day Robert Barnett of Lincoln County, Kentucky brought his black slaves America Barnett, a 47-year-old woman 5 feet 3 inches in height, and Sam Barnett 4 feet 10 inches in height, who is presumably her 10-year-old son, across the Ohio River to Cincinnati, to have Judge George H. Hilton declare each from that day “entitled to all the privileges of a free person of color in this State or elsewhere”:

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Beas at the Court House in Cincinnati, in the County of Hamilton, and State of Ohio, of the Hamilton County Probate Court, within and for said County, at a session thereof held at the place aforesaid, on the Second day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven, before the Hon. George H. Hilton sole Judge of said Court.

THE STATE OF OHIO, } ss.
HAMILTON COUNTY. }

Be it Remembered, That at a session of the Probate Court, within and for said County, held at the Court House in Cincinnati, on the second day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven, before the Hon. George H. Hilton sole Judge of said Court, the following amongst other proceedings were then and there had, to wit:

In the matter of the Emancipation
of America Barnett

This day comes into open Court Robert Barnett, of the County of Lincoln and State of Kentucky, and brought with him into Court his slave America Barnett, and at the same time executed a deed of Emancipation to the said America Barnett, which is now found by the Court to be well executed; And the Court also finds from the testimony of Green Barnett that said Robert Barnett was the legal owner of said America Barnett according to the laws of the State of Kentucky, - the Court therefore finds that said America Barnett is absolutely a free person of color in this State or elsewhere, and orders said deed to be recorded.

And now the said deed is here recorded, which is in the words and figures to wit:

Deed


Know all Men that I Robert Barnett of the County of Lincoln in the State of Kentucky, being now in the City of Cincinnati, State of Ohio, in consideration of one dollar to me paid and for other good and sufficient considerations, me thereunto moving, do by these presents emancipate and set free my negr girl America Barnett aged forty seven years (47 years) of black color, five feet and three inches (5 feet 3 inches)

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high in such manner that the said America Barnett,
and all issue which shall be born of her body shall
forever hereafter be absolutely free -
In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand
and seal at Cincinnati this 2^d March A.D. 1859
his
Robert Barnett 
Mark

Witnessed and sealed
in presence of us
Green Barnett
Edw. Crapsey

The State of Ohio }
Hamilton County } ss. Personally appeared before
me Probate Judge within and for said County
Robert Barnett and acknowledged the signing
and sealing of the foregoing deed of Emancipation
to be his voluntary act and deed for the uses &
purposes therein expressed -
In testimony whereof I have
hereunto set my hand and
the Seal of said Court at Cincin-
nate this 2^d March A.D. 1859.
Geo. W. Helton
Probate Judge



The freedom papers of the 10-year-old Sam are much the same, with appropriate substitutions:

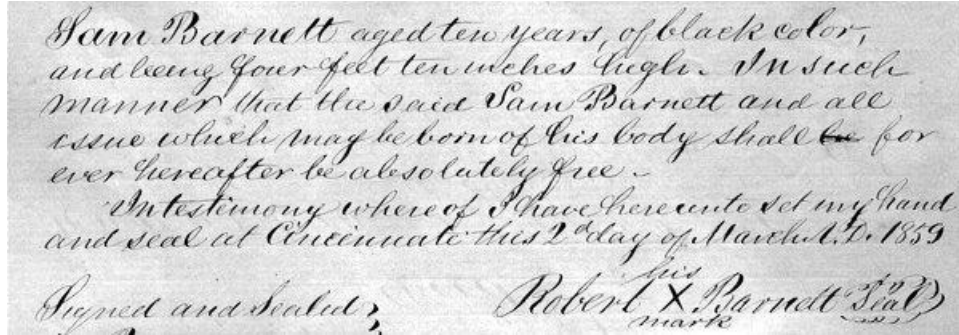
In the matter of the Emancipation
of Sam Barnett }
This day, comes in-
to open Court Robert Barnett, of the County of Sur-
coln and State of Kentucky and brought with him
into Court his slave Sam Barnett, and at the same



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We note that the white man who is doing this manumitting cannot sign his name:



Of course all the appropriate legal cover documents also were signed and sealed — so that in this land of the free and home of the brave, these Americans could actually, hoggamus higgamus, **belong to themselves**:

MANUMISSION

March 29, Tuesday: [Walden Pond](#) thawed.

[William Andrus Alcott](#) died in Auburndale, Massachusetts, the author of some one hundred books (during this year a 2d edition to his 1849 volume on vegetarianism would be published).

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

Julia Dent Grant, the wife of Ulysses S. Grant, along with the other Dent daughters, had been “given” [slaves](#) as presents by their father while they were children (although presumably the titles to this property would have remained in the name of their father Fred Dent, Sr.). A year or two before, Ulysses S. Grant had either purchased William Jones, a 5'7" mulatto born in about 1825, or—we aren't sure which—he had been gifted with Jones by Fred Dent. On the slave market in this year, a middle-aged male like Jones might have been worth between \$800 and \$1,000, depending on health and skills. In early 1860 the Grants would be moving from White Haven, Missouri to Galena, [Illinois](#), and any slaves that the Grant family took along with them on their journey from Missouri to Illinois would at their destination of course be considered free. On this day (therefore?) Grant [manumitted](#) Jones.



March 29. Driving rain and southeast wind, etc.

Walden is first clear after to-day.

Garfield says he saw a woodcock about a fortnight ago. Minott thinks the middle of March is as early as they come and that they do not then begin to lay.

GEORGE MINOTT

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THE STATE OF OHIO, } SS. PROBATE COURT.
HAMILTON COUNTY.

I, GEORGE H. HILTON, sole Judge and ex-officio Clerk of the Probate Court, within and for the County aforesaid, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true transcript of the Record of the said Court in the matter of the Emancipation of America Barnett

as the same appear from the records and files of said Court.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereto set my hand and affixed the Seal of the said Court, at Cincinnati, this third day of March A. D. 1869



Geo. H. Hilton
Probate Judge and ex-officio Clerk.

THE STATE OF OHIO, } SS.
HAMILTON COUNTY.

I, GEORGE H. HILTON, sole Judge of the Probate Court, within and for said County, hereby certify, that the signature attached to the above certificate, purporting to be that of George H. Hilton, is his genuine signature; and that he was at the time thereof, ex-officio Clerk of said Probate Court, and, as such, full faith and credit are due his acts.

Witness my hand and the Seal of said Court at Cincinnati, this third day of March A. D. 1869



Geo. H. Hilton
Probate Judge.



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1861

Just as our nation was opting upon the staging of a civil war rather than of a race war, our census returns from 1860 were beginning to tell us of a disheartening trend of great interest and significance.

Although the rise in [manumissions](#) in the post-Revolutionary period had increased the proportion of free black Americans from about 8% to about 13.5%, where it had held steady for some time, as white attitudes had been hardening during the polarization of the late antebellum period there had been a decline in manumissions, which, combined with the lesser fecundity of free black Americans, had been moving the free-to-[enslaved](#) proportion back down to around 11%:

Year	% in Population
1790	8
1810	13.5
1840	13.5
1861	11



"In those parts of the Union in which the negroes are no longer slaves, they have in no wise drawn nearer to the whites. On the contrary, the prejudice of the race appears to be stronger in the States which have abolished slavery ... and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those States where servitude has never been known."



— Alexis de Tocqueville

Another interesting statistic of the times is that up to 1849, and the introduction of the rifled barrel, a wound to the head by means of a musket ball was generally deadly. Whack, you're dead. Such a lead lump would shatter one's skull and the resultant shock waves would do massive damage to the soft tissue behind it. It was like getting hit over the head with a brick. However, the accurate, revolving pellet innovated by C. Minié that would be used extensively during this civil war would be changing all that. Getting hit by one of these pellets in the head was more like getting stabbed by a knife than getting hit over the head with a brick. Minié's conical projectile not only flew true, but also, it tended to make a less messy penetration wound, what the surgeons refer to as a "focal lesion." Dr. Pierre Paul Broca would be able to assemble a cohort of surviving veterans with head wounds, whose brain lesions, to a restricted area in the left half of the brain, would have produced an aphasia. These patients might be able to function more or less normally, but they had lost their ability to speak. (Then, in a few more years, Dr. Karl Wernicke would discover that another form of aphasia could be produced by injury to another region, likewise on the left side of the brain. Dr. Wernicke's cohort of survivors of head wounds would be able to speak, but would have great difficulty responding to the speech of others. As a result of experiments of this nature, we would begin to acquire a better understanding of the dependency of mentation upon brain structures. And you supposed there was no such thing as progress! :-)



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March 3, Sunday, evening On the night before his inauguration in [Washington DC](#), president-elect Abraham Lincoln slept at [Willard's Hotel](#), guarded by Allan Pinkerton.



In Russia, the serfs were emancipated. Edward Payson Weston had hoofed it for 10 days to get from Boston

[EMANCIPATION](#)

MA to Washington DC to attend the inauguration, and in so doing had won a take-a-hike campaign bet. The new chief executive would appoint the author of his campaign biography, William Dean Howells, as United States Consul to Venice — Howells had also, you see, —despite his not having taken a hike— won something of a campaign bet.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the Reverend [William Henry Brisbane](#) preached an incendiary message, “Duty of the Northern States in Relation to the Future of Slavery.” He might have gotten by with it if he had only preached the sermon, but many in the state legislature were in attendance (the church being on Capitol Square) and petitioned him to publish his sermon for wider circulation. As a result, he lost yet another church. He would enlist in the 2d Wisconsin Cavalry as its chaplain (two of his sons also enlisted in this unit).

[US CIVIL WAR](#)

[Henry Thoreau](#) commented in his journal on the events of the day:



March 3. Sunday. Hear that there was a flock of geese in the river last night. See and hear song sparrows to-day; probably here for several days.

It is an exceedingly warm and pleasant day. The snow is suddenly all gone except heels, and —what is more remarkable— the frost is generally out of the ground, e.g. in our garden, for the reason that it has not been in it.



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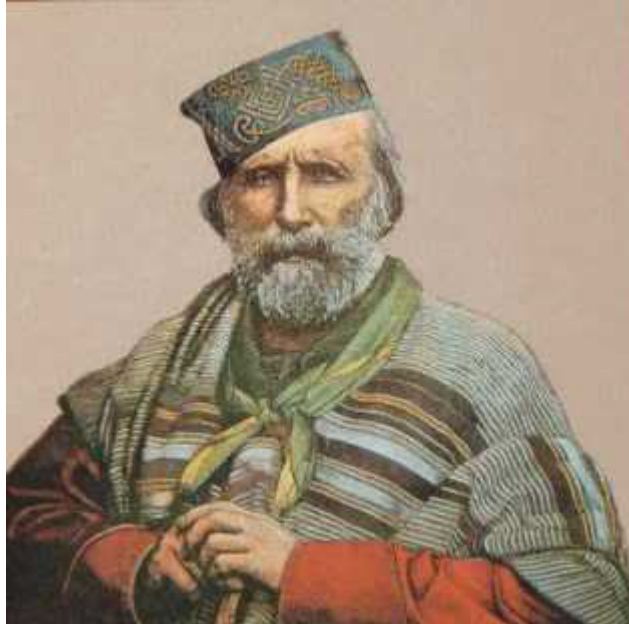
The snow came December 4th, before the ground was frozen to any depth, has been unusually deep, and the ground has not been again exposed till now. Hence, though we have had a little very cold weather and a good deal of steady cold, the ground generally has not been frozen.



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June 27, Thursday: [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) responded to the overture of the federal government of the USA that he place his military genius at the disposal of the Army of the North, in accordance with his anti-[slavery](#), pro-race-mingling ideas, inquiring “whether this agitation is the emancipation of the negroes”?



EMANCIPATION

The [Italian](#) dude in the red shirt didn't just want to come over and kill a whole bunch of Americans — unless there were some good reason to do so. Where was that guy's head at? In his old age he would read a book about Spartacus, who hadn't wanted to be a slave, but had instead wanted freedom, in order to be a slavemaster. But he would find that he had not been at all like [Spartacus](#) — while he was wearing his famous red shirt he had been more like the Spartacus-figure that would be created out of whole cloth by Kirk Douglas in the Hollywood movie “Spartacus,” who ahistorically would demand freedom not just for himself but for everyone. Since Garibaldi was a **real** freedom-fighter, not a mere scrapper like the historical Spartacus, he



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would want no part in our civil war (which would amount to mere **pretend** freedom-fighting).



The Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien Railroad's fare to Milwaukee was \$9.⁷⁵. About this trip on the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, [Henry Thoreau](#) might have — but did not — quote his own journal: “It is pleasant to have been to a place by the way a river went.”



By cars to Milwaukee. 1st 60 miles up the valley of the Wisconsin which looked broad & shallow. Bluffs 2 or 3 miles apart.

“Dear Mother ... We left Red-wing yesterday at about 2 P.M. on the Steamer War Eagle and arrived in Prairie du Chien at 8 A.M. to-day. The train for Milwaukee ... passed through Madison at 1:30 P.M. and shall arrive in Milwaukee at 6 o'clock this evening If we can find a boat going to [Mackinaw](#) we shall take it immediately.... There has been a riot in Milwaukee of which I suppose you have read long before this, but the Milwaukee paper says to-day that the city is quiet.”



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August 1, Thursday: In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, Emancipation Day organizers and supporters had expanded their activities into a more political realm, as they lobbied for admission of blacks into the militia.

EMANCIPATION DAY

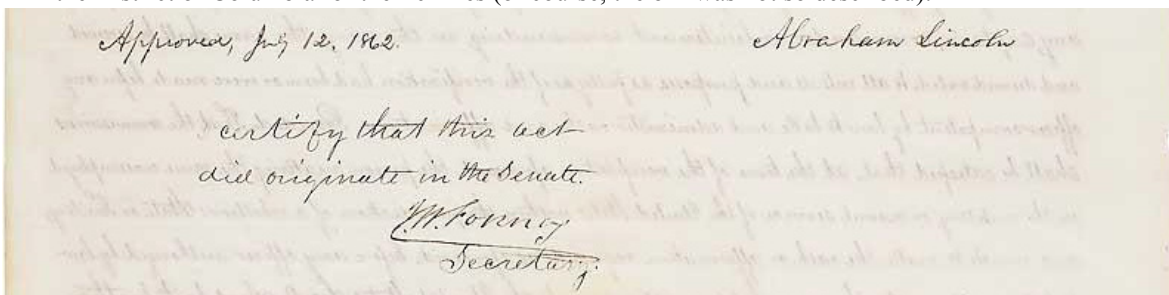
ABOLITIONISM

December 2, Monday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Report of the Secretary of the Navy." –SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 37 Cong. 2 sess. Vol. III. pt. 1, No. 1, pt. 3, pp. 11, 21.

As indicated on the following screens, subject to President Abraham Lincoln's approval, which he would give on December 12th, the US Congress purchased, for an agreed price, from their owners, and [manumitted](#), all [slaves](#) present in the District of Columbia:

[see following screens]

December 12, Thursday: President Abraham Lincoln signed the bill pardoning and compensating the [slaveholders](#) of the District of Columbia for their crimes (of course, the bill was not so described):



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Rec. 14 July Public 127
 Thirty-Seventh Congress of the United States of America;

At the second Session.

Began and held at the city of Washington, on Monday, the second day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one

AN ACT

Supplementary to the "Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia" approved April sixteen, eighteen hundred and sixty-two.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the oath or affirmation required by the second section of the act entitled "An act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia" to verify the statements or petitions in writing filed before the commissioners, under the act aforesaid, of persons holding claims to service or labor against persons of African descent, freed and discharged therefrom, under the act aforesaid, may in all cases in which the persons holding claims, as aforesaid, are infants or minors, be made by the guardian or by any other person, whether separately or jointly, having the custody, management, or control by law of the person and property of such infants or minors; and that in all cases in which the persons holding claims as aforesaid are non-residents of the District of Columbia, or resident absentees, the oath or affirmation required as aforesaid, may be made by the attorney or agent of said non-resident or resident absentee; and in all cases in which the statements or petitions, required as aforesaid, of persons in the military or naval service of the United States, shall have been or may be hereafter verified before any commander of any military post, or of any officer having a separate command of any military force in the field, or before any captain, commander, or lieutenant commanding in the navy, the same shall be received and deemed valid, to all intents and purposes, as fully as if the verification had been or were made before any officer competent by law to take and administer oaths and affirmations. Provided, That the commissioners shall be satisfied that, at the time of the verification aforesaid, the person verifying the same was employed in the military or naval service of the United States within the jurisdiction of a rebellious State or Territory, and unable to make the oath or affirmation required, as aforesaid, before any officer authorized by law to take or administer the same holding allegiance to the United States. Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any person having claims to the service or labor of any person or persons in the District of Columbia by reason of African descent, shall neglect or refuse to file with the clerk of the circuit court of the District of Columbia the statement in writing, or schedule provided

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in the ninth section of the act approved April sixteen, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, to which this is supplementary, that it shall be lawful for the person or persons, whose services are claimed as aforesaid, to file such statement, in writing, or schedule, setting forth the particular facts mentioned in said ninth section; and the said clerk shall receive and record the same as provided in said section on receiving fifty cents each therefor. Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That whenever the facts set forth in the said statement or schedule shall be found by the commissioners to be true, the said clerk and his successors in office shall prepare, sign, and deliver certificates, as prescribed in the tenth section of the act to which this is supplementary, to such person or persons as shall file their statements in pursuance of the foregoing section, in all respects the same as if such statements were filed by the person having claim to their services or labor. Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That all persons held to service or labor under the laws of any state, and who at any time since the sixteenth day of April, anno Domini eighteen hundred and sixty-two, by the consent of the person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be owing, have been actually employed within the District of Columbia, or who shall be hereafter thus employed, are hereby declared free, and forever released from such servitude, anything in the laws of the United States or of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That in all judicial proceedings in the District of Columbia there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color.

Caluskie & Son

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Stephen A. Hoot

President of the Senate pro tempore

Approved, July 12, 1862.

Abraham Lincoln

certify that this act
did originate in the Senate.

W. P. Fessenden
Secretary



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1862

The [negrero](#) *Ocilla*, out of Mystic, Connecticut, was able to insert some fresh [slaves](#) into Cuba (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 38th Congress, 1st session Number 56, pages 8-13).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Despite its defeat in the US campaign of 1846-1848, [Mexico](#) had continued to refuse to enter into extradition treaties with the United States. It was determined to remain a place of refuge. By 1850 literally thousands of escaped US [slaves](#) had been living there, in the absence of an organized network by having made their way there either individually or in small groups. At this point the United States of America obtained an extradition treaty with [Mexico](#) — but only by specifically allowing an exception for such runaway US [slaves](#).¹⁴⁷

[Slaves](#) were [manumitted](#) by Congress, in the District of Columbia. The [slaveholders](#), among them of course the congressmen and senators who were voting this payoff, would of course be fully compensated by the federal government out of the public coffers for their loss of goods and services.¹⁴⁸



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

April: There was great risk in our nation's capital. Many of the white men who were federal lawmakers had large amounts of their capital tied up in black slaves, and in the context of the war slaves were losing value, and were a generally risky investment. What to do? —Well, here's a clue: this being [Washington DC](#), the federal coffers were nearby. A law was therefore passed to [emancipate](#) the slaves in the District of Columbia, and to compensate these owners for this loss of property out of the federal coffers. Of course, you would be entitled to put this payout in your pocket even if you voted for it yourself. There is an on-line page put out by NARA which gives the entire law and states that millions of dollars were paid out to the Washington slavemasters as a result of this Act. The materials can be found at:

147. Ronnie C. Tyler. "Fugitive Slaves in Mexico," [Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 57, Issue 1 (January 1972), page 11.

148. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term "slaveholder" as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term "slaveholder" in preference to "slaveowner" not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term "slave."



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<http://www.nara.gov/exhall/featured-document/dcact/dcproc.html>

(Later on in the civil war, Missouri and [Maryland](#) would by modifying their state constitutions abolish slavery without compensation.)



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April 16: President Abraham Lincoln signed the law that provided for compensation to the [slaveholders](#) of the District of Columbia (the City of Washington, Washington County, and Georgetown). They would receive, not imprisonment for the harm they had caused, but compensation for the loss they were incurring: \$1,000,000 was appropriated to compensate owners of manumitted slaves — and \$100,000 was set aside to fund the transportation of those who wished to emigrate to Haiti, Liberia, or any other country outside the United States of America who would have them. The Emancipation Claims Commission would retain the services of a [Baltimore](#) slavetrader to provide a professional assessment of the value of each freed slave, women and children being worth less than men etc., and suitable compensation would be awarded for a total of 2,989



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manumitted persons.

Slave = Code
for
The District
of
Columbia
1860



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Curiously, the District had been operating off of longhand copies of the DC slave code for lo these many years, and the very first printed version of this code would come off the presses on March 17, 1862 — just one month before slavery in the District was to come to an end. The final printed version of this legal code would be of interest only as a historical curiosity. —Well, the slaveowning representatives voting to pay themselves for their slaves out of the government coffers was a boondoggle, so I suppose we can regard this superfluous printing of an obsolete code to have been just another boondoggle!

The Confederates began conscription.



There was fighting at Fort Jackson / Fort St. Philip, that would continue until the 28th.

June 20: According to a report that would appear in the New-York Tribune on the following day, a delegation of Progressive Friends called upon President Abraham Lincoln to present a memorial praying him to decree the emancipation (general [manumission](#)) of the [slaves](#), which had been adopted at their annual meeting in the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Members of the delegation were: Friend Thomas Garrett, Friend Alice Eliza Hambleton, Friend Oliver Johnson, Friend Dinah Mendenhall, Friend William Barnard, and Friend Eliza Agnew:

The President was reported to have said that, as he had not been furnished with a copy of the memorial in advance, he could not be expected to make any extended remarks. It was a relief to be assured that the deputation were not applicants for office, for his chief trouble was from that class of persons. The next most troublesome subject was Slavery. He agreed with the memorialists, that Slavery was wrong, but in regard to the ways and means of its removal, his views probably differed from theirs.¹⁴⁹ The quotation in the memorial, from his Springfield speech, was incomplete. It should have embraced another sentence, in which he indicated his views as to the effect upon Slavery itself of the resistance to its extension.



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The sentiments contained in that passage were deliberately uttered, and he held them now. If a decree of emancipation could abolish Slavery, John Brown would have done the work effectually. Such a decree surely could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in that part of the country now. Would a proclamation of freedom be any more effective?

Friend Oliver Johnson was reported to have replied as follows: "True, Mr. President, the Constitution cannot now be enforced at the South, but you do not on that account intermit the effort to enforce it, and the memorialists are solemnly convinced that the abolition of Slavery is indispensable to your success."

The President was reported to have further said that he felt the magnitude of the task before him, and hoped to be rightly directed in the very trying circumstances by which he was surrounded.

Wm. Barnard was reported to have addressed the President in a few words, expressing sympathy for him in all his embarrassments, and an earnest desire that he might, under divine guidance, be led to free the slaves and thus save the nation from destruction. In that case, nations yet unborn would rise up to call him blessed and, better still, he would secure the blessing of God.

The President was reported to have responded very impressively, saying that he was deeply sensible of his need of Divine assistance. He had sometime thought that perhaps he might be an instrument in God's hands of accomplishing a great work and he certainly was not unwilling to be. Perhaps, however, God's way of accomplishing the end which the memorialists have in view may be different from theirs. It would be his earnest endeavor, with a firm reliance upon the Divine arm, and seeking light from above, to do his duty in the place to which he had been called.

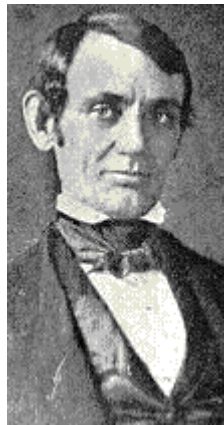
Frederick Palmer wrote from New Orleans to his sister in Connecticut:

*Good Morning Sister,
... A little boy about Franks age came in last night with a pair
of handcuffs around his leg where his [owner] fastened him to
keep from running away. They suffer very much. Do you pity them
poor creatures? Do you ever think of them?
How beautiful Montville must look ... I will imagine you
preparing to sit down to write me a letter which I do not believe
you are doing.
Do not be afraid to write me all the news. Do you miss me at
home? Do the neighbors ever inquire for me?*

149. In fact President Abraham Lincoln's own attitude toward the prospect of an Emancipation Proclamation was that this would be, if it would be anything, a mere military tactic of last resort. He would become famous in American history as "The Great Emancipator" not because of any affection for the American negro but only after the course of events had caused him to begin to muse in desperation that "Things have gone from bad to worse ... until I felt that we had played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game!" Never would a man be more reluctant to come to the aid of his fellow.

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

3. Proclamation.

[illegible]

President Lincoln attempted to make a covenant with God and asked for a sign. If God would allow him to win the battle at Antietam, he pledged, he would understand this to be an instruction to free the slaves of

150. In “It’s a Family Affair” in Larry Hudson, ed., *WORKING TOWARD FREEDOM* (1994), Mary Beth Corrigan has pointed out that generally, when free black Americans in border states owned slaves, it was as a step toward freeing a relative of theirs. For instance, during the 1850s, approximately 10% of the slaves who had been freed by manumissions in deeds (by way of contrast with manumission in wills) had been freed by a member of their own family who had specifically purchased them in order to free them. Of approximately 900 former slavemasters who in 1862 petitioned the US Congress for compensation upon the [manumission](#) of their [Washington](#) slaves, about a dozen were free black Americans. All but one of these had merely “owned” members of their own families — for instance a man “owning” his wife or his children. Such cases may have been created by the fact that getting a certificate of manumission was expensive: the government was charging \$50 for each such piece of paper.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

America.



When the news of the success of this battle arrived in [Washington](#), the president initiated the process which would lead to the Emancipation Proclamation, a proclamation that all the slaves whom he lacked the power to free, became free, while all the slaves whom he possessed the power to free, remained slaves. (Isn't that nice? He wasn't just setting out to fool all the people all the time — as part of this he was going to play a sleight-of-hand trick on God! "Oh Jeez," God is going to say, "I just didn't notice that the Prez only freed the ones he couldn't free! Hey, they got me again!")

With black Americans being enlisted in the US Army, most black physicians who enlisted were assigned to



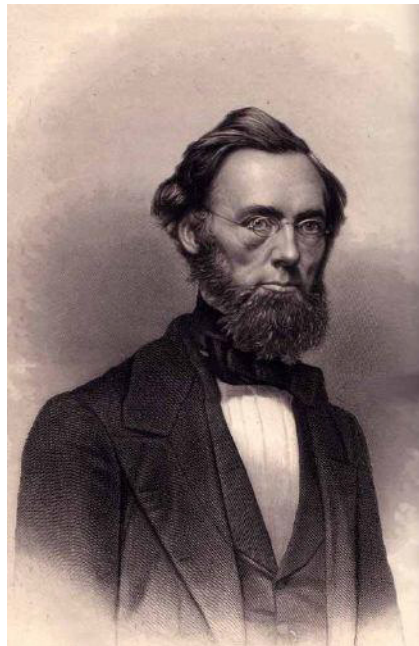
MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

work in hospitals in [Washington](#). This included Dr. James McCune Smith of New-York.



F.A.P. Barnard went to [Washington](#) and was given direction of the map and chart department of the coast Survey under [Alexander Dallas Bache](#). This included the preparation and publication of war maps. While thus engaged he would publish a “Letter to the President of the United States by a Refugee” in which he would denounce slavery, the “giant conspiracy” of southern leaders to leave the Union, and the northern Copperheads who favored the South.



Transcribed from National Archives Microfilm Publication No. M433, Roll 3: Emancipation papers resulting from the act of July 12, 1862



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Filed 26th July 1862

emancipated: Elesenor Addison, age 40, height 5 ft., dark complexion;

Henrietta Addison, her child, (no age given) 2 ½ feet high, dark or brass color. (Former owner: Notley Grey and Sandra Ann Keller

Filed 12th January 1863

emancipated: Sarah Allen, female, age 32, light brown

William Henry Allen, male, age 7, dark brown

Anna Allen, female, age 3, light brown

Sarah Allen, female, age 8 months, light brown (Former owner: J. Pottinger McGill

Filed 2nd December 1862

emancipated: Henry Bailey, male, age 29, dark color (Former owner: Martha A. Scott of Bladensburg, Maryland

Filed 28th July 1862

emancipated: Martha Bailey, female, about 30 years, 4ft. 10in., black (Former owner: James Gregg of Alexandria, Virginia

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Mary Barber, age 37, brown color

Henry Barber, age 3, brown color (Former owner: Charles Wilson of Georgetown, D. C.

Filed 26th July 1862

emancipated: Orange Barber, age 55, about 5 ½ feet, copper color

Helen Barber, age 65 years, 5ft. high, copper color (Former owner: Thomas Green of Washington, D. C.

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: William Barber, age 39, black, 5ft. 7in. (Former owner: Eliza Dent, Prince George County, Maryland

August 1, Friday: In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, Emancipation Day organizers and supporters had expanded their activities into a more political realm, as they lobbied for admission of blacks into the militia. Nearly 1,000 people from New Bedford assembled at Myricks, where resolutions to that effect were proposed and passed by popular acclamation.

EMANCIPATION DAY
ABOLITIONISM

Filed 10th September 1862

emancipated: Kitty Barbour, aged twenty two years, about five feet two inches in height, in color black (Former owner: Lloyd Brooke of Oregon

Filed 29th July 1862

emancipated: Charlotte Becket, age 36, female, dark brown, 4ft. 5in.

George Becket, age 8, male, brown

Xavier Becket, age 6, male, brown



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Mareanne Becket, age 4, female, brown

Boromea Becket, age 2, male, brown (Former owner: Mary R. Bibb)

Filed 6th January 1863

emancipated: Francis Becket, male, about 34 years, dark brown (Former owner: Fleitcher R. Veitch of Maryland)

Filed 3rd September 1862

emancipated: Mary Bell, female, nine years, dark color (Former owner: Thomas Davis of Georgetown, D. C.)

Filed 19th August 1862

emancipated: Harriet Bellt, female, age 24, mulatto (Former owner: William J. Bailey of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 26th July 1862

emancipated: Julia Ann Billius, age 42, female, mulatto

John Billius, 12, male, dark (Former owner: James G. Coombs of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 17th September 1862

emancipated: Hector Bird, male, age 37, black, 5 ft. 4 in.

Rachel Ann Boston, female, 25, light brown, 5ft. 3in. (Former owner: James J. Waring, M. D. of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 9th January 1863

emancipated: Mary Blackiston, age 22, female (Former owner: James S. Holland of Washington, D. C.)

Date:

emancipated: Matilda Blany, age 50, female, 5ft. 2in., black (Former owner: Dafney Bradne, Prince George County, Maryland)

Filed 16th August 1862

emancipated: Lucy Booker, age 49, female, 5ft. 6in., dark color (Former owner: William Bannen of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 28th July 1862

emancipated: Lois Bouzer (no details listed) (Former owner: R. M. Harrison of Maryland)

Filed 8th August 1862

emancipated: Charlotte Brown, age abt. 26, 4ft. 10in., black (Former owner: Robert Marshall of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 11 August 1862

emancipated: Ophelia Calvert, age 19, female, dark chestnut (Former owner: Thomas J. Galt of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 1st August 1862

emancipated: Sylva Cambell, age 54, female, black

George Cambell, age 11, male, dark mulatto

Alberta Cambell, 14, female, dark mulatto

Mary Cambell, 5, female, dark brown (Former owner: Samuel Pumphrey of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 14th May 1862

emancipated: Lane Turner Campbell, abt. 12 years, female, dark copper color (Former owner: Enoch F. Tell)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Filed 28th July 1862

emancipated: Sarah Carroll, age 48, female, black

children of Sarah Carroll:

William Carroll, 11, male, black

Mary Carroll, 3, female, black (Former owner: Nathaniel McGregor of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 29th July 1862

emancipated: Richard Chambers, age 26, male, dark copper color (Former owner: Henry W. Blount of Georgetown, D. C.)

Filed 7th October 1862

emancipated: Rachel Chapman, 65, female, dark color (Former owner: the Estate of the late Teresa Burgess)

Filed 26th July 1862

emancipated: John Chin, age 40, male, dark mulatto (Former owner: Francis B. Gibson of Prince William County, Maryland)

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Jesse Chinn, male, age 27, dark mulatto (Former owner: Mrs. Francis B. Gibson of Virginia)

Filed 28th July 1862

emancipated: Mary E. Chinn, age 22, female, mulatto (Former owner: John Henry Smith of Baltimore, Maryland)

Filed 28th July 1862

emancipated: Sally Clarke, age 65, female, mulatto (Former owner: John Ruxuill of Virginia)

Filed 12th July 1862

emancipated: Milly Cole, 43, female, 5ft. 4in., dark brown color (Former owner: Thomas H. Baron and Charles Lyons)

Filed 5th January 1863

emancipated: Elisa Jane Collins, female, age 27, mulatto

Arthur Augustus Williams, male, age 17, dark brown (Former owner: Abraham Williams of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 25th July 1862

emancipated: Ann Dotson, age 25, female, dark copper

Charles Dotson, age 50, male, dark copper, 5ft. 4in. (Former owner: Dr. William Palmer of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 29th July 1862

emancipated: Philip Downer, male, 23, light mulatto (Former owner: Wm. F. Cheek of Fredericksburg, Virginia)

Filed 12th July 1862

emancipated: Ann Duckett, female, age 23 (Former owner: George Burns)

Filed 31st July 1862



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

emancipated: Kitty Francis, age 38, female, remarks: your petitioner was purchased by said John Wilson of and from John Nilton of this city and she has been a house servant with W. Wilson since the said purchase. (Former owner: John Wilson of Washington, D. C.

Filed 18th July 1862

emancipated: Rosetta Gantt, female, age 32, dark mulatto (Former owner: Sarah Webster of California

Filed 29th July 1862

emancipated: Nelly Gardner, age 60, female, dark mulatto (Former owner: Amelia Young of Washington, D. C.

Filed 1st August 1862

emancipated: Elizabeth Gelter, age 20, female, brown (Former owner: Elizabeth Garnet, of Fairfax County, ?Hoase, Virginia

Filed 20th July 1862

emancipated: Cornelia Grey, age 18, female, dark copper

Julius Augustine McClellen, age 1 year, male, mulatto (her son) (Former owner: Mrs. Louisa Hunter of Alexandria County, Virginia

Filed 13th August 1862

emancipated: Ellen Harrison, age 40, female, black

Wm. H. Harrison, age 12, male, black (Former owner: John W. Frook of Washington, D. C.

Filed 25th July 1862

emancipated: Elizabeth Herbert, age 24, female, dark mulatto, 5ft. 7in. high (Former owner: Sarah B. Branaugh of Washington, D. C.

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Frank Herbert, age 24, male, light mulatto (Former owner: Benjamin L. Jackson of Washington, D. C.

Filed 25th July 1862

emancipated: Lewis Howard, 28, male, dark copper color, 5ft. 8in. (Former owner: Bushrod N. Hunter

Filed 18th July 1862

emancipated: Arianna Jackson, age 27, dark copper color (Former owner: Samuel Synde of Washington, D. C.

Filed 19th July 1862

emancipated: John Jackson, about 48 years, black (Former owner: Henry Chatham of Alexandria, Virginia

Filed 12th January 1863

emancipated: Jacob Jenifer, age 61, color dark brown (Former owner: Joseph Turner

Filed 7th January 1863

emancipated: Eliza Johnson (filed petition for freedom - no physical characteristics listed) (Former owner: Catherine Noland of Montgomery County, Maryland

Filed 10th January 1863



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

emancipated: Eliza Johnson, abt. 40 years, female, rather below medium height (Former owner: Caroline Noland of Montgomery County, Maryland)

Filed 31st October 1862

emancipated: John Johnson, age 60, male, 5ft. 5in., dark color (Former owner: Maria Mills of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 1st August 1862

emancipated: Levinia Johnson, about 50 years, female, 5ft. 1in., dark mulatto (Former owner: Dr. William H. Helen of Warrenton, Faulkner Co., Virginia)

Filed 22nd September 1862

emancipated: Sophia Caroline Jones, female, age 23, brown black (Former owner: Hannah Ward of Prince George County, Maryland)

Filed 2nd August 1862

emancipated: Nathaniel Kane, 22, male, dark color (Former owner: Daddrige C. Lee)

Filed 13th August 1862

emancipated: Ann Kee, about 55, female, black (Former owner: Thomason D. Haden of St. Marys County, Maryland)

Filed 9th August 1862

emancipated: Henry King, about 12 years, 4ft. 10in., black

Lewis Williams, 15 years, 4ft. 9in., black

Celia King, 30 years, 5ft. 1in., black (Former owner: Mrs. Julia Ten Eyck of New Jersey)

Filed 2nd August 1862

emancipated: Amelia Lee, about 48 years, female, 5ft. 2in., dark color

Jacob Lee, about 8, male, 3ft. 11in., dark color (Former owner: Francis Boyle of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 3rd October 1862

emancipated: Eliza Lee, aged about 40 years, black, 4ft. 10in. (Former owner: Lucy Foulks of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 24th December 1862

emancipated: George Lee, male, age 22, very thick upper lip (Former owner: Nancy Talbot of Maryland)

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Samuel Lee, age 23, male, dark chestnut (no X mark, was able to sign his name) (Former owner: T. B. H. Smith of Washington County, D. C.)

Filed 15th August 1862

emancipated: Treacy Lee, 50 years, 5ft. 2in., dark color, female (Former owner: Mrs. Matilda Sims of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 10th September 1862

emancipated: Caroline Lewis, age 17, female, dark brown color (Former owner: Thomas Marshall of Prince George County, Maryland)

Filed 1st November 1862



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

emancipated: Harriet Liveless, abt. 32 years, 5ft. 6in., dark color

George W. Liveless, abt. 32 years, dark color (Former owner: Miss Amelia Gray, Prince George County, Maryland)

Filed 12th August 1862

emancipated: Mary Jane Lowden, about 35 years, female, dark color (Former owner: Orcelius Harvey of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 18th July 1862

emancipated: Samuel Mackall, age 45, male, about 5ft. 4in. high, mulatto (Former owner: Matthew Dinall of Prince George County, Maryland)

Filed 4th December 1862

emancipated: Emoline Mann, female, 32 years of age (Former owner: George Selkman)

Filed 5th December 1862

emancipated: Anna E. Mars, female, 28, light mulatto (Former owner: Nancy Marlow of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 25th July 1862

emancipated: Ellen Martin, abt. 24 years, abt. 5 feet high, copper color (Former owner: ?Norman Green)

Filed 30th June 1862

emancipated: Philip Meridith, age 30, male, dark copper color, abt. 5ft. 9in. (Former owner: General Robert Lee of Arlington Heights, Virginia)

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Fatima Milton, age 46, female, dark brown, 5ft. 6in. high (Former owner: Jesse D. Bright of Indiana)

Filed 1st August 1862

emancipated: Charity Ann Mockabee, female, age 25, dark color (Former owner: Nathan Cook of Montgomery County, Maryland)

Filed 19th July 1862

emancipated: Harriet Neale, age 30, female, dark olive, abt. 4ft. 10in. (Former owner: Lewis Henry Philips)

Filed 31st July 1862

emancipated: John Nichols, age 23, male, dark mulatto, 5ft. 7in. (Former owner: Lucy J. Tidball of Winchester, Virginia)

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Jackson Ogle, age 32, male, black, 5ft. 3in. (Former owner: Benjamin O. Sheckells of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 30th July 1862

emancipated: Ananias Page, male, age 31, light mulatto (Former owner: Lucy J. Tidball of Winchester, Virginia)

Filed 5th August 1862

emancipated: Amanda Parkes, age 25, female, dark mulatto (Former owner: Alexander W. Russell of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 24th July 1862



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

(Certificate refused not coming under the law. The claimants admit they ran away from a disloyal man who had hired her to Gen. Brannigan. Wm. R. Woodward, Clerk of Court, August 5, 1862)

Sina Ellen Pearson, female, 26, mulatto

Martha Ann Hollis, female, 20, mulatto

Lucretia Wilson, female, 51, mulatto

Sina Ellen Hollis, female, 6 months, mulatto (child of Martha Ann)

Witnessed by J. Carter Marbury

Owner: Daniel Fitzhugh of Fairfax County, Virginia

Filed 25th July 1862

emancipated: Anna Pinyer, female, age 50, light mulatto (Former owner: Benjamin O. Sheckells of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 23rd July 1862

emancipated: Caroline Ransall, female, age 44, dark complexion (Former owner: Charles Plummer of Norristown, Tennessee)

Filed 29th October 1862

emancipated: Sarah Ann Rickett, age 20 years, mulatto, height 5 feet 1 ½ inches (Former owner: Benjamin ?Launds of Prince George County, Maryland)

Filed 10th September 1862

emancipated: Mary Ridout, female, age 60, mulatto (Former owner: Eliza Powers of Montgomery County, Maryland)

Filed 9th August 1862

emancipated: Anthony Riley, abt. 60, 6ft. 3½ in., black (Former owner: Arrianna J. Lyles of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 3rd October 1862

emancipated: George Robertson, age 27, male, mulatto (Former owner: Mrs. Margaret Wise of Virginia)

Filed 12th July 1862

emancipated: Caroline Robinson, abt. 35 years, yellow complexion, medium height (Former owner: William and Mary Merrick)

Filed 2nd August 1862

(Withdrawn by Atty.)

Jane Russell, age 26, female

Owner: Edward Sangston of Alexandria, Virginia

Filed 8th August 1862

emancipated: Jane Rustin, age 40, female, 5ft. 3in., black (Former owner: John H. C. Coffin of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 29th July 1862

emancipated: Henry Sanders, age 29, male, black color, 5ft. 6½ in. (Former owner: Samuel Pumphrey of Washington, D. C.)

Filed 1st August, 1862



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

emancipated: Sina Smith, age 29, female, black color (Former owner: Giles Fitzhugh of Fauquier County, Virginia
Filed 22nd July 1862

emancipated: Stephen Smith, age 40, male, dark copper color, abt. 5ft. 3in. high (Former owner: Nathan M. McGregor
of Washington, D. C.

Filed 25th August 1862

emancipated: Hannah Ann Snowden, age 17, female (Former owner: Ann Riley of Washington, D. C.

Filed 4th November 1862

emancipated: Julia Sprigg, age 53, female, dark color (Former owner: the heirs of Harriett Williams of Georgetown,
District of Columbia

Note attached: D' Sir, the bearer Julia is the servant named in W. Harriett Williams Will, to be manumitted, she has not
yet applied for her free papers-she is now anxious to obtain them. Respectfully yours, John Harry, Executor.

Filed 1st January 1863

emancipated: Maria Stevenson, abt. 27, abt. medium height, and quite light complexion (Former owner: Caroline
Noland of Montgomery County, Maryland

Filed 7th January 1863

emancipated: Maria Stevenson (filed petition for freedom) (Former owner: Caroline Noland of Montgomery County,
Maryland

Filed 8th September 1862

emancipated: Alice Virginia Thomas, 15, female, light (Former owner: Alexander McCormick of Washington, D. C.

Filed 22nd July 1862

emancipated: Dennis Thomas, age 30, male, dark copper color or black, about five feet 5 & ½ inches in height (Former
owner: Mrs. ?Freedlow Turner

Filed 26th August 1862

emancipated: Mary Thomas, age 40, dark brown

Mary C. Thomas, age 4, dark brown, 3ft. high (Former owner: John F. Boone

Filed 26th July 1862

emancipated: Mary Thomas, abt. 49 or 50 years, female, mulatto, 4ft. 11in. (Former owner: Alexander McCormick of
Washington, D. C.

Filed 2nd August 1862

(Withdrawn)

Cornelius Thornton, age 23, male, dark color

Owner: Daniel Fitzhugh of Fairfax County, Virginia

Filed 28th July 1862

emancipated: Harry Upsher, abt. 60 years, male, black, 5ft. 11in. (Former owner: Mrs. Elizabeth Upsher

Filed 11th August 1862

emancipated: Leah Upshur, abt. 48, 5ft. 7in., black color (Former owner: Susan Ringold of Washington, D. C.



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

Filed 26th September, 1862

emancipated: Margaret Vaughn, female, 19 years, light mulatto (Former owner: Mrs. Alfred Scott of Georgetown, D. C.

Filed 2nd September 1862

emancipated: Charity Warren, age 50, female, light brown color, medium height (Former owner: Jesse B. Wilson

Filed 16th August 1862

emancipated: Maria Warren, abt. 55, female, 5ft. ½ in., dark color (Former owner: John Warren of Washington, D. C.

Related note: Washington City 23 Dec. 1855 for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred fifty two dollars to me in hand paid by John Warren. I thereby sell and assign to the said John Warren all my rights, title and interest in and to Maria Warren, wife of the said John.

\$352== Wm. Thos. Carroll

Filed 22nd July 1862

emancipated: Mary Warrington, female, age 25, light mulatto (Former owner: Benjamin L. Jackson of Washington, D. C.

Filed 10th September 1862

emancipated: Hennrietta Waters, 36 years, female, 5ft. 3½ in., mulatto

George Waters, 19 years, male, 5ft. ½ in., black

Jane Waters, 11 years, female, 4ft. 7in., mulatto

Charles Waters, 8 years, male, 4ft., mulatto (Former owner: Voltare Willett of Washington, D. C.

Filed 16th September, 1862

emancipated: Louisa Watkins, age 25 years, dark brown color (Former owner: Mrs. Margaret Baden of Prince George County, Maryland

Filed 8th September 1862

emancipated: The wife and children of G. Wedge, a free colored man----

Euclina Wedge, between 21-2, female, brown

her children:

Marita Ann Elizabeth Wedge, between 3-5, light

George Washington Wedge, between 2-3, light

(Witnessed by George Wedge) (Former owner: Alexander McCormick of Washington, D. C.

Filed 1st August 1862

emancipated: William Williams, male, age 60, dark color

Charlotte Smith, female, 30, mulatto

Mary Catherine Smith, female, age 6, mulatto

Ann Amelia Smith, female, age 5, mulatto (Former owner: Benjamin L. Jackson of Washington, D. C.

Filed 6th August 1862



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

emancipated: Mary Eliza Wright, generally called Eliza, age 43, female, dark

Margaret L. Wallace, aged 3 years (her child) (Former owner: Maria DeFord of Richmond, Virginia

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

August: [Stephen Elliott](#) led a successful expedition against a Federal force on Pinckney island. He was also involved in the devising of floating torpedoes, with which they blew up a tender in St. Helena bay. He would be promoted to chief of artillery of the Third military district, including Beaufort.¹⁵¹

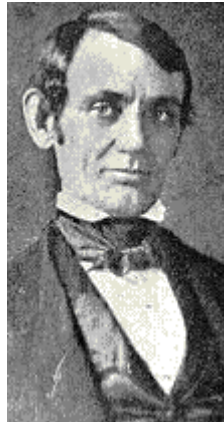


During this month and the following one, in his deliberations leading up to his decision to issue an Emancipation Proclamation, a resistant Abraham Lincoln was bringing himself to “suppose” that if his staff of White House lawyers could compose such a proclamation bringing about a general [manumission](#) so that it could be considered merely a “a practical war measure,” that then, as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States of America in the midst of this sectional conflict, he would possess adequate authority to issue such a piece of paper — but only, bear in mind, as “a practical war measure,” an interim solution, which after the cessation of hostilities inevitably would need to be superseded by one or another colonization scheme, as a final solution, that would create the necessary all-white America, freeing our nation

151. This is not the Professor [Stephen Elliott](#) of South Carolina whose botany textbook Henry Thoreau consulted, but his grandson.

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

3. Proclamation.

[illegible]

IRISH

152. In fact President Abraham Lincoln's own attitude toward an Emancipation Proclamation was that it was, if it was anything, a mere military tactic of last resort. He would become famous in American history as "The Great Emancipator" not because of any affection for the American negro but only after the course of events had caused him to begin to muse in desperation that "Things have gone from bad to worse ... until I felt that we had played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game!" Never was a man more reluctant to do the right. Lerone Bennett, in *FORCED INTO GLORY: ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S WHITE DREAM*, has simply dismissed the traditional story that with the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, done out of the goodness of his heart, President Lincoln had freed America's black slaves. "No other American story is so enduring. No other American story is so comforting. No other American story is so false." The real Lincoln, he pointed out, was a white supremacist very much on the order of this century's David Duke. Lincoln's dream for America, "like Thomas Jefferson's dream, was a dream of a lily-white America without Native Americans, African Americans or Martin Luther Kings." Let us take the man at his word, Bennett suggested, and consider this to have been an act of desperation: "What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races." (Of course, Bennett, a black historian, has been dismissed by white historians as a revisionist.)



MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

MANUMISSION FROM SLAVERY

On April 16, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill ending slavery in the District of Columbia. Passage of this act came 9 months before President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. The act brought to conclusion decades of agitation aimed at ending what antislavery advocates called "the national shame" of slavery in the nation's capital. The law provided for immediate emancipation, compensation of up to \$300 for each slave to loyal Unionist masters, voluntary colonization of former slaves to colonies outside the United States, and payments of up to \$100 to each person choosing emigration. Over the next 9 months, the federal government paid almost \$1 million for the freedom of approximately 3,100 former slaves. The District of Columbia Emancipation Act is the only example of compensated emancipation in the United States. Though its three-way approach of immediate emancipation, compensation, and colonization did not serve as a model for the future, it was an early signal of slavery's death. Emancipation was greeted with great jubilation by the District's African-American community. For many years afterward, black Washingtonians celebrated Emancipation Day on April 16 with parades and festivals. Following are samples of petitions filed for freedom papers as a result of the Act of Congress:

Filed Dec 23rd 1862

To John A. Smith

Clerk of the Circuit Court for the Dist. of Columbia

Sir:

Dr. A. V. C. P. Garnett of Washington D. C. having claim to the service in labor of the undersigned and having refused or neglected to file in your office the statement in writing or schedule provided for in the 9th section of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," approved April 16th, 1862.

You will please file the annexed schedule in pursuance of an act supplementary to the above recited act approved July 12th, 1862. The undersigned has resided in the District of Columbia for several years past with the consent of her owner.

Name: Jane Allen. Age: 30 years. Sex: female. Remarks: dark color.

Name: William Henry Allen. Age: 2 months.

Witness: Jane (X) Allen

Z. B. Brooks

To John A. Smith, Esq.,

Clerk of the Circuit Court for the District of Columbia

Sir: You will please file and record in your office the annexed statement and schedule, under the provisions of an Act of Congress entitled "An act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," approved April 16th, 1862:

Alice Addison , abt. 55 years, female, brown color, 5ft. 4 inches high

Rachel Addison, her daughter, abt. 24 years, female, brown color, abt. 5ft. 8 inches high, healthy and strong.

Mary Ann Addison, daughter of Alice, 26 years, female, brown color, about 5 ft. 6 inches high, heavy built, and healthy.

George Addison, son of Mary Ann, 10 years, male, brown color, about 4 ft. 6 inches high, slim and healthy.

Alice Addison, daughter of Mary Ann, 3 years, female, brown color, healthy.

James Addison, son of Mary Ann, 9 months, male, brown color, healthy.



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The persons mentioned in the foregoing schedule were, by reason of African descent and acquired title, as our property and by us held to service and labor in the State of Maryland at the time the Act of Congress above cited was approved, the benefit of which is hereby claimed: _____ they left this city on the 13th of April last, three days before the approval of the said Act, because they feared they would be colonized in Africa, and to avoid that they went to their father who is the slave of Harry Cook in Montgomery County, Maryland, where they remained until the 28th of September last, when they returned here and claimed their freedom under the above cited act.

Washington City, October 6, 1862.

Filed 2nd August 1862

To John A. Smith, Clerk of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia

Sir:

Miss Matilda Harrington, now in the State of Virginia, having claim to the service or labor of the undersigned, and having refused or neglected to file in your office the statement in writing or schedule provided for in the 9th section of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in said District," approved April 16, 1862, you will please file this petition or schedule in lieu thereof, in pursuance of the provision of an Act supplementary to said Act which said last mentioned Act was approved July 12, 1862----

The petitioner further states that the undersigned has resided in said District by or with the consent of the said Miss Harrington from her early childhood.

Name: Jane Butler. Age: almost 52 years. Sex: female. Remarks: dark color, height 5 ft. 2 in.

Jane (X) Butler

Witness Elizabeth B. McCormick

Filed August 12, 1862

To Hon. Commissioners of Emancipation, your petitioner John Brown represents that he was the slave of Richard Pettit of Georgetown, District of Columbia, that he is a free man under the Act of Congress passed April 16th, 1862, that the said Richard Pettit have never filed a petition under the late Act of Congress claiming compensation from the United States. Your petitioner prays that a certificate of his freedom may be granted to him by requesting the clerk of the Circuit Court to grant him freedom papers and so in duty bound will ever pray.

R. P. Jackson

Atty. for Petitioner

August 13, 1862

October 31, 1862

Dr. Septimus Cook

To John A. Smith, Esq.

Clerk of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia

Sir.

As provided in the 2nd section of an Act entitled "An Act supplementary to the Act for the Release of Certain Persons held to Service or Labor in the District of Columbia" approved July 12, 1862, you will please file and record in your office the annexed statement of schedule----



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Margaret Snowden, age about 50 years, female, dark brown

Emily Jane Lancaster, 25, female, dark brown

Lucinda (her child), 8 months, dark brown

George Snowden, 18, male, black

Ellen Snowden, 15, female, dark brown

Henrietta Snowden, 9, female, dark brown

Laura Ross, child of Julia Ross who was a daughter of Margaret Snowden, age 2, female, mulatto

Sam Snowden, 26, male, black

All of which said persons were formerly the property of Dr. Septimus I. Cook (of Prince George County and State of Maryland) and at the time of the passage of the Act of Congress & which the above act mentioned is supplementary were residing in the District of Columbia with the full knowledge and consent of their said Master----

The facts set forth in the foregoing schedule are true----

Sworn to this 30th day of October 1862 by Isaac Snowden the father of the parties Husband of the above named Margaret Snowden & father of all the others except Lucinda & Laura, who are his grandchildren.

Thomas G. Donn

Justice of the Peace for the County of Washington, District of Columbia

Filed July 25, 1862

emancipated: Washington Childs, age 33, male, copper color, 6 ft. 2 in., has a large hair mole on the right side of his chin.

Former owner: Thomas Wethers

Related letter (transcribed exactly as written):

Stafford, July 21st, 1862

Dear Washington I am sorry to write to let you know that my health is no better. I have not bin out of the yard since the 6th of January but the ?bac are all well & I hope this may reach you & Susan in good health. Washington I made a provision for you that is to pay on two hundred dollars and go whare you please & since your kin lost ?your \$125-- & fifteen dollars due me but on that you would hav nothing to pay I want you to get me a barrel of good sugar & sacks of coffee and 2 bolts of cotton & pound of black tea that is if you can send the tea & cotton by express you had better hav a clear discharge drawn & come fourth with and I will assign it the articles. You had better send to the care of W.W. Bowler by express and come yourself or any friend you have in (illegible) to take charge of. The ballance of the money you can bring me as it will not cost you a dollar to come & sow Washington attend this as I stand now in need of money & grocery. I now you can't think hard of this if you knew my circumstance & you will be at liberty for life-your friend.

Thos. A. Wethers

have your papers written when you come and I will assign them.

Thos A. Wethers

Dear Washington since I wrote the above my nerest nabour is coming to Washington after coff & sugar who you can see his name is Mr. Charles Wms who lives at Timberlakes old place who will give you any information or bring anything that you will send but come if you can. Yours respectfully T. A. Wethers.



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Filed October 13, 1862

To the Honorable Commissioners appointed under an Act of Congress entitled "An Act for the release of Certain Persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia" approved 16th April 1862.

Your petitioner Ellen Cox would respectfully represent that she is of African descent, is of black complexion, of medium height & about thirty four years of age. That on the 16th day of April 1862, she resided in the District of Columbia & still resides there and that at the date aforesaid she was held to service or labor by William M. Merrick then & still a citizen of said District & had been so held by him for years previously----she further states that the said Merrick has neglected and still neglects to file a schedule in regard to herself as required by the ninth section of the Act aforesaid.

Wherefore she prays that in pursuance of the second and third sections of an Act of Congress, supplementary to the Act aforesaid approved 12th July 1862, the foregoing schedule may be accepted & filed and the clerk of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia be authorized to issue to your petitioner a certificate under the seal of said Court, declaring her to be duly manumitted and set free by the Act aforesaid----and she will ever pray.

Ellen (X) Cox



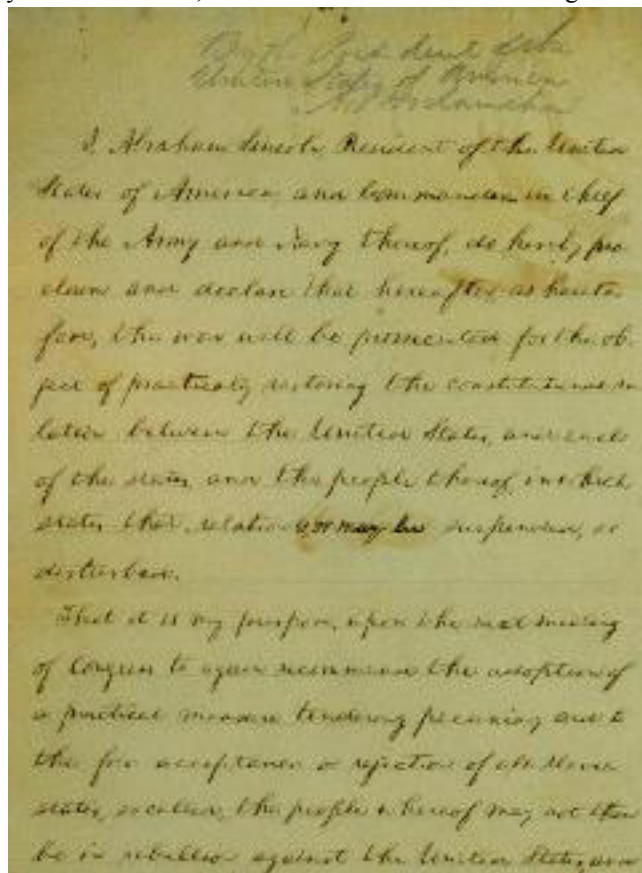
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September 22, Monday: As part of fighting the war, as part of demoralizing and dividing and inconveniencing the enemy, the President pre-announced a martial law matter amounting to a threat against those states still in rebellion, that he would declare a Presidential Proclamation effective January 1, 1863, retaining in [enslavement](#) all the slaves whom he might be able to free, in areas under his control in states not in rebellion, but declaring to be free all slaves that he did not have the power to liberate, in areas not under his control in states still rebellious. All these Southern slaves would need to do would be to somehow free themselves, and, he pledged, if they would somehow free themselves — why, he would free them! While such a propaganda tool could be expected to free almost no-one black and inconvenience almost no-one white, it would be sufficient to throw ideologues everywhere into a tizzy of anticipation. Although Wendell Phillips immediately detected this to be a mere “sham,” on this suspect basis the Commonwealth would proclaim 1863 to be “the year of Jubilee.”

People are so easily impressed when it is convenient for them to be impressed! (This is known as seizing the moral high ground.)

Here is a preliminary draft of this con, in Abraham Lincoln's handwriting:

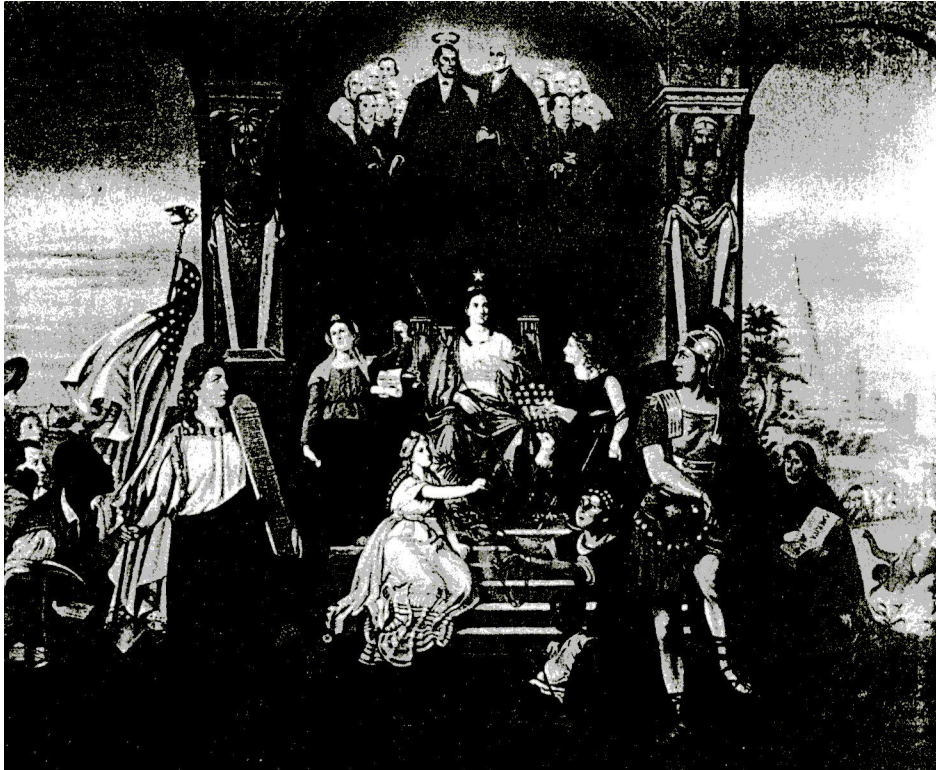


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December 29, Monday: The Murfreesboro / Stones River Campaign.

According to the Robert Edward Lee Papers at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, the following collective deed of [manumission](#) was prepared on this day in Arlington, New Kent, King William Counties, Virginia:

Know all men by these presents, that I, Robert E. Lee, executor of the last will and testament of George W. P. Custis deceased, acting by and under the authority and direction of the provisions of the said will, do hereby manumit, emancipate and forever set free from slavery the following named [slaves](#) belonging to the Arlington estate, viz: Eleanor Harris, Ephraïna Dimicks[?], George Clarke, Charles Syphax; Selina and Thornton Grey and their six children Emma, Sarah, Harry, Anise, Ada, Thornton; Margaret Taylor and her four children Dandridge, [John], Billy. Quincy; Lawrence Parks and his nine children - Perry, George, Amanda, Martha, Lawrence, James, Magdalena, Leno, William; Julia Ann Check and her three children Catharine, Louis, Henry and an infant of the said Catharine; Sally Norris [and?] Len Norris and their three children Mary, Sally, and Wesley; Old Shaack Check; Austin Bingham and Louisa Bingham and their twelve children Harrison, Parks, Reuben, Henry, Edward, Austin, Lucius, Leathe, Louisa, Caroline, Jem, and an infant; Obadiah Grey; Austin Banham, Michael Merriday, Catharine Burk and her child; Marianne Burke and Agnes Burke: Also the



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following slaves belonging to the White House estate, viz: Robert Crider and Desiah his wife, Locky, Zack Young and two other children[,] Fleming Randolph and child; Maria Meredith and Henry her husband and their three children Nelson, Henry, and Austin; Lorenzo Webb, Old Daniel, Clavert Dandridge, Claiborne Johnson, Mary and John Stewart, Harrison, Jeff, Pat and Gadsby, Dick, Joe, Robert, Anthony, Davy, Bill Crump, Peyton, Dandridge, Old Davy and Eloy his wife, Milly and her two children[,] Leathe and her five children; Jasper, Elisha and Rachael his wife, Lavinia and her two children, Major, Phill, Miles, Mike and Scilla his wife and their five children Lavinia, Israel, Isaiah, Loksey [?] and Delphy; Old Fanny and her husband, Patsy, [L]ittle Daniel, and Cloe, James Henry, Milly, Ailsey and her two children, Susan Pollard[,] Armistead and Molly his wife, Airy, Jane Piler[?], Bob, Polly, Betsy and her child, Molly, Charity, John Reuben, George Crump, Minny, Grace, Martha and Matilda: Also the following belonging to the Romancoke estate, viz: Louis, Jem, Edward, Kitty and her children[,] Mary Dandridge and an infant; Nancy; Dolly, Esther, Serica[?], Macon and Louisa his wife, Walker, Peggy, Ebbee, Fanny, Chloe Custis and her child Julia Ann, Elvey Young and her child Charles, Airy Johnson, Anne Johnson, William and Sarah Johnston and their children Ailey, Crump, Molly, and George, James Henry and Anderson Crump, Major Custis and Lucy Custis, Nelson Meredith and Phoebe his wife, and their children Robert, Elisha, Nat, Rose and Sally, Ebbee Macon, Martha Jones & her children Davy & Austin; Patsey Braxton, Susan Smith and Mildred her child, Anne Brown, Jack Johnson, Marwell Bingham and Henry Baker.

And I do hereby release the aforesaid slaves from all and every claim which I may have upon their services as executor aforesaid.

Witness my hand and seal this 29th day of December in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred sixty-two

[signed] R. E. Lee [seal]

Ex. of G. W. P. Custis

State of Virginia, County of Spotsylvania to wit:
I, Benj[amin] S. Cason, Justice of the Peace in and for the said County, do hereby certify that Robert E. Lee, executor of the last will and testament of George W. P. Custis, a party to the foregoing deed of manumission, this day appeared before me, and acknowledge the same to be his act and deed.

Given under my hand this 29 day of Dec 1862.

[signed] Benj[amin] S. Cason J. P.

City of Richmond, to wit:

In the Office of the Court of Hustings for the said City, the



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2d day of January 1863

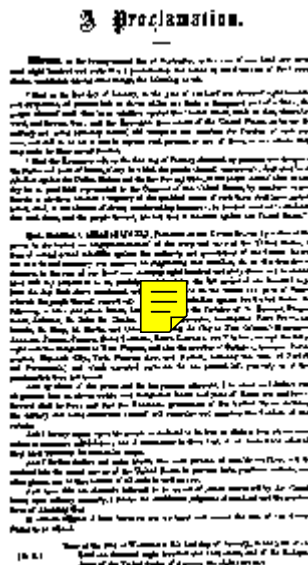
This deed was presented and with the Certificate annexed, admitted to record at twelve o'clock N.

Teste Ro[bert] Howard, Clerk

December 31, Wednesday: There was fighting at Parker's Cross Roads. From this day into January 2, 1863, there would be fighting at Stones River / Murfreesboro.

President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill admitting West Virginia to the Union.

That evening a crowd of some 3,000 assembled at the Tremont Temple to count down the clock from 8PM until, at the last stroke of midnight, President Lincoln's martial law declaration, written by Washington lawyers, attempting to weaken the enemy by offering a government program by which the slaves of the enemy might perhaps eventually, if they cooperated effectively with the Union armies, secure [manumission](#) papers, the so-called "Emancipation Proclamation," would become effective.¹⁵³ Speakers included not only Frederick Douglass but also the Reverend John Sella Martin and William Wells Brown, who were former slaves, and Anna M. Dickinson. At midnight they all marched to the 12th [Baptist](#) Church, which was popularly known at the time as the fugitive slave's church, to be led in a prayer of thanksgiving by the black minister there, the Reverend Leonard Grimes.



Not many people present at this celebration on this evening would be making reference to the sort of words that the white man Abraham Lincoln had been using to reassure the white man [Horace Greeley](#):

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would

153. In fact President Abraham Lincoln's own attitude toward an Emancipation Proclamation had been that it was, if it was anything, a mere military tactic of last resort. He would become famous in American history as "The Great Emancipator" not because of any affection for the American negro but only after the course of events had caused him to begin to muse in desperation that "Things have gone from bad to worse ... until I felt that we had played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game!" Never had a man been more reluctant to do the right.

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do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

No, for purposes of the celebration on this evening, they were all agreeing to pretend to presume the presumption that we nowadays still prefer to presume — that this Honest Abe from Illinois had the best interests of Americans of color in his heart.



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1863

July 20, Monday: The [manumitted](#) mulatto [West Ford](#), formerly enslaved, who is suspected to have been the only son of [George Washington](#), had been being cared for at the [Mount Vernon](#) plantation during his old age. In this year he died and his obituary appeared in the Alexandria [Gazette](#). His body possibly was placed in the emptied older [tomb](#) of Washington, which during his lifetime he had tended.



January 1, Thursday: [Caroline Cushing Andrews](#) got married with [Rufus Leighton](#), a clerk for the Department of Treasury and professional stenographer.

The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered the annual election sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature.


Major General John B. Magruder, who had become the Confederate commander of military forces in Texas on November 29, 1862, gave the recapture of Galveston top priority. At 3AM four Confederate gunboats appeared, coming down the bay toward Galveston. Soon afterward, the Rebels commenced a land attack. The Union forces in Galveston were three companies of the 42d Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment under the command of Colonel Isaac S. Burrell. The Confederates captured or killed all of them except for the regiment's adjutant. They also took the *Harriet Lane*, by boarding her, and two barks and a schooner. Commander W.B. Renshaw's flagship, the USS *Westfield*, ran aground when trying to help the *Harriet Lane*.



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and, at 10AM, she was blown up to prevent her capture. Galveston was in Confederate hands again although the Union blockade would limit commerce in and out of the harbor. Soon afterward, the Rebels would be commencing a land attack upon the port city.

Congress had enacted in 1861 that all slaves employed against the Union were to be considered free, and in 1862 that all slaves of men who supported the Confederacy were to be considered free. At this point President Abraham Lincoln, who had been dragging his feet, more or less got on board this onrushing train. Having made a preliminary proclamation on September 22, 1862  that **emancipation** from **slavery** would become effective, at the turn of the year, in those states which had not renounced their rebelliousness, at this point he made good on his threat by issuing a proclamation of emancipation that had been drafted by a bunch of Washington lawyers.

READ THE FULL TEXT

A devout man, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase read the BIBLE daily and sought comfort in God for the loss of so many of his wives and so many of his children. When Chase had called to the President's attention that there was no mention of the Deity in the draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had allowed as a new last line "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of all mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

At the clock tick which began this year he, as a martial law measure, offered to "emancipate" all those slaves he did not have the power physically to touch, without offering anything at all to any slave whom he did have the power physically to touch. It was a neat trick, especially since we have no reason to suspect that he would have been willing to touch any black person whom he did have the power physically to touch. Although to all appearances he grandly was declaring to be free all slaves residing in territories in rebellion against the federal government, his "Emancipation Proclamation," so called, would turn out to be actually only a temporary martial-law proclamation, which in accordance with the deliberate intention of its careful drafters would free precious few. (I don't know that a head count has ever been conducted, and here suggest that such a count would prove to be alarming if not nauseating.) The proclamation explicitly stated that it did not apply at all to any of the slaves in border states fighting on the Union side; nor would it be of any applicability to slaves in southern areas already under Union control; nor would it be of any use to any other slaves, since, naturally, the states in rebellion would take no action on Lincoln's order.¹⁵⁴ To avail themselves of this opportunity, slaves would have to vote with their feet. At great risk they would need to make their way across the battle lines into

154. The hypocrisy of this was being well commented on in French newspapers at that time. For a review of this French commentary on the American white hypocrisy, refer to Blackburn, George M. FRENCH NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. Contributions in American History No. 171. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.



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A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-In-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for supressing [*sic*??] said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the first day above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Palquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebone, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northhampton [*sic*??], Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all case when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.



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The federal government's temporary instrument of war allowed that, while human slavery would continue to be tolerated everywhere within its sphere of influence, it would no longer tolerate this practice in any area **not** within said sphere of influence.

Nevertheless, before a black audience in Tremont Temple in Boston, this governmental declaration was read aloud and Frederick Douglass led in the singing of the hymn "Blow ye the trumpet, blow!" [William Cooper Nell](#), President of the sponsoring Union Progressive Association, addressed the group. For this occasion [Waldo Emerson](#) composed "Boston Hymn," a poem in which he neatly cut the Gordian Knot of compensation:

Pay ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is the owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

We may imagine that on this occasion hands were shaken all around, with no distinction of color. Imagine then, if you will, the author of this Emancipation Proclamation, President Abraham Lincoln, during one of his many electoral campaigns, reaching down from the stump and grasping the hand of a black man. Do you fancy that this ever happened?

The word "[emancipation](#)," after all, comes to us from the Latin *manus*, meaning "hand," and *capio*, meaning "take." When a Roman purchased something, it was considered that the act of purchasing was not complete, either conventionally or legally, until he had grasped it with his hand. If he was purchasing land, he picked up a handful of soil and thereby took title. If he was purchasing a slave, he took hold of the slave and thereby took title.

The power of this *paterfamilias* over his son was, in fact, the same as the power of this man over his slave –

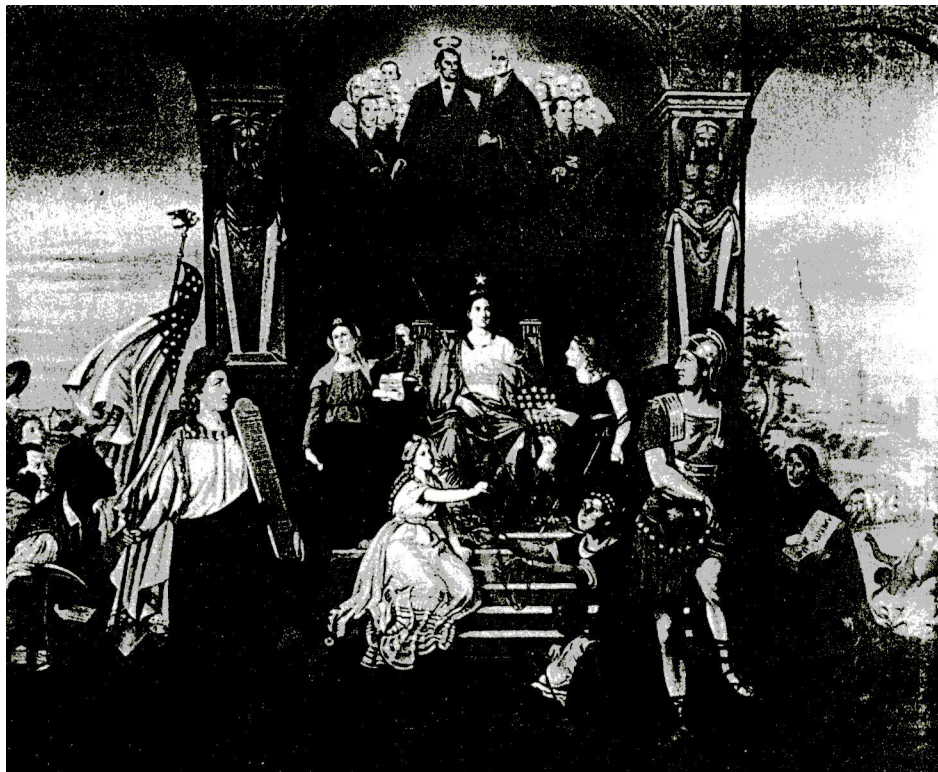
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he could execute either one— but there was a legal ceremony by which, when his son became of age, his son could be set free to form his own *familias*. In that ceremony the father took the son by the hand, as if he were taking possession of a slave, but then dropped his son's hand. After he had done this three times in succession, his son was *emancipio*. Emancipation, therefore, had a lot to do with shaking hands. Except during the US Civil War.

I am leading up to saying that Abraham Lincoln “emancipated” all those slaves he did not have the power physically to touch, but did not emancipate any slave he did have the power physically to touch. It was a neat trick. Here, in this painting, we can see how it was done:



The Emancipation Proclamation was an offer to place names on a list, which persons, should they fulfil the preconditions, would, at the end of the period of hostilities, be granted papers of [manumission](#) by the Federal Government. This was a very formal matter. It required prior registration. Whose names were actually so registered? Who actually received such papers of manumission? There should be such a list somewhere, if anyone did initiate or complete this process and if anyone did actually get freedom through this vehicle. Where is that list? How long is it? Does it exist? No, my friend, you've been conned. After a long and bloody civil war which was fought over whether we were going to be one nation state or two rather than over racial issues, we got ourselves out of this holiday from the Commandments in part by a carefully worded temporary martial law measure denominated the Emancipation Proclamation, which had been created by a team of white [Washington DC](#) lawyers. Under the terms of that martial law measure, which lapsed as soon as martial law lapsed, if a Southern slave could make it across the battle lines intact, and then perform labor for the Northern armies, and if that Southern slave could arrange to have his or her name recorded as part of the indicated program, as one of its beneficiaries, **then**, and **only** then, could he or she hope that at the successful conclusion

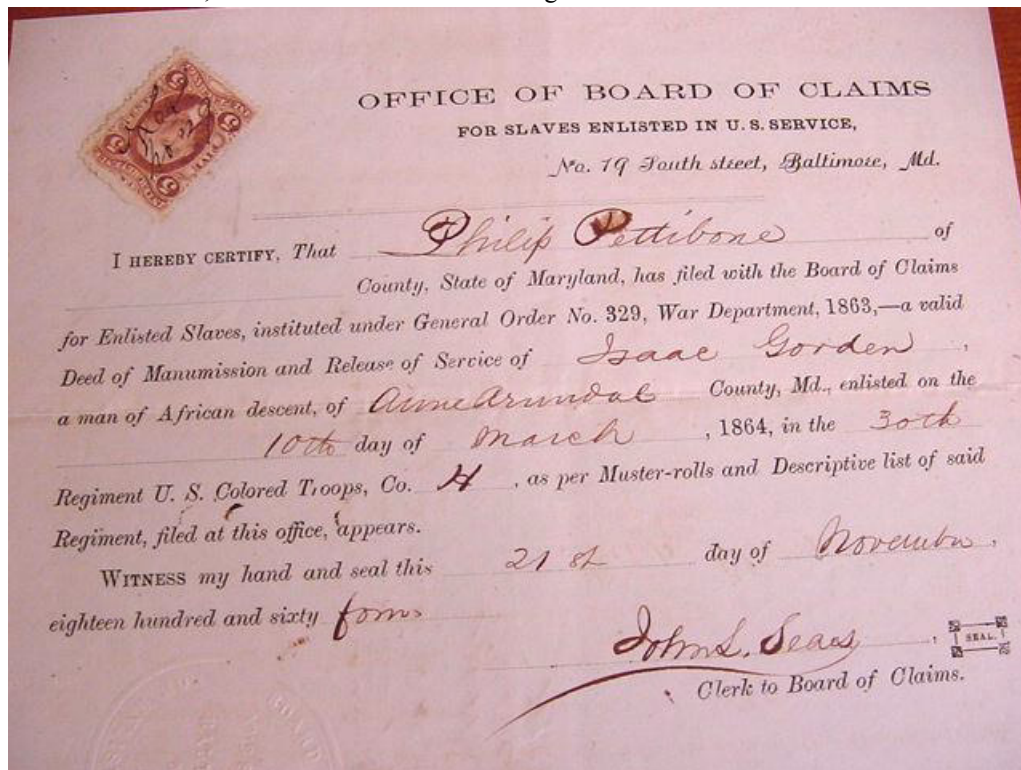


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of the war he or she would receive freebie manumission papers from the federal government. Read the fine print, and weep. I don't know how few people managed to avail themselves of this very restricted opportunity, but I do know it must have been very few, and I suspect in fact that it was zero. Perhaps one reason why we don't have a list of the names of people who obtained freedom in this way is embarrassment, at how short or null such a list would prove to be. We don't want to know about such things.

I have come across one such actual named military emancipation from this period. This emancipation did not, however, relate in any way to the Emancipation Proclamation. It related, instead, to a military Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves which was instituted under General Order No. 329 of the War Department during 1863. Here is the original certification of manumission document, from this Office of the Board of Claims, and it seems to be based on military service that had been rendered by the slave Isaac Gorden as a member of H Company, 30th Regiment. of the U.S. Colored Troops. It includes an order to reimburse the owner of this soldier Isaac Gordon, a man named N. Hammond Esgless. The document reads as follows: "OFFICE OF



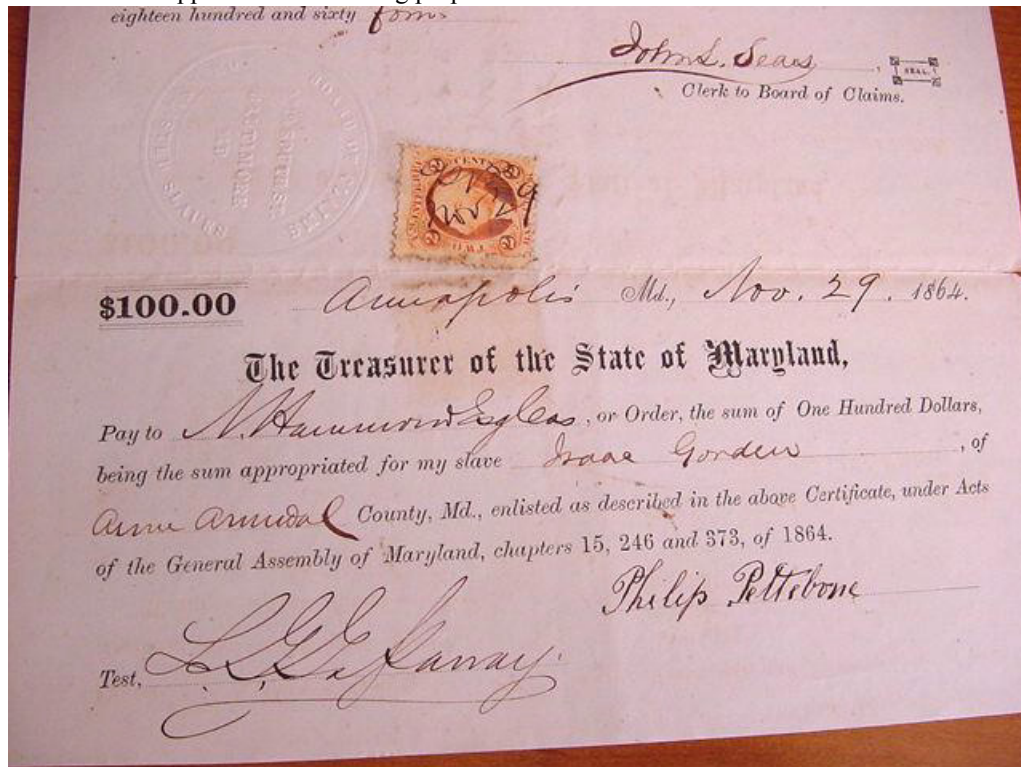
BOARD OF CLAIMS for slaves enlisted in U.S. Service, No. 19 South Street, Baltimore, [Maryland](#). I HEREBY CERTIFY, That Philip Pettibone of [blank] county, State of Maryland, has filed with the Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves, instituted under General Order No. 329, War Department, 1863, - a valid Deed of Manumission and Release of service of Isaac Gorden a man of African decent, of Anne Arundel county, Md., enlisted on the 10th day of March, 1864, in the 30th Regiment U.S. Colored Troops, Co. H, as per Muster-rolls and descriptive list of said Regiment, filed at this office, appears. Witness my hand and seal this 21st. day of November, eighteen hundred and sixty four [signed] John S. Sears, Clerk to Board of Claims." There is an impress seal that says: Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves No. 19 South St. Baltimore, Md. At the bottom of the document the following appears: "\$100.00 Annapolis Md. Nov. 29, 1864. The Treasurer of the State of Maryland, Pay to N. Hammond Esgless, or Order, the sum of One Hundred Dollars, being the sum appropriated for my slave Isaac Gorden, of Anne arundel County, Md. enlisted as described in the above




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Certificate, under Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, chapter 15, 246 and 373, of 1864. [signed] Philip Pettibone Test, [signature illegible] There are two Revenue stamps, a 5-cent and 2-cent, attached to the document and they are dated "Nov 29." The document has two folds. There is writing on the back of the document which appears to be for filing purposes.



After the Emancipation Proclamation, however, Headman Seattle (See-Ahth of the Susquamish) of the Susquamish, the same "Chief Seattle" who is famous for an environmentalist speech in the manner in which we all should be famous for our environmental speeches, that is, famous for an environmental speech which in fact wasn't made (his actual speech seems to have been about the deep spiritual differences between peoples of widely differing cultures), **did** free his eight Native American slaves. 

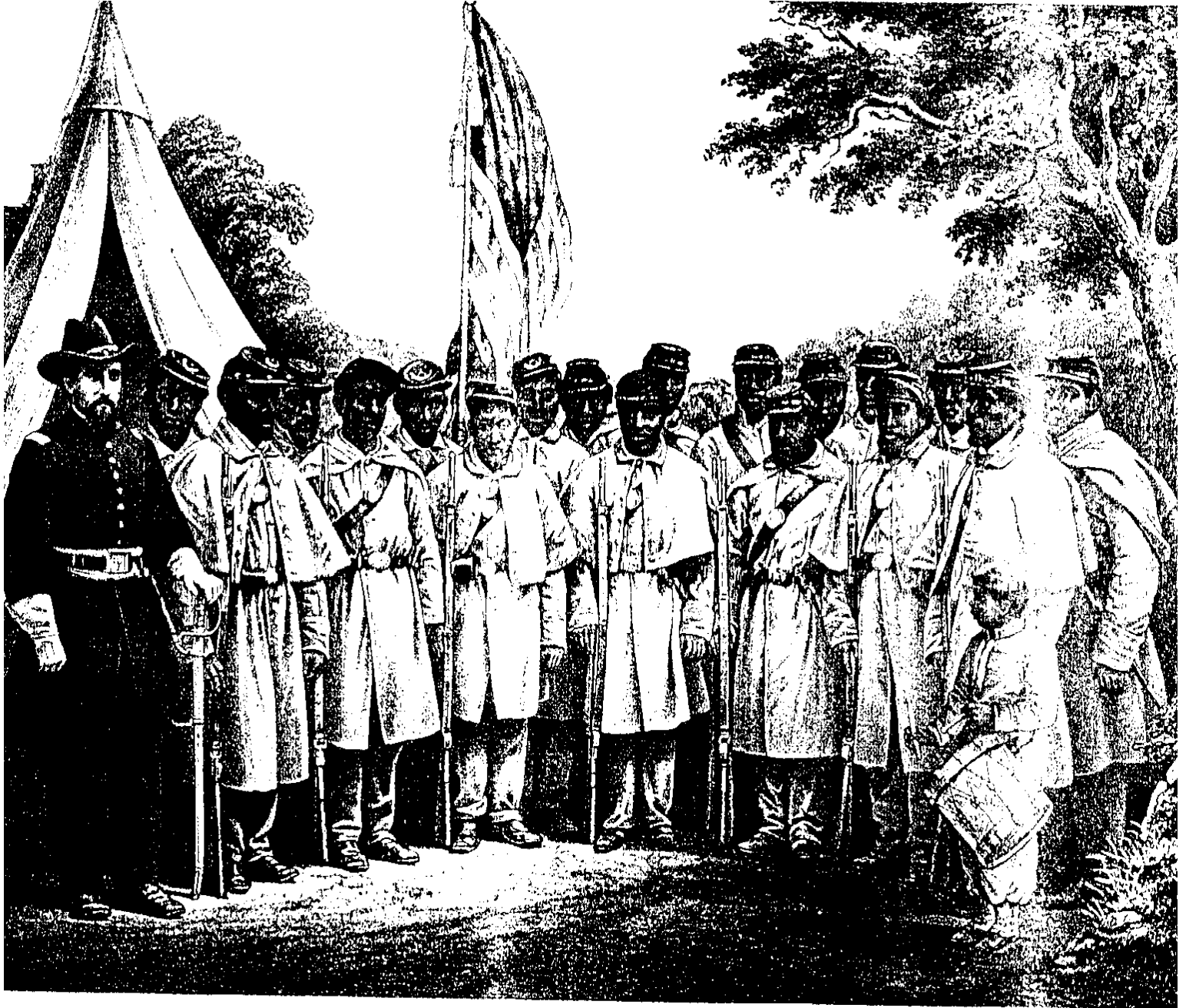
In this year, the Union army would begin to enlist black soldiers, to serve of course under white officers, of course at a lower rate of pay than white soldiers. Notice this unit's drummer, who was paid at a lower rate still,

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paid less for being not only black but also, indeed, only a little boy. A quite emancipated little boy.



COME AND JOIN US BROTHERS.

PUBLISHED BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR RECRUITING COLORED REGIMENTS

1210 CHESTNUT ST. PHILADELPHIA.

The lithograph which pictured this little drummer was based on a daguerreotype made indoors, next door to

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“Roadside”, the country home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) near Philadelphia.



This was a military training camp, on which people were preparing for the task of killing other people, and it was named “Camp [William Penn](#),” after a [Quaker](#) pacifist who was being alleged to have given up the wearing

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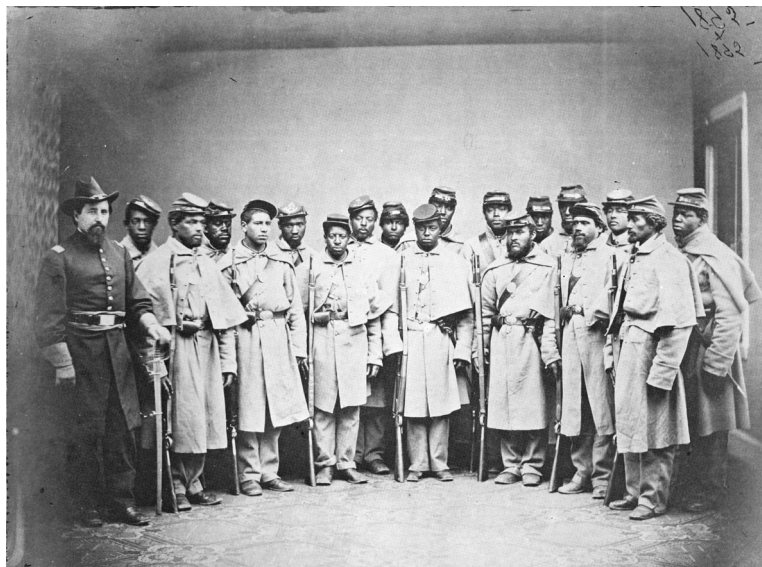
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of the sword of nobility, whose favorite punch line went:

It is not our ends that justify our means.



The image is a fraud. In the original, there is no flag waving bravely in the background. There is no tent. There is no greenery. There is no little drummer boy flanking to the right. Looking carefully at the fraud, we can see that the countenances of the black men have been sketched on, exaggerating their negroid features in such manner as to emphasize, that the important thing which we are to grasp about these Union soldiers, is their ethnicity.



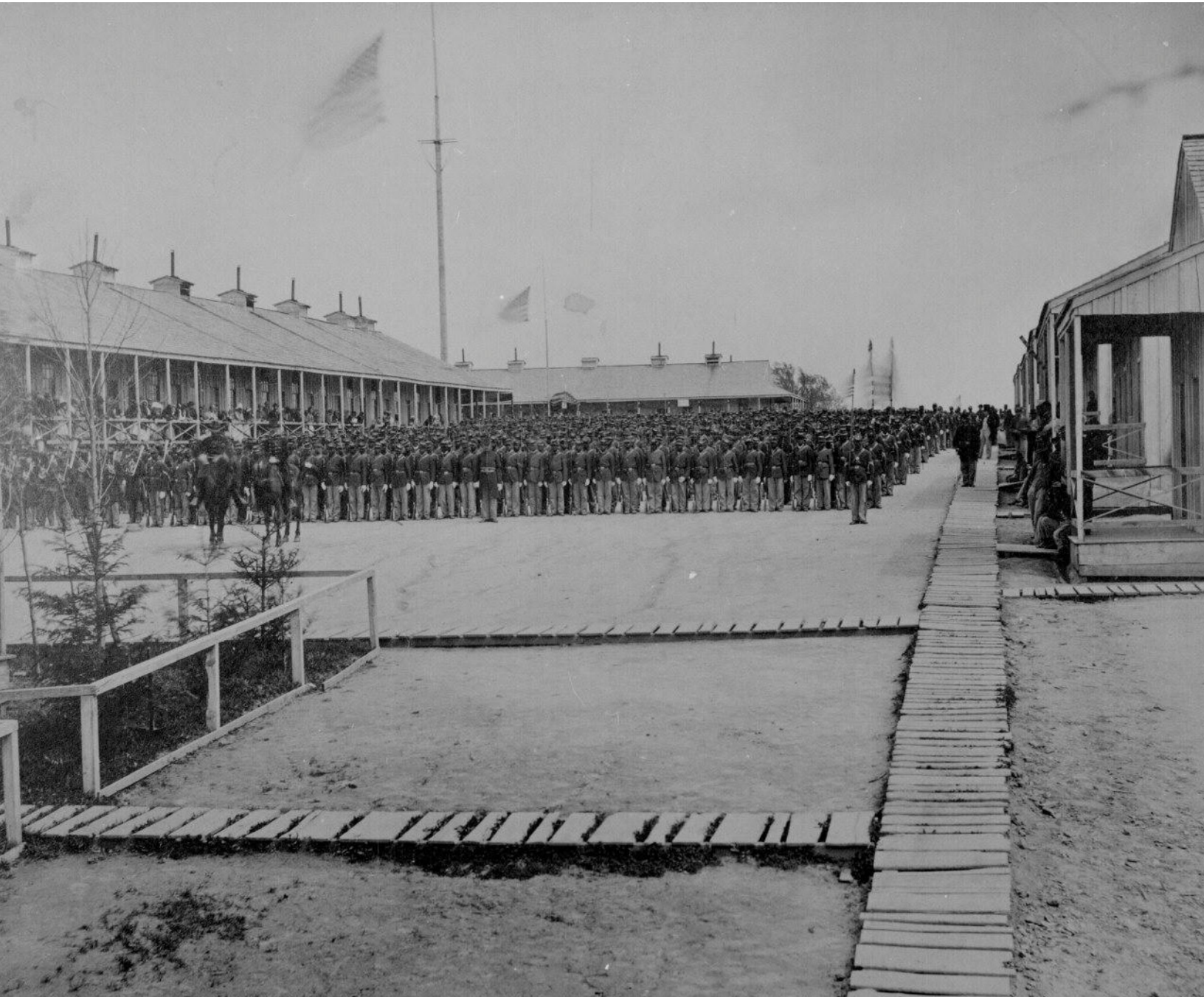
Here is a real photograph of Camp [William Penn](#). As you can clearly see, a waving flag looks quite a bit



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different in a real photograph of the period!



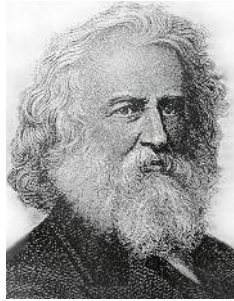
The irony of this seems rather heavy. [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) wrote, as his contribution to the recruitment campaign for the war (what if they gave a war and nobody came?), the immortal patriotic doggerel



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“one if by day, and two if by night.”¹⁵⁵



Frederick Douglass traveled through the cities of the North, recruiting black men to serve the Union Army. His son Lewis, age 22, and his son Charles Remond, age 19, were among the first to enlist. But the Union armies were routinely returning runaways to their owners. General McClellan ordered that slave rebellions were to be put down “with an iron hand.” But there were **so many** runaways. Finally, in Virginia, a Union general who believed in slavery, Benjamin Butler, began to declare them “contraband of war” and put them to work. Although Abraham Lincoln had twice disciplined Union generals who had freed slaves, putting slaves to work was something the President could accept, and the result was the Confiscation Act.

Colonel [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) described a celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation at Camp Saxton on one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, that had been occupied by Northern black

155. Well, at least that was the way Gerald Ford’s teleprompter had it, when he gave the keynote address at the Concord Bicentennial Celebration of April 19, 1975 at the Old North Bridge. And perhaps no poet has been parodied more: it’s all because, while he was at Bowdoin College in 1822 with author-to-be [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) (still [Hathorne](#)) and president-to-be [Franklin Pierce](#), he was accustomed to play whist without a helmet.

[Acting on a news story about ex-Presidents selling their autographs, I have sent a copy of this page to ex-President Gerald Rudolph Ford, along with a \$1.⁰⁰ bill and a reminder that in the era in question a dollar bill was worth almost precisely what a C-note is worth today, and asked if he could in good humor initial below:

X _____]

Longfellow’s thing about “one if by land, and two if by sea” was of course inaccurate in that the Atlantic Ocean didn’t ever get involved. The militia’s concern was whether the regular troops stabled in Boston were going to march down the Neck and through Roxbury, or first row themselves across the Charles River so they could march through Cambridge. In quoting Longfellow before the Concordians on April 19, 1975 as having said “one if by day, and two if by night,” Former President Gerald Rudolph Ford, Jr., seems to me to have been saying something very Thoreauvian to these people, he was almost saying:

Look, this history stuff you have been passing off is drivell, and besides, you aren’t at all like your ancestors. For one thing your ancestors didn’t worship themselves, the way you worship yourselves through your ancestors. For another thing, it’s way past time you people got busy and did something for others, rather than wanting other people to come around and make your bacon for you. Would you look at this dump, you’re turning Concord into a damned tourist trap! By creatively “misquoting” this poem, I’m going to show you how little it, and you, are worth in the great scheme of things.



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troops and were being protected by the ships of the US Navy.

The services began at half past eleven o'clock, with a prayer.... Then the President's Proclamation was read.... Then the colors were presented.... Then followed an incident so touching, so utterly unexpected and startling, that I can scarcely believe it on recalling, though it gave the keynote to the whole day. The very moment the speaker had ceased, and just as I took and waved the flag, which now for the first time meant anything to these poor people, there suddenly arose, close beside the platform, a strong male voice (but rather cracked and elderly), into which two women's voices instantly blended, singing as if by an impulse that could no more be repressed than the morning note of the song-sparrow. —

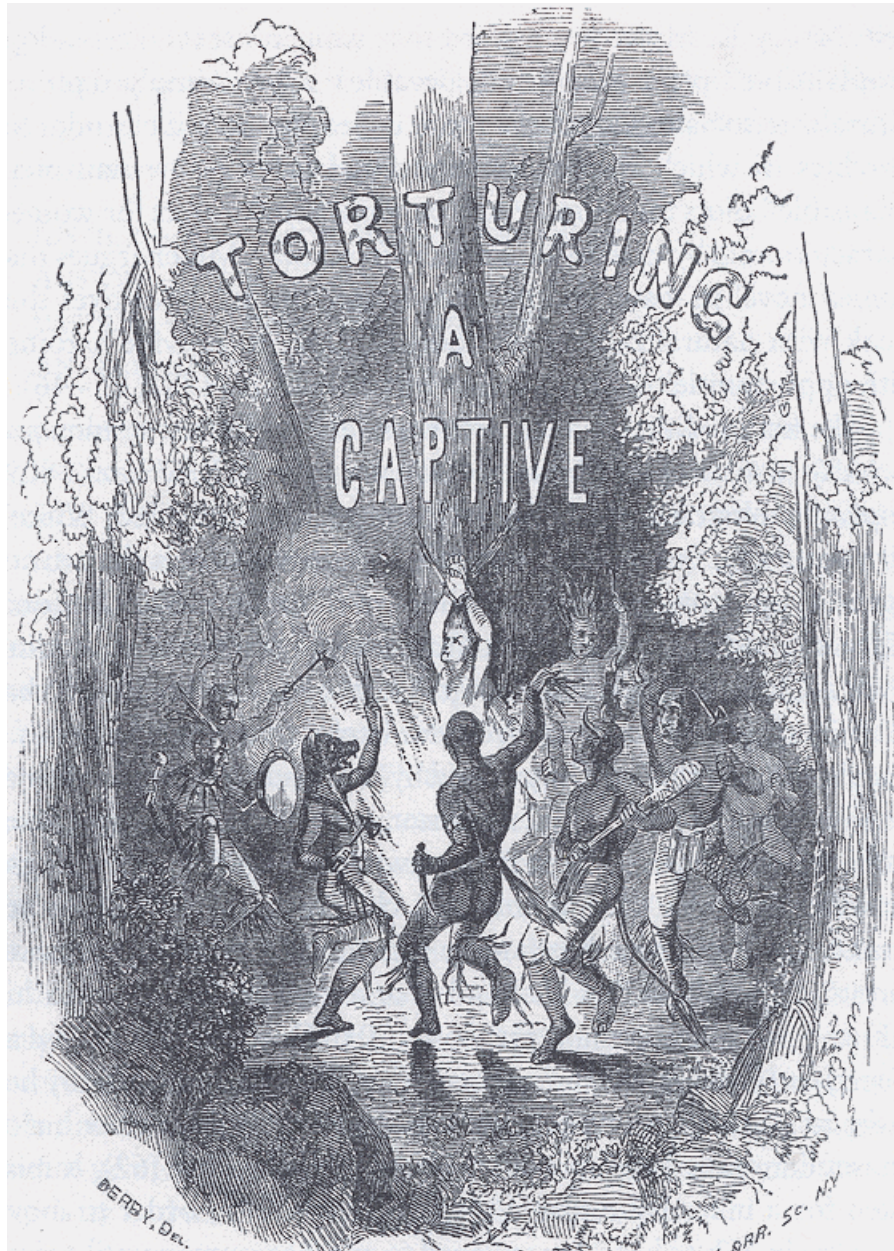
My Country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing!

After the ceremony the white officers visited a nearby plantation and viewed the instruments of [torture](#) still lying in the local slave-jail.

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In Beaufort, South Carolina, the Reverend Dr. [William Henry Brisbane](#), the Union officer in charge of auctioning off the lands and structures of the former slave plantations of the district, read the Emancipation Proclamation aloud to thousands of freedmen.

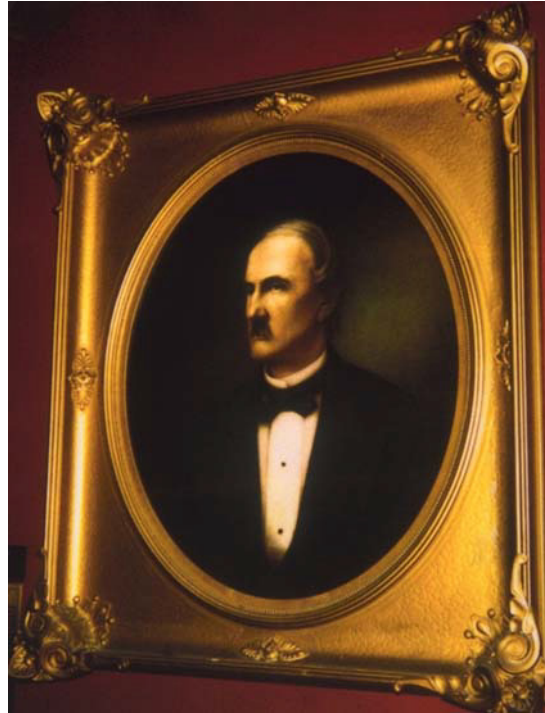
General John Pope sent General Henry Hastings Sibley and General Alfred Sully onto the Dakota reservation in [Minnesota](#), to hunt down the remaining tribespeople and get them off their land so it could be divided into



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farm acreage for white people.



(Early in this year, [Stephen Grover Cleveland](#), a future president, was 26 years of age and it was time to serve his country — so he hired a man to serve in his stead. He was just as much a draft dodger, in his era, as [William J. Clinton](#) and [George W. Bush](#), in our own era!)

January 14, 1863: The Final Report of the Board of Commissioners in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. An Act of April 16, 1862 (12 Stat. 376) had abolished slavery in the District of Columbia. Under Section 3 of the Act, the President had been authorized to appoint a board of three commissioners who were residents of the District, to examine petitions for compensation from former owners of freed slaves in the District. Pursuant to this act, Daniel R. Goodloe, Horatio King, and Samuel F. Vinton had been appointed; in June 1862, however, John M. Broadhead had been appointed to replace Mr. Milton. A clerk of the Circuit Court had served as clerk of this Board. Here is this Board of Commissioners's final report:

Office of the Commissioners under the Act of April 16, 1862, entitled "An Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia"

City Hall, Washington City, D. C. January 14th, 1862

The Commissioners appointed in pursuance of "An Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," approved April 16th, 1862, hereby in conformity with its provisions, present their Report:

The Commission, as originally constituted, met at the City Hall on the 28th day of April, by direction of the President, and proceeded to organize by the selection of William R. Woodward, Esq., for the office of the clerk. The Marshal of the District of Columbia was sent for, and promptly appointed a deputy to



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attend upon the Commission, and to execute its processes. A messenger was appointed from the necessity of the case, though not specially provided for by the Act, at a salary of sixty dollars per month. Public notice was given through the newspapers of the City of Washington that the Commission would meet daily, except Saturdays, in the City Hall for the reception and examination of Petitions for compensation, in which specific directions for drawing the same were given, as well as of the schedule required by the Act, to be filed with the Clerk of the Circuit Court. To facilitate the investigations under the Act, and as a matter of public convenience, a blank form for the Petitions was prepared by the Commissioners which was printed and sold by a publisher.

IN these preliminary arrangements for entering upon their labors, the Commissioners had the benefit of the legal learning and experience of the Hon. Samuel F. Vinton; but hardly were they completed when the relentless hand of death by a sudden stroke severed a connection which promised to be as useful to the public as it was agreeable to his colleagues. He died on Sunday, the eleventh day of May, after a brief illness. The vacancy thus created in the Board was filled by the appointment of John M. Brodhead, who entered upon the discharge of his duties on the fourteenth day of June.

By the terms of the Act the claimants for compensation were required to file their Petitions within three months from the date of its approval. This period expired on the fifteenth day of July. The whole number of Petitions presented during this time was nine hundred and sixty six; and the number of "persons held to service or labor" embraced in the Petitions, for whom compensation was claimed, is three thousand one hundred. In order to secure the Government against imposition, a complete list of the names of the Petitioners together with those of the servants claimed by them, was made out by order of the Commissioners and published in all the newspapers of the City, as a means of eliciting evidence to rebut claims founded in fraud, or emanating from persons whom the law designed to exclude on the ground of disloyalty. After a careful investigation they have reported favorably upon nine hundred and nine (909) entire petitions; they have rejected entirely thirty six Petitions and in part twenty one Petitions, for the reasons which will be found stated in their order. The whole number of servants for which compensation has been awarded is two thousand nine hundred and eighty nine; and the whole number of servants for whom compensation has been withheld is one hundred and eleven --- making a total of three thousand one hundred included in the nine hundred and sixty six Petitions.

At the threshold of their labors the Commissioners were impressed with the importance of having full information as to the value of slaves independently of that to be derived from the claimants and their witnesses. The law fixes the maximum average of value, within which limitation the Commissioners are required to "approve and apportion" the value in money of the several



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claims. There are a few persons, especially in a community like Washington, where slavery has been for many years an interest of comparatively trifling importance, who possess the knowledge and discrimination as to the value of slaves, which is necessary to a fast apportionment of compensation under the law. None of the Commissioners could lay claim to this species of information; and to supply it, they determined to summon to their aid an experienced dealer in slaves from Baltimore, Mr. B. M. Campbell, who was at the same time ignorant, in almost every instance, of the individuals upon whose claims he was called to pass judgement. His testimony accorded with that of others whose information in the premises was entitled to weight, that in the disturbed state of the Country, since the commencement of the war it would be difficult to assign value to slaves. The sales have been few, and generally under circumstances of pecuniary pressure which left no discretion with the seller.

Slaves in fact, cannot be said to have had a current saleable value since the commencement of the war while their intrinsic value on the sixteenth day of April, as determined by the undiminished value of the products of the sale, and the undiminished wages of labor, was not less than formerly. Indeed, in both these respects it was greater; since there has been a constant rise of prices, both of labor and of products. The minutes of evidence taken by the Commissioners furnish sufficient data to establish an actual value of slaves in many cases far greater than the allowance of compensation made by the law. Many families derived their chief, if not their sole support from the hire of their servants, while the others were saved a large annual expense by employing their servants at home. Yet, to make an actual appraisalment of three thousand slaves, upon data such as these facts furnish, and in the absence of a current saleable value, would have been an almost interminable labor; and the Commissioners felt that they could not fulfil the duty assigned to them within the time limited by law, by adopting that mode of valuation. Every appraisalment, whether of real or personal property, has reference, as well to current sales as to intrinsic value, the current sales furnishing a convenient standard by which to apportion the value of each object. But in the cases before them the Commissioners had no such standard; and therefore, as a means of arriving at a fair classification of the slaves, according to their intrinsic utility to their owners, and with a view to the completion of their labors within the time limited by law, they adopted the plan of fast classifying the slaves according to their value before the commencement of the war, when sales were frequent, and then of reducing these classifications to the average compensation allowed by law.

To prevent all misunderstanding it is stated distinctly, that the values assigned by the expert, Mr. Campbell, were by him referred back to the years 1859, 1860. It was not pretended by him, that slaves on the sixteenth day of April last were worth



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the prices named by him. On the contrary, when interrogated upon oath, he declared that there had been no sales, and that no saleable value existed since the early part of 1861. His books, exhibited to the Commissioners, show that from February 2d to May 18, 1861 his purchases amounted to thirty seven slaves, at an average cost of six hundred and thirty six dollars and seventy five cents. Of these four are described as children, but perhaps the greater portion of them were in the prime of life. Since May 1861 he had ceased to purchase as all communication with the South was then cut off.

Other witnesses who from time to time were called upon for their opinions, concurred entirely with Mr. Campell, as to the former and present value of slaves.

The classification thus made was necessary to a fair apportionment of compensation among the claimants, and the Commissioners are happy to state that nearly universal satisfaction has been given in this particular. But it must be apparent that the actual amount awarded is not dependent upon this classification. The law has given the Commissioners the discretion of fixing the average compensation at any sum not exceeding three hundred dollars. It became their duty to determine what average should be allowed; and upon the grounds stated above, that is to say, the enhanced, rather than diminished prices of labor and products, they decided upon the maximum named in the law. The classification would have answered equally well for any lower rate of compensation.

The table marked "A," herewith presented, embraces a complete list of the Petitions filed within the time limited by law, with the names of the claimants and their slaves, together with the compensation allowed for each slave and the aggregate to each claimant. In the table will be found also the claims which have been in whole or in part rejected for the reasons set opposite to them respectively, together with the names of the contestants where conflicting claims have been presented. There are four or five cases in which the Petitioners have assigned their claims, in part, the amount so assigned being awarded accordingly.

In a few instances the slaves were held for a term of years, or for the life of the owner. In such cases the allowances for compensation have been made in proportion to the length of the time and value of the servant. In like manner where agreements had been entered into with servants to emancipate them on the payment of a stipulated sum, the amount actually paid has been deducted from the compensation awarded. In several instances claimants held slaves as security for the payment of a specific sum of money. In such cases if the holder of the reversionary title also claims, the compensation has been apportioned between them. If the latter omitted to claim, the specific claimant above has been compensated to the extent of his debt. Where slaves have been left by Will or otherwise to a person for life, with remainder to children, the award has been made to the owner of the life estate, leaving it to the Orphan's Court to secure the interests of the children.



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No. 686 is the case of Mrs. Mary Throckmorton, who claims compensation for six slaves under the following circumstances as stated in her petition:

"That your Petitioner, the said Mary, acquired claim to the aforesaid service or labor of said slaves in manner following, viz., the said slaves were the property of her husband, John A. Throckmorton, late a citizen of the said District; that said John in May 1861 went to the state of Virginia, and engaged in the Military Service of the so called Confederate States, where he still remains, leaving said slaves under the care, and for the support of said Mary, and of Charles Throckmorton, the only child of said Mary and said John." And further, "that on the 1st of April 1860, the said John conveyed to Edward C. Carrington five of said slaves just named above, in trust to secure one Charles Miller the payment of a certain promissory note of that date for the sum of four hundred and forty dollars (\$440) which said note has since by payments at different times made by said Mary to said Miller, been fully satisfied, and the same with said trust deed been assigned by said Miller to Josiah Dent in trust for the sale and separate use of the said Mary."

Filed with the Petition are an assignment of the Deed of Trust by Miller to Mr. Dent for the benefit of Mrs. Throckmorton, together with the note for four hundred and forty dollars, with an acknowledgement of payment in full upon the back of it, and a deed of release from Mr. Carrington to Mrs. Throckmorton. There can therefore be no doubt about the facts involved. After hearing Counsel for the claimant, the Commissioners unanimously agree in the decision, that as regards the claim set up by Mrs. Throckmorton, as the wife and in sight of a man whom she acknowledges to be in the Rebel Military service, it has no foundation under the law; as the legal assignee of a loyal citizen, Mr. Charles Miller, the Commissioners decided that she is entitled to be paid out of the value set upon the slaves, the sum of four hundred and forty dollars, the amount of the note, together with interest from its date to the present time.

It is due to Mrs. Throckmorton to state that highly respectable witnesses testify to her loyalty, as well as to that of her only son, who is an officer in the Military Service of the Government. There are circumstances which may commend her claim to the liberality of Congress, but they confer no discretion upon the Commissioners to set aside the letter of the law in her behalf.

No. 179 is the Petition of Mrs. Sarah A. Abbott for compensation for one slave. She sets forth her title as follows:

"The said Leah Dorman was born in the service of my father, Dr. John Austin, who presented me with the said Leah Dorman who was in my service for seventeen years." The Commissioners in this case have evidence, and the fact is not denied by the Petitioner, that her husband Charles Abbott, abandoned his home in this District soon after the commencement of the Rebellion, and went to Richmond, or elsewhere within the Country occupied by the Rebels, in order to join his fortunes with theirs, and that he is now believed to be in the civil service of the ----- Rebel



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Government. It is not alleged by the Petitioner that the servant was secured to her separate use and benefit by an ante nuptial contract or otherwise; and it follows of course, that as a part of her personal property, the slave became her husbands at the moment of marriage. It is maintained by Mrs. Abbott's counsel that the servant was only loaned to the daughter by her father, and that no bill of sale or other conveyance was made; so that the title is still really in the father to whom the award might be equitably made. This assumption is rebutted by the Petition itself, which asserts a gift from the father; and apart from that assertion, seventeen years of undisputed possession would of itself give the title to the husband. The father has made no claim, and the Commissioners have decided that no compensation be allowed.

No. 912 is the Petition of Mrs. Susan W. Harris claiming compensation for four slaves. She states her title in the following words:

"The mother of these persons was purchased about the month of October in the year 1840 by Mr. Arnold Harris, the husband of your Petitioner. These persons were all born since their mother came into the possession of your Petitioner."

The witnesses called by the Petitioner stated in reply to a question by the Commissioners that Arnold Harris, the real owner of the slaves, "sympathises with the South, and now is in the South." It is also a matter of public notoriety that Mr. Harris went South sometime after the commencement of the Rebellion and took part in the same. The Commissioners therefore decide that there is no ground for this claim under the law.

No. 589 is the claim of Jacob Smoot for compensation for eight slaves. Mr. Smoot resided in Fairfax County, Virginia prior to the Rebellion, and in the fall of 1861 was induced to remove to the District of Columbia in consequence of the occupancy of his farm by the United States Troops, bringing his slaves with him. There is no question as to title but evidence was elicited on the investigation of the case, that Mr. Smoot voted for the Ordinance of Secession in May 1861 and being interrogated on oath, as the law specially authorizes, he admitted the fact! He makes the following statement in relation to his vote:

"I felt that I owed allegiance where I and my property were. There was a small majority I think for Secession as Lewinsville. I think so. All voted as they pleased there, and I was under no apprehension. There was no restraint, and no armed men there. I voted for Secession because I thought it would lead to a settlement. I had no idea of breaking up the Union and Government." Mr. Richard P. Jackson of Georgetown, a witness called by Mr. Smoot, testified: "I do not know that he voted for Secession. I advised him some time last Winter to take the Oath of Allegiance, that he was in the power of the Government, and if ever the Southern Confederacy gained supremacy his title to his property would not be effected. He then consented to take the Oath of Allegiance. He said he was between two fires. I told him it would do him no harm to take the oath. He thought it was



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best as the Army was on both sides of him, if he could preserve his property by remaining neutral. I could not discover any feeling either way." It seemed, however, that Mr. Smoot subsequently took the Oath of Allegiance before the Military Authorities of the Government prior to his removal to the District of Columbia.

The vote given by Mr. Smoot deliberately, and free from constraint, for secession, or the dissolution of the Government, the Commissioners cannot fail to regard as an overt act of "aid and comfort" to the Rebellion. It is therefore decided that he is not entitled to compensation under the law.

No. 386 is the case of Mr. Smith Minor, who claims compensation for seven slaves. His title to the slaves was satisfactorily established. At the commencement of the Rebellion he resided in Alexandria County, Virginia, and was induced to come to the District of Columbia with his slaves in September 1861, in consequence of the active hostilities which raged in his immediate neighborhood, and the waste of his farm, and entry to his house by the Rebel armies. Several highly respectable witnesses testify that Mr. Minor, prior to the day on which the vote was taken upon the Secession Ordinance, had been thoroughly in sympathy with the Union party; that he was prevailed on by some of his disloyal neighbors and relatives to cast his suffrage for that treasonable measure; and that immediately afterwards he expressed his profound regret for the act, and has ever since continued in faithful allegiance to, and sympathy with the cause of the Union. This is the testimony of his loyal neighbors who voted against the secession ordinance at the same time and place. In his affidavit which will accompany this report, Mr. Minor explains his conduct as follows:

"That at the election in Virginia in the month of May 1861, he gave his vote for the "Ordinance of Secession, so called under the following circumstances. That he was in favor of the Union of the States as they were, and at all times contended that no change ought to be made, and was and still is in favor thereof. But that without fully comprehending the actual condition of the case, and the effect and bearing of the vote, he was induced suddenly, on the day of the election, and while at the polls in said Alexandria County by representatives from persons and friends in whom he had been in the habit of putting trust to believe that said Ordinance had been passed by the Convention at Richmond, and that it was the duty of the people to affirm its acts; and the impression having obtained that the State was out of the Union by the act of the Convention, it was made to appear to him that said vote was to determine the friends and enemies of the state, and not the friends and enemies of Secession; that all who voted against the Ordinance were to be run out of the State, and made to forfeit their property, and be outcast from home, together with such other threats as induced fears of personal safety." Mr. Minor makes other averments in apology for his conduct, going to show that "he reluctantly yielded his convictions for the time being." The



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Counsel for the claimant, who was heard at length by the Commissioners, contended that the facts above stated taken in connection with the advanced age of the Petitioner, should excuse him from the operation of the letter of the law.

It seems to be a well stated principle of law that "threats and menaces which induce a fear of death or bodily harm" take away for that reason the guilt of many crimes and misdemeanors, at least before the human tribunal." Blackstones Com. vol. 4 page 30. "But then that fear which compels a man to do an unwarrantable action ought to be just and well grounded. Therefore in time of war or rebellion, a man may be justified in doing many treasonable acts by compulsion of the enemy or rebels which would admit of no excuse in time of peace." Ib. In a note to this passage Mr. Christian adds: "the fear of having houses burnt or goods spoiled is no excuse in the eye of the law for joining or marching with the rebels. The only force that doth excuse is a force upon the person, and a present fear of death; and this force and fear must continue all the time the party remains with the rebels. It is incumbent upon men, who make force their defence, to show an actual force, and that they joined for fear of death and withdrew as soon as they were able."

In the case of Mr. Minor it is not shown that he was in danger of personal harm. On the contrary, he admits that he was influenced by "friends in whom he had been in the habit of putting trust." His fears were remote, and contingent, and related rather to the preservation of his property, than to the safety of his person. The fact is proven by the witnesses summoned on the part of Mr. Minor, that at the election precinct where he gave his suffrage, about two thirds of the votes were cast against secession. Mr. George O. Wunder makes affidavit that there were armed men at the polls where Minor voted, and that he (Wunder) voted against the Ordinance "under apprehensions for his personal safety arising from threats made against himself and others that they should be hung by the next day at 10 O'clock." He also states "there was posted at the polls a squad of rebel cavalry who by threats endeavored to intimidate and influence the voters." The affidavit of Edward Ball states "that at the election in May 1861 at which the Ordinance of Secession was submitted, he gave his vote against said Ordinance under apprehensions for his personal safety. Threats of confiscation of property, of ejection from the state &c were made by citizens and soldiers. He felt as he has before expressed it, that he was about to sign his own death warrant --- nor did these apprehensions subside until the County was the day after the election occupied by the United States Troops." The affidavit of Mr. Henry Bailey is to the same effect with the above by Mr. Wunder and Mr. Ball. They present a much stronger case of compulsory threats than those referred to in the affidavit of Mr. Minor. Yet the affiants all voted against the Ordinance. Mr. Minor admits that he was persuaded to vote for it by his friends. It is to be observed also, the threats were directed at those who should vote against the Ordinance; so that



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the electors if terrified by them, had still the alternative of absenting themselves, without voting on either side. But being in the majority, they felt that though there was danger, they could not shrink from meeting it without justly incurring the charge of timidity, not to say cowardice.

In view of these facts and considerations the Commissioners after some hesitation and reluctance decide that they cannot award compensation to Mr. Minor under the Act of April 16th. The overt act of giving "aid and comfort" to the rebellion, though committed in a moment of weakness and apprehension of evil and against his uniform sentiments of loyalty before and since, lacks the essential ingredient of being the effect of compulsory threats of immediate personal violence, which alone can take it out of the general rule of law, which makes every rational being responsible for his actions. The Commissioners nevertheless feel that they cannot discharge their whole duty in the premises, without recommending the case of Mr. Minor to the charitable judgement of Congress, the tribunal which may without transcending its authority, investigate the rigor of the Emancipation Act in his behalf.

No. 523 is the Petition of Edward Owen "for himself and as trustee for Dr. J. Owen" claiming compensation for three slaves. The witness, John H. Peters, testified that "he knew the servants to be Petitioner's; that they were owned by Dr. Owen who sold them to Petitioner." The Petitioner being called and examined on oath admitted that he had no title nor trusteeship; that the Negroes belonged to Dr. J. Owen, who resides near Winchester, and who wrote to Petitioner that he might do as he pleased with them. It is clear therefore that the Petitioner has no shadow of claim for compensation under the law and none is allowed.

No. 600 is the Petition of Anna Cecil for compensation for nine slaves. It was filed by J. H. Peters, now deceased. The claimant failing to come forward to establish the same, notice was sent through the mail to her and to the witnesses, E. W. Cecil and J. Cornell, whose names are endorsed upon the Petition but no response has been made and the claim must therefore be regarded as abandoned, if it ever had any foundation in fact.

No. 601 is the Petition of Ann Blake for compensation for one slave. It was filed by J. H. Peters deceased. The Commissioners in this, as in other cases, endeavored to notify the claimant and her witness John Campbell through the mail, that her claim must be promptly attended to, but she has failed to come forward, and nothing has been heard from her. And of course nothing has been allowed.

There are a few other cases in which the claimants have failed to appear, or to produce the slaves for whom compensation is claimed. They are indicated under the head of "remarks" in the table. As it regards the question of loyalty there are but few instances in which the evidence was of a nature to warrant the Commissioners in withholding



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compensation. There are several cases in which there is strong evidence that the Petitioners entertained sympathies inconsistent with the idea of a true loyalty. But in the absence of proof that they have "borne arms against the government of the United States in the present Rebellion or in any way given aid or comfort thereto," the Commissioners have not felt warranted in withholding compensation where the law has in other respects been complied with. The words here cited from the Act are contained in the Proviso in the third section, the object of which is to declare who shall not receive compensation. They must therefore be regarded as intended to explain and define the merely descriptive words contained in the second section. These latter words are as follows: "that all persons loyal to the United States holding claims to service or labor against persons discharged there from by this Act, may &c."

The words of the Proviso to the third section are almost identical with those of the Constitution which define treason. The third section of the third article declares that "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in Open Court." It is also true that the "forfeiture" provided for in the Constitution as one of the punishments of treason is similar in its effects to the exclusion from compensation provided for by the Act of Emancipation. Under such circumstances the Commissioners have felt bound to be governed by the general principles of construction applied by the Courts of this Country to the third section of the third article of the Constitution, and by the English Courts to the Statute of Treason. It is to be remarked, also, that this rule for the interpretation of the Emancipation Act, is entirely consistent with the Constitution itself, while a different one which should entirely confiscate the property of a citizen as a punishment for his unpatriotic sentiments would be inconsistent with it.

The three cases of this kind in which the evidence of unpatriotic or disloyal sympathies is most manifest, are those of ladies advanced in years. They were required like all other Petitioners to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to produce two witnesses to attest their loyalty. The law being thus complied with, and in the absence of any evidence that they had given "aid and comfort" to the Rebellion, the Commissioners have had no alternative but to make them their proportionate allowance of compensation.

By the terms of the Act of Emancipation every slave held to service in the District of Columbia was set free on the 16th day of April, and ceased to be under the control of his former master. Most of them immediately left their homes, and sought employment from others; many of them left the District of Columbia to join the service of Officers of the Army or to go North. Under such circumstances it would be manifestly unjust to withhold compensation on account of the inability of the claimant to produce the servant before the Commissioners. They



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have therefore just required an oath from the claimant as to his inability to produce his servants and that he had used due diligence in his efforts to find them, and then received the testimony of competent witnesses as to the age, size, complexion, health and qualifications of such absent servants, and have appraised them upon the description thus furnished, always however, as a security against imposition, and as an incitement to the claimants to use due diligence, abated something from the appraisal which would be just, if the servants were present and corresponded with the description. The same rule has been applied to the cases of slaves who have died since the passage of the Act.

Several claims have been put in for slaves who absconded prior to the 16th of April 1862. In these cases both the claimants and the slaves were interested in favor of a construction of the Act which would entitle the owner to compensation. In some instances the fugitives came back in order to avail themselves of the benefit of the Act. But in others this was not the case. The Commissioners after a careful investigation, have decided that where the owner of the fugitive could give evidence that he had used ordinary diligence to recover his slave, and where the lapse of time has raised no presumption of death or abandonment, compensation may be allowed.

It is a well settled principle of law in the slave holding states that a slave cannot acquire a residence without the consent of the owner, actual or implied. The home of a fugitive slave therefore is in contemplation of the laws recognizing slavery, the home of his master, or that in which his master had placed him. The decisions on this point in the Courts of the slave states are numerous, and are paralleled to those of the English and American Courts as to the domicile of the wife, which is that of the husband, even although her actual residence is different from his. It would seem to follow from this state of things, that in point of law the fugitives from the District of Columbia whose legal domicile is here, were set free by the Emancipation Act of April 16th, and that the owners have no longer any right to recover them under the law for the return of fugitives from labor. The Commissioners will not cumber their report by the citation of authorities on these points, and content themselves with stating the principles on which they have acted.

But if the fugitives were made free by the Emancipation Act, it would seem to result, as a matter of course, that the owners are entitled to compensation; and on this ground compensation has been awarded in several instances, for fugitives under the limitations above stated. The allowance of compensation for fugitive slaves whose actual residence and existence is not known as a fact, is based on the legal presumption familiar to the courts of this county and of England that when the existence of a person, a personal relation, or a state of things is once established by proof, the law presumes that the person, relation or state of things continues to exist as before, till the



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contrary is shown or till a different presumption is raised from the nature of the subject in question. Thus, where the issue is, upon the life or death of a person, once shown to have been living, the burden of proof lies upon the party who asserts the death. But after the lapse of seven years, without intelligence concerning the person, the presumption of life ceases, and the burden of proof is devolved on the other party. Greenleafs evidence vol. I page 48.

On this rule of evidence the most sacred rights of men are made to turn everyday in the Courts of law; and the Commissioners feel that they have no right to exclude it in the adjudication of claims under the Emancipation Act. They have however allowed no claim where the slave had been absent longer than two years or where had not been heard from longer than within a few months. The effect of a liberal construction of the Act in this and the other respects referred to above, has been to extend its benefits to several slaves and their owners who though within its equity, would be excluded by a narrow adherence to the letter. The Commissioners are warranted in acting upon this equitable rule by the highest legal authority; but one citation from Chancellor Kent will suffice: — "statutes" he says, "that are remedial, and not penal, are to receive an equitable interpretation, by which the letter of the act is sometimes restrained and sometimes enlarged, so as more effectually to meet the beneficent and in view, and prevent a failure of the object." So say all the Authorities.



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December 18, Monday: As the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 had not even ostensibly ended slavery in America, having been a mere temporary Civil War martial law measure applying only to a restricted group with a restricted geographical area, at this point a XIIIth Amendment to [the federal Constitution](#) was proclaimed by Secretary of State William H. Seward to have been adopted, granting to the US Congress whatever authority it required to eventually enact legislation as part of Reconstruction to outlaw and proscribe the practices of human enslavement in the United States of America, thus effectively denying under our separation-of-powers doctrine as well as under our *expressio-unius-est-exclusio-alterius*¹⁵⁶ legal principle such authority to the executive and judicial branches of the government.¹⁵⁷ This amendment rendered the Emancipation Proclamation, therefore, unconstitutional.¹⁵⁸ If it had not ceased its effectiveness prior to this date, it ceased it as of this date. There could never again be such an executive pronouncement. Actual enslavements would continue, of course, for there would be no penalty for failing to inform one's slave (as happened for instance in regions of East Texas), and as persons would still be being for many decades bought and sold openly in such venues as the Los Angeles market.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted,¹⁵⁹ shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.¹⁶⁰

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.¹⁶¹

156. One of the bedrock understandings of American law has ever been the legal principle that anytime one and only one thing is expressly mentioned in an enactment, implicitly all other things are being excluded: "*expressio unius est exclusio alterius*."

157. This was not legislation outlawing slavery, but permission to enact such legislation. Actually, the federal congress would never get around to this. As far as our federal government is concerned, human enslavement is just as legal in 1997 as it had been in 1797. The only function possessed by the words of the amendment as above is to intercept and prevent our thought.

158. The Emancipation Proclamation had set up an elaborate procedure by which slaves who performed work for the federal army would receive a [manumission](#) document, but the Executive branch of the federal government had never in fact implemented any such freedom program, and therefore no such documents had ever been granted. Had the administrative procedure actually been implemented, and had such administrative freedom documents actually been granted, they would have been granted by the Executive branch of the federal government and would therefore at this point have been rendered null and void by this XIIIth Amendment, since it assigned such power exclusively to the Legislative branch of the federal government.

159. We may note that even had this amendment been implemented by a positive federal criminal statute (which it to date has not since the constructs deployed, "slavery" and "involuntary servitude," have never been defined either by statutory definition or as a result of the piling up of case law and precedent), there can never be any federal prohibition of enslavement that is accomplished by duly constituted authority after due process of law when said enslavement is ostensibly a punishment for crime.

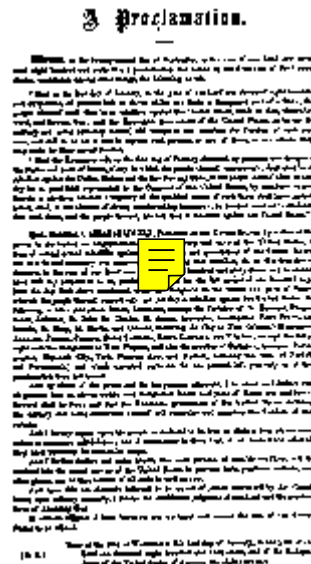
160. We may note that the federal government is specifically not empowered here to punish the crimes of US citizens, if these crimes are committed in, say, Guatemala. Thus if a US citizen commits child molestation in Guatemala and Guatemala law permits child molestation, the US citizen cannot be prosecuted in a US court, and likewise, if a US citizen enslaves another US citizen while present not in the United States of America or Guam or Puerto Rico, but instead in, say, the Shah's Iran, since Iran is allegedly not a place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, that enslavement of one US citizen by another would be perfectly OK according to our constitution.

161. The states of the south were allowed back into the federal union before any such law was enacted, and allowing them back into the federal union so altered the voting parameters of the federal congress that subsequent enactment of any such federal criminal statute against human enslavement became quite impossible.



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I need for you to notice how different the wording of this first clause was, from what would be the wording of the first clause of the XIXth Amendment in 1920 when it would extend the voting privilege to American adult female citizens not guilty of crime: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” One would have supposed that this XIIIth amendment extending the rights of citizenship to Americans of color would have been similarly worded, one would have supposed that such an amendment would have been declaring something as emphatic and noteworthy as “The rights of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” But no, words that positive and emphatic were not employed. Instead, a carefully entirely negative wording was employed. Was this the fault of some Washington clerk unfamiliar with the English language? No. Weasel words were deliberately being chosen, to pull the wool over your eyes.

Thus even to this date in the 21st Century, despite everything that has been said about our having “outlawed slavery,” there is no federal criminality attached to the enslavement of humans, nor has there ever come to be any formal legal definition of what it is that enslavement or involuntary servitude might consist in.¹⁶²

Nowhere, for instance specifically, nowhere in the series of federal enactments that are known to the general public as “Fugitive Slave Laws” (that is only a popular name, and does not appear in the actual legislation as written) will you find any mention of slavery. It’s not there. Such federal legislation speaks only of “persons bound to service,” a pot category which primarily includes apprentices and other contract laborers, with—wink wink, nudge nudge—runaway slaves merely “understood” to be implicitly included.

Please make careful note of the fact that the proscription of a thing we term “slavery” in the XIIIth Amendment to the US Constitution as of 1865 happens actually to be **the very first reference** to any such construct as

162. There is a specific disqualification in regard to a topic near and dear to many a heart, to wit, the military draft. Since the military draft was in existence prior to this XIIIth Amendment, and since the amendment does not specifically outlaw the military draft, it has always been presumed in our courts that the military draft cannot be construed to amount to either enslavement or involuntary servitude. —It is a well established, standard, even non-controversial judicial parameter, that an existing practice that is well known to legislators is simply **not** prohibited by their legislation, unless in their legislation they **specifically** mention it as prohibited.



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“slave” or “slavery” or “enslavement” in the entire corpus of federal legislation and jurisprudence — at no prior point had such a construct been formally and officially “written down on paper” as part of our structure of laws at the federal level. One might have supposed that, having written such a term into our foundational document, the Constitution of the United States of America, by way of a formal amendment, and, having stipulated in Clause 2 of that Amendment XIII that the federal legislature was empowered to enact such laws as to make this proscription effective, then the very first thing which we would have accomplished was, we would have arrived at a formal definition of this construct “slavery” and of this construct “involuntary servitude.” We would have enacted legislation stating precisely what constituted this construct “slavery” and precisely what constituted this construct “involuntary servitude” which had just been proscribed. —But, we didn’t do that. It’s precisely what we did not do. Instead what we did was, we extended the previous “gag rule,” which had quite prevented debate on the subject in the US House of Representatives for a number of decades, making this “gag rule” apply to our entire national life. Whatever we did at the federal level, whatever we did at the state level, whatever we did at the local level, there was one thing we might **never** do: no one could in the future legitimately deploy such a construct as “slavery” to describe any official doing. This gag rule effectively made it impossible for any of us in the United States of America to **know** whether or not slavery had effectively been ended. Very frequently I hear citizens claiming that we have “outlawed slavery.”

To understand what they mean, it would seem necessary to parse this interesting term “outlawed” which arises so frequently in such a context. What does such a term mean to such a speaker, when in point of fact no US citizen has ever been punished, or sentenced, or found guilty, or prosecuted, or arraigned, or even so much as taken under arrest, charged with a crime of enslavement? One very well known usage came while President Ronald Reagan was preparing for one of his neat Saturday radio broadcasts from his ranch in California, while the technicians were doing what they call a “voice check” to make sure that all the mikes were turned on and all the wire connections snug. Reagan said into an open mike, that is, one which turned out to be on the air nationwide: “My fellow Americans, I am pleased to tell you I have signed legislation to outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.” I gather that at a minimum, what must be meant by this construct “outlawed slavery” in the common belief “We must have outlawed slavery” is that we must have criminalized such a thing as one citizen of the US enslaving another citizen of the US while on US soil. To criminalize some conduct, it is necessary to define an offense of enslavement and make that offense be prohibited behavior under the US criminal code. It seems most interesting to me that the US Congress, despite the permissions given to it in 1865 in the 2d clause of the XIIIth Amendment to the federal constitution, the implementation clause, has never done anything even remotely approaching that. Our legal system literally has no awareness of slavery. No federal judge **has** ever taken any situation whatever, and interpreted that situation as being a proscribed situation of enslavement. No federal judge **could** ever take any such situation whatever, and interpret it as a proscribed enslavement. The groundwork for this simply is not present, simply has not been put into place. There’s no there there. I would think that it would be one prime objective of our public educational system, to make certain that all Americans are well aware of such a fact as this one, that although there are federal laws against kidnapping which proscribe and punish a violent taking from one place to another, and that although there are federal laws against murder which proscribe and punish an unjustified taking of human life, there are no federal laws against an enslavement even when it takes place on US soil, so long as said enslavement 1.) does not deprive its victim of life itself, thus constituting in addition murder, and so long as 2.) this is not initiated by a violent removal of the person from one place to another, thus constituting in addition kidnapping. —Would you disagree?

Why do you suppose it would be that the XIIIth Amendment contained the interesting limiting clause “within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” making it inapplicable in locations outside the United States which are not subject to our jurisdiction? The reason is, the only limitations on the power of the federal government of the USA that are contained in the Constitution as its foundational document are those limiting its power in internal affairs, that is to say,



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in relation to the pre-existent state governments, and in relation to the specified individual rights of citizens. Thus, when this amendment was added to the Constitution, granting to the federal congress a new authority to enact legislation against human enslavement within the territories of the respective states of the federal union, but not granting the federal congress power to enact such legislation against the enslavement of American citizens **abroad**, this was because any such granting of power would have added to the authorities of the legislative arm by subtracting from those of the executive. The amendment did not need to reassign a power already inhering perfectly in the legislative branch of the federal government. Not only did the federal government already possess complete authority to take action in regard to any discovered cases of enslavement of American citizens abroad, it had already in at least one circumstance exercised that authority.¹⁶³

Before the civil war and this amendment to the US Constitution, the American whites had arranged that although there would be slavery in the USA, it would not apply to them, merely to somebody other than them. They arranged for their own safety by implementing a color convention, in accordance with which any degree of blackness of skin was going to equate to slavery. This led initially to Americans with only the lightest tinge of color being defined as vulnerable to enslavement, and culminated, in the Dred Scott decision of the US Supreme Court, with the declaration that no person of color had ever had (historically, of course, this was a factual falsehood), had, or would ever have any citizenship rights which any white American citizen would be obliged to respect. The XIIIth Amendment did not change this “even one drop” concept. Just as before the amendment, slavery and negritude were equated. However, after the amendment, this worked to the disadvantage of the whites, rather than to their advantage, for the federal government now insists that what laws exist against enslavement can be considered to protect only persons of color: since slavery is something which only happens to persons of color, therefore, whatever happens to a white person in life, whatever victimizations they suffer, it cannot be considered that they are enslaved.

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PEONAGE




Well, but Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was very, very impressed by the bells pealing on this day, and wrote the following poem of praise to God:

Laus Deo

It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells!
Every stroke exulting tells
Of the burial hour of crime.
Loud and long, that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear
Of Eternity and Time!

Let us kneel:
God's own voice is in that peal,

163. We were so eager to get hostile that we actually dispatched a punitive naval expedition from New-York harbor on May 20, 1815  to retrieve or take vengeance for a supposed American supposedly enslaved by the “[Barbary pirates](#)” of the north coast of Africa, without first having made sure what the man's name really was, or that he actually was an American citizen, or even that indeed he had been enslaved. Even today our historians aren't sure of the man in question's name or nationality, or of whether he was anything other than a manipulative homosexual lover of a local bey. As in the case of our recent attack on Iraq, we perceived no need to allow any facts to get in our way.

HDT

WHAT?

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And this spot is holy ground.
Lord, forgive us! What are we
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard this sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake He has spoken;
He has smitten with His thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken!

Loud and long
Lift the old exulting song;
Sing with Miriam by the sea,
He has cast the mighty down;
Horse and rider sink and drown;
'He hath triumphed gloriously!'

Did we dare,
In our agony of prayer,
Ask for more than He has done?
When was ever His right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale,
Ancient myth and song and tale,
In this wonder of our days
When the cruel rod of war
Blossoms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of man is praise!

Blotted out!
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

Ring and swing,
Bells of joy! On morning's wing
Sound the song of praise abroad!
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nations that He reigns,
Who alone is Lord and God!



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1866

April 19, Thursday: The African-Americans of [Washington DC](#), who had been granted their [manumission](#) papers during the US Civil War (paid for by the federal government to their local owners, at \$300 per capita — there is a formal resemblance here to assigning the life insurance benefits of a murdered person to the murderer as a matter of right), celebrated the general abolition of slavery in the USA. A procession of 4,000 to 5,000 assembled outside The [White House](#) to be addressed by, of all people, Andrew Johnson (the President who kept pet mice, a bitterly prejudiced man, who despite everything that Frederick Douglass had been able to say to him, had just attempted to veto the Civil Rights Act). Marching past 10,000 cheering spectators, the procession, led by two black regiments, proceeded up Pennsylvania Avenue to Franklin Square for religious services and speeches by other prominent politicians. A sign on top of the speaker's platform read: "We have received our civil rights. Give us the right of suffrage and the work is done."

Was Douglass present?

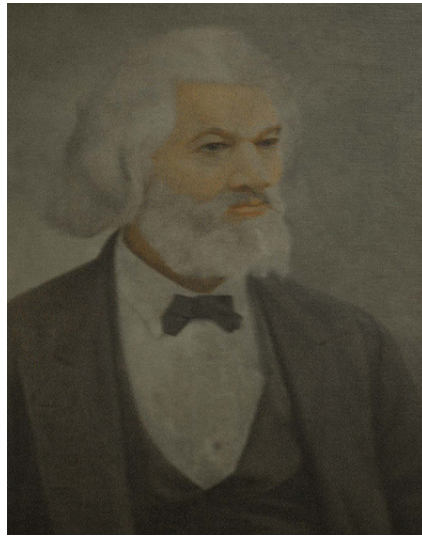


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1883

April: Frederick Douglass delivered an address upon the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the granting of [manumission](#) papers to the slaves within the District of Columbia.



August 1, Wednesday: In the years following the Civil War, the fervor for Emancipation Day in [New Bedford](#) had begun to dim. On this particular anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, when there was an observance featuring a parade and a barbecue, the weather did not hold: when the heavens opened, the barbecue pits, where a 520-pound steer, 4 pigs, 24 chickens, and assorted other meats were being prepared to feed the crowd, were inundated. This would be pretty much the end of the celebration of Emancipation Day in New Bedford. Emancipation had been rained out.



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1899

July 29: The [New Bedford Evening Standard](#) noted that although “once in a while, a party of some sort was arranged on August 1, the animated scenes which were once the custom return now only as memories.”



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20TH CENTURY

1943

April 13, Tuesday: On the 200th anniversary of the birth of [Thomas Jefferson](#), before an assembly of some 5,000 mostly white citizens, [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) dedicated a monumental white “Jefferson Memorial” erection in [Washington DC](#) in honor of the supposed founding father of the Democratic Party, to match the already-extant Lincoln Memorial honoring the supposed founding father of the Republican Party. The brochure distributed on that day indicated that the inscriptions placed upon the walls of this memorial had been selected by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Committee “from a wide variety” of Jefferson’s “writings on freedom, slavery, education and government.” Actually this had been perpetrated by no “committee,” but by Saul Padover, assistant to FDR’s Secretary of the Interior. It was he who had selected and edited those quotes,



in 1942 in his adulatory biography of Jefferson, that would be used on the walls of the new commemorative edifice. He had done this in order to mimic the writing-on-the-walls style found in the already-extant Lincoln Memorial that was honoring the GOP. But while the Lincoln thing had set out the Gettysburg Address and the 2nd Inaugural in their entireties, this Jefferson thing was merely to juxtapose sentence fragments from widely scattered writings, to distort his mentation and obfuscate his politics. One of the panels misquoted from the preamble and conclusion of the [Declaration of Independence](#) by omitting five words. The architect requested the omissions so the text would fit better! Surely this memorable text should not be altered for so petty a reason. We know Jefferson would not have approved, for whenever he sent to his correspondents a copy of the



Declaration, which was early and often, he had taken pains to show what the Continental Congress had added



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to “his” draft and what it had cut from “his” draft. The altered text¹⁶⁴ says:

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN. WE ... SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE, THAT THESE COLONIES ARE AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES... AND FOR THE SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARATION, WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES, AND OUR SACRED HONOUR.

- In the above “that” has been eliminated from before “among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” without ellipsis, unnecessarily making Jefferson seem an awkward writer unable to construct a proper parallelism.
- In the above, the simple omission of a whole word (elision), of “United” from before “Colonies,” seems to insinuate that it had been 13 separate states that had declared independence, rather than a collective body for mutual governance, and that after the formation of a formal federal union these 13 states were to remain separate. In other words, the elision without ellipsis is such as to beg the states’-rights question.
- In the above, the omission without ellipsis of “to each other” from “We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour” removes a redundancy the force of which had been to emphasize that the 56 signers of the document were aware that, were they somehow to fail to hang together, were some of them to break faith in an effort to cut a separate deal with the forces

Another of the panels, on religious freedom, strung together three quotes from the “Act for Religious Freedom” enacted in Virginia in 1779 by its Assembly, and tacked on a sentence from Jefferson’s private correspondence in the following decade with James Madison, “I know but one code of morality for men whether acting singly or collectively,” ripping that final sentence out of its context. He and Madison had been corresponding about whether institutions determine our behavior, and if so, how then to shape those institutions. In this monumental context of religious freedom, subjected to mentions of “Almighty God” and “the Holy Author of our freedom,” the snippet is inserted in order falsely to suggest that Jefferson had held to some sort of morality of obedience to divine dictate — when actually he had been a believer in the efficacy of human reason in matters moral rather than any heeder of divine authority. In other words, this was a sop to the Bible-thumpers.

Another of the panels offered a single extended quotation from a letter Jefferson had written in 1816, on the need to change institutions “to keep pace with the times.” It is innocuous, it is merely trite.

Another of the panels, which the National Park Service brochure describes as “devoted to his ideas on freedom of the body and to his beliefs in the necessity of educating the masses of the people,” amounts to a hodge-podge of quotes from diverse Jefferson materials prepared during widely different epochs of his life. The materials are strung together in such manner as to create the false impression that their author had been very nearly an

164. I have here set these wall quotes in a computer font called “Comic,” because I don’t have a font called “Tragic.”



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abolitionist:

GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE GAVE US LIBERTY. CAN THE LIBERTIES OF A NATION BE SECURE WHEN WE HAVE REMOVED A CONVICTION THAT THESE LIBERTIES ARE THE GIFT OF GOD? INDEED I TREMBLE FOR MY COUNTRY WHEN I REFLECT THAT GOD IS JUST, THAT HIS JUSTICE CANNOT SLEEP FOREVER. COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS DESPOTISM. NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE. ESTABLISH THE LAW FOR EDUCATING THE COMMON PEOPLE. THIS IT IS THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE TO EFFECT AND ON A GENERAL PLAN.



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When the snippets are returned to their contexts, they reveal something quite different:



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- The first sentence fragment, “[THE] GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE GAVE US LIBERTY [AT THE SAME TIME],” is something that Saul Padover extracted from the conclusion of A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA, a pamphlet Jefferson had written in 1774, but in this originaive context it followed a sentence objecting to taxes imposed on the colonies by the mother country. By grafting this fragment about tax matters into a new context of remarks about slavemasters and their human property, the monument suggests that Jefferson had been writing about the rights of his [slaves](#), where such an imputation is entirely false.
- The question “CAN THE LIBERTIES OF A NATION BE SECURE WHEN WE HAVE REMOVED A CONVICTION THAT THESE LIBERTIES ARE THE GIFT OF GOD?” and the following two sentences, Padover extracted from a long paragraph headed “Manners” in Jefferson’s 1782 NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. This paragraph had indeed treated of human enslavement — but for the wall of the monument the phrases were being tendentiously rearranged to have a very different impact on the viewer. In context Jefferson has been lamenting the harm that the institution of human enslavement was having, not on [slaves](#), but on their masters. Poor white men, their servants were such a burden upon them! The necessity for service carried with it the risk of transforming these decent, caring recipients of service, in their starched shirts, “into despots.” The impact on the owned hands, by way of radical contrast, was seen as merely that of transforming them “into enemies,” rendering them hostile to the master class and a threat to the safety of the master class. Jefferson had gone on to finish one of these sentences with a direct reference to servile insurrection: “that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events.” Jefferson’s question above had allowing the slavemasters to continue to presume that liberty was theirs to either bestow or remove, while referring to the problem in terms of the white man’s burden.
- In its original context, the remark “COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS DESPOTISM” had packed a punch that could not be read off the walls of a public edifice of our national capital:

THERE MUST DOUBTLESS BE AN UNHAPPY INFLUENCE ON THE MANNERS OF OUR PEOPLE PRODUCED BY THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY AMONG US. THE WHOLE COMMERCE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE IS A PERPETUAL EXERCISE OF THE MOST BOISTEROUS PASSIONS, THE MOST UNREMITTING DESPOTISM ON THE ONE PART, AND DEGRADING SUBMISSIONS ON THE OTHER. OUR CHILDREN SEE THIS, AND LEARN TO IMITATE IT ... AND THUS NURSED, EDUCATED AND DAILY EXERCISED IN TYRANNY, CANNOT BUT BE STAMPED BY IT WITH ODIOS PECULIARITIES. THE MAN MUST BE A PRODIGY WHO CAN RETAIN HIS MANNERS AND MORALS UNDEPRAVED BY SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

Especially now that we know that Jefferson himself had been unable to keep his pecker in his pants while he was around his pretty young house [slaves](#), it is fortunate that such musings had in 1943 been elided or repurposed.

- The final “NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE” is from Jefferson’s AUTOBIOGRAPHY of 1821. The difficulty is not so much that two different writings from two different periods have been juxtaposed without a ligature, but that in the original context Jefferson is saying something which this Committee would not have been able to scrawl on a public restroom wall, let alone on this wall of white stone. Let us allow Jefferson to complete his thought:

NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE. NOR IS IT LESS CERTAIN THAT THE TWO RACES, EQUALLY FREE, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT. NATURE, HABIT, OPINION HAS DRAWN INDELIBLE LINES OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEM.

In other words, apartheid.



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Conor Cruise O'Brien's present analysis is:

In short, these people are to be free, and then deported. Jefferson's teaching on that matter is quite clear and often repeated. Those who edited that inscription on behalf of the memorial commission must have known what they were doing when they wrenched that resounding sentence from the AUTOBIOGRAPHY out of the context that so drastically qualifies its meaning. The distortion by suppression has to be deliberate. In that inscription on the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#), the liberal-Jeffersonian lie about Jefferson's position on liberty and slavery assumes literally monumental proportions.

The final two sentences of the writing on the white walls, sentences which occurred in 1786 letters to Jefferson's mentor George Wythe and to George Washington, now make it appear to Washington's tourist throngs as if Jefferson had been willing to include blacks among "the common people" of America, a people to be educated out of their sloth and ignorance and dangerousness. However, Jefferson never offered education to any of his [slaves](#), even those who were his own children. When Thaddeus Kosciuszko had left a will making Jefferson the executor of his American estate, that document required Jefferson to use government securities worth approximately \$17,000 to purchase, manumit, and provide a head-start education for a number of young black American slaves.

[MANUMISSION](#)

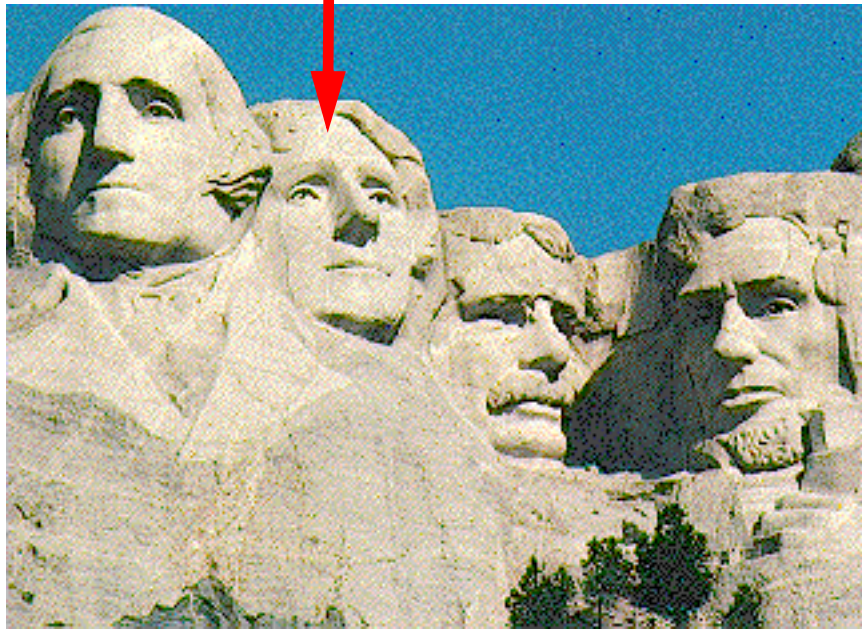
This Jefferson simply had refused to contemplate, and so finally the proceeds from the sale of the securities would need to be used for other benevolent purposes. A Park Service brochure for the Jefferson Memorial now asserts the pious lie that "Although his efforts to abolish slavery were not successful, he was one of the first Americans to argue forcefully the inconsistency of slavery in a democratic state." This pamphlet badly needs to be rewritten to demonstrate the manner in which selective and tendentious misquotation by historians has



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created the grand words the tourists are reading from the walls.

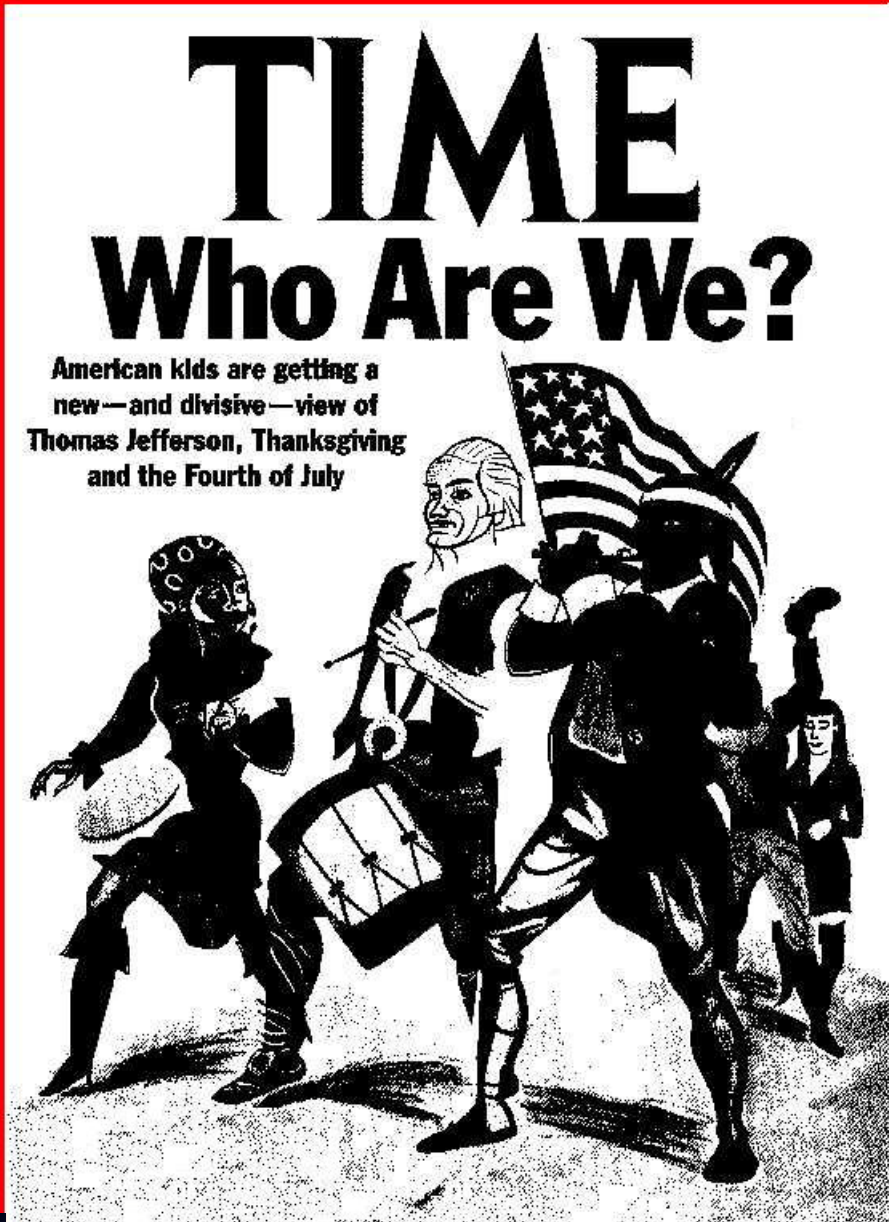


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(Even TIME magazine has acknowledged, on its cover, that the new view our children have been getting of founding daddy Thomas Jefferson is “divisive.” Here he is marching along with his [slave](#) mistress and one of his dusky son slaves:-)



"The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight



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it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? Thomas Jefferson owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK."

– Kurt Vonnegut, FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



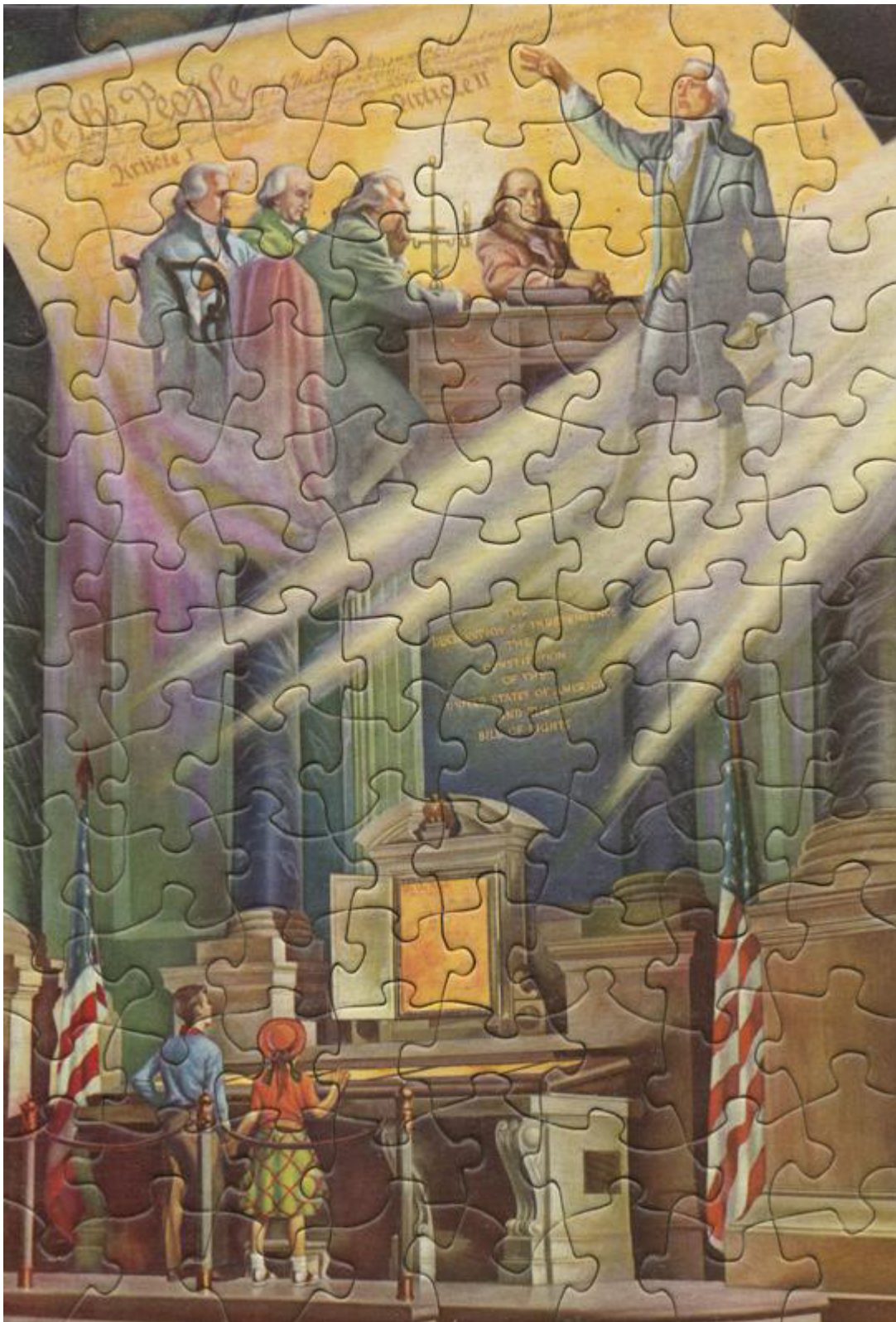
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1961

June: An electricity supply was connected to some [St. Helena](#) houses from Half Tree Hollow to White Gate.

The 3 Bahraini princes who had been held on [St. Helena](#) at the the former searchlight station at Munden's Point were released by a writ of *habeas corpus*, and departed for England.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Religious Influences on the [Manumission](#) of [Slaves](#) in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) [56](#), pages 176-197).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1996

Descendants of the [manumitted](#) mulatto slave [West Ford](#) went public with their story that their ancestor had been sired upon the [slave](#) Venus by [George Washington](#) in 1785. Articles about their allegation appeared in [Newsweek](#), [TIME](#), and [Der Spiegel](#).

Meanwhile, articles on [Thomas Jefferson](#) appeared in [The Atlantic Monthly](#):

- An Excerpt of Query XIV from the NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA (1781) by [Thomas Jefferson](#)
- The “Blood of Patriots and Tyrants” letter from [Jefferson](#) to William Smith, Paris, November 13, 1787
- The “Adam and Eve” letter from [Jefferson](#) to William Short, Philadelphia, January 3, 1793
- 1862: A.D. White’s “Jefferson and Slavery.” Through examination of Jefferson’s public writings and personal letters, White makes a case for the image of [Jefferson](#) as both an abolitionist and a champion of human rights.
- 1873: James Parton’s “The Art of Being President.” the author examined “the leading traits of Mr. [Jefferson](#)’s administration, with a view to getting light upon the question, whether he satisfied the people of his time by doing right, or by adroitly pretending to do right.”
- 1992: Douglas Wilson’s “[Thomas Jefferson](#) and the Character Issue.” As the 250th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson’s birth approaches, a Jefferson scholar reflects on Jefferson’s life — and in particular on the enigma at its core: that a slave holder should be the nation’s most eloquent champion of equality. To understand how this could be so, the author explains, is to appreciate the perils of “presentism” and the difficulties that may impede the historical assessment of motive and character.
- 1994: Merrill D. Peterson’s “Jefferson and Religious Freedom.” Peterson asserts that [Jefferson](#)’s Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom is “one of the main pillars of American democracy and a beacon of light and liberty to the world.”
- October 1996: Conor Cruise O’Brien’s “[Thomas Jefferson](#): Radical and Racist,” drawn from his book THE LONG AFFAIR: THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1785-1800 (U of Chicago P, 1996).



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1998

The allegation that [George Washington](#) had sired a mulatto son [West Ford](#), his only child, on a black [slave](#) named Venus in 1785, appeared in major US newspapers such as the Chicago [Tribune](#), the Washington [Post](#), the Boston [Globe](#), and [USA Today](#). There were a number of television broadcasts including live feature stories on MSMBC and on Denver's Channel 9. The allegation was mentioned on the TV program "Saturday Night Live."



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21ST CENTURY

2000

March: There was a meeting at [Mount Vernon](#) between descendants of the [manumitted](#) mulatto [slave West Ford](#), possibly the only son of [George Washington](#), and Mount Vernon staff.

At the launch of a replica of the schooner [La Amistad](#), in Mystic, Connecticut, the keynote speaker was Samuel H. Pieh, head of an organization working to improve relations between Africa and the USA, the “Mid-South Africa Link” (Mr. Pieh being a great-grandson of Joseph Cinqué).



JOSEPH CINQUÉ

May: PBS broadcast a documentary featuring the allegation that the [manumitted](#) mulatto [slave West Ford](#) was the only son of [George Washington](#) and posted a mini-documentary, “George and Venus.”

Four pieces of inconsequential cultural bric-a-brac that had been looted by French and British troops before the torching of the Old Summer Palace on the outskirts of Beijing in 1860 were offered at auction in [Hong Kong](#) by their present possessors. A bronze monkey head and a bronze ox head were auctioned off for \$16,000,000HK (roughly US\$2M), and a bronze tiger head fetched \$15,400,000HK. These figures had been spouts in an attractive and/or grandiloquent zodiac calendar fountain in the garden of the palace. The attitude of the government of the People’s Republic of [China](#) had been that such “cultural treasures” should be confiscated, rather than paid for, since they helped define what it is to be Chinese, so when these private parties who had bought the looted items allegedly in order to make them available to the nation turned out to be having difficulties in raising the requisite millions within the auction deadlines, the PRC expected the government of the Hong Kong Special Autonomous Region to pony up the cash. The activity was analogized to a hypothetical auctioning, in Tel Aviv, of Jewish art treasures looted by the Nazis during WWII, with the proceeds going to the current “possessors” of the loot. The newspapers speculated that this ponying up of cash would be considered to be “a suitable punishment” for the “one China two systems” officials who had been legitimating this fencing of stolen goods as an exercise in “free enterprise capitalism.” It “added insult to injury,” even if it did mean that these loose pieces of bric-a-brac would henceforward be dusted with great regularity. The auction house, Sotheby’s, issued a public statement, declaring that it was in fact “extremely sensitive to stolen property issues in China.” It characterized its auction as “legal.”



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2001

September: A History Channel special focused on the claims made in a new book by Linda Allen Bryant, a descendant of the [manumitted](#) mulatto [slave West Ford](#), entitled I CANNOT TELL A LIE: THE TRUE STORY OF [GEORGE WASHINGTON](#)'S AFRICAN AMERICAN DESCENDANTS.



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2003

THE DOG DAYS OF THE 1850s IN NEW ORLEANS

H-NET BOOK REVIEW

**Published by H-Law@h-net.msu.edu
(December 2003)**

Judith Kelleher Schafer's BECOMING FREE, REMAINING FREE: [MANUMISSION](#) AND [ENSLAVEMENT](#) IN NEW ORLEANS, 1846-1862 (Baton Rouge LA: Louisiana State UP, 2003)¹⁶⁵

For over two decades, Judith Kelleher Schafer has been mining Louisiana's antebellum judicial records, hauling up the golden nuggets buried in their stories, and molding them into revealing vignettes of slave society in the Old South. In the past, she has published numerous articles and a large book, *SLAVERY, THE CIVIL LAW, AND THE SUPREME COURT OF LOUISIANA*, in 1994,¹⁶⁶ an imaginative treatment of the court records in the early antebellum period. In the present volume, she continues her history until the period of 1861, focusing on free blacks in New Orleans. She is one of a growing number of historians who believe we can understand slavery best by paying special attention to free blacks. Out of her case files, step individual slaves demanding manumission, and free blacks defending their freedom, in a period of mounting white antagonism toward them in New Orleans and throughout the slave South.

Schafer shows that free blacks doggedly used the judicial system throughout the period to gain and preserve their freedom, bravely facing all-white local trial courts. In particular, New Orleans free blacks responded enthusiastically to a brief liberalizing of slave manumission policy in 1855. They soon found themselves transformed into resisters, when the state's governing powers sharply tightened manumission rights again, beginning in 1857. The New Orleans legislature -along with that of other states- was reacting to the great slave insurrection scare that began in 1856, when the Republican Party ran its first presidential candidate. This scare would reach a pinnacle in the election of 1860. Under its shadow, many industrious free blacks experienced a white backlash in the South because of their supposed subversive ties to slaves, a bond arising from African Americans' kinship, and the common experience of prejudice. In this slim volume, Schafer dispassionately describes the growth

165. Reviewed by Thomas N. Ingersoll <INGERSOLLT@aol.com>, The Ohio State University, Lima

166. *SLAVERY, THE CIVIL LAW, AND THE SUPREME COURT OF LOUISIANA*. Baton Rouge LA: Louisiana State UP, 1994



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and virulence of a campaign of white terror directed at New Orleans' free blacks in the final years before the Civil War. The free blacks of the Crescent City play a special role in American history because of the debate about their distinctive condition there. Under a policy established by the French population's Spanish rulers (in force from 1769 to 1807), the most industrious and lucky slaves were able to buy their freedom backed up by authority. Masters also made ordinary, gratuitous manumissions of slaves, similar to the liberal practice Ira Berlin discovered in Virginia and other states at this time.¹⁶⁷ So a combination of the two phenomena made the town's free blacks a comparatively large urban population, constituting about one seventh of the parish at its height in 1810. This policy had been in no sense humanitarian: it was a shrewd maneuver by the Spanish to divide the black population, while the crown vigorously promoted the Atlantic slave trade to Louisiana from the 1760s to 1803. Since the self-purchase policy never had a principled basis, and since the planters had always disliked and resisted it when they could, it was easy for the combined Franco-Hispano-Anglo planter class to overturn it in 1806 after the Spanish left.

Schafer begins her story in 1806, showing that slaves and would-be emancipators suddenly faced harsh restrictions on manumissions, which slowed the development of the free black population. At the same time, given the gradual deterioration and collapse of sugar production in the parish, its slave population declined toward the vanishing point. Both slaves and free blacks were quickly submerging—even by 1830—into a sea of white immigrants from France, Ireland, Germany, and the other states. So in 1857, free blacks were the vulnerable targets of the white majority's hostility in an atmosphere of sectional bitterness.

Whatever slight advantages Louisiana free blacks may have had in the judicial system by comparison to other states, Schafer shows that their disadvantages were much the same as existed elsewhere in the South. The "Free People of Color" were under legal injunction to show no disrespect toward any white person, and judges could reduce a free black to slavery for misbehavior. They were exposed to white kidnappers under cover of the relentless campaign by masters to recover runaway slaves. Schafer reports that even though Louisiana, like most states, had a law against kidnapping free blacks into slavery, there was not a single prosecution for that crime despite the evidence she presents that kidnapping was a serious problem. At the lowest level of race relations, the white police behaved coarsely toward free blacks, and scoffed at the principle of habeas corpus by arbitrarily keeping them locked up for months for minor infractions or just to make them prove they were free. Their vulnerability grew as free blacks formed a smaller fraction of the whole population, reduced to about 7% of New Orleans' 1860 population of 144,601. Moreover, they were

167. Ira Berlin, *SLAVES WITHOUT MASTERS: THE FREE NEGRO IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH*. NY: Oxford UP, 1974, pages 51-78



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becoming lighter in color as a group because so few manumissions of unmixed blacks occurred, and both conditions tended to set their community apart from its supportive social network among slaves. Legal restrictions reduced their contacts with other free blacks by limiting their travel outside the state, and by a new law in 1859 requiring black sailors to remain on vessels that put into the Port of New Orleans.

The reader finds nicely mapped out here the changing conditions of manumission. From the comparatively liberal slave manumission policy of the late colonial period, the rights of slaves to obtain freedom and of masters to give it to them declined drastically with the new Slave Code of 1806. Despite the many restrictions, a few slaves did continue to gain freedom in antebellum times, either by contracting for self-purchase or by the master's gratuitous manumission for service. Schafer devotes a fine chapter to testamentary manumissions.

In 1852, a more unstable and dangerous period for free blacks began, when the state legislature enacted a law requiring any emancipated slave to leave the state. Manumitters and the manumitted pressured the state to grant exceptions, which led to a new law in 1855 ordering district courts to hear all suits for emancipation, and decide on both manumission and the question of exile for each applicant. Schafer looks at the 159 suits to free 289 slaves in the sixteen months the policy was in force. Most of the evidence shows a free black community under full siege, by contrast with the situation in 1806. The majority were self-supporting individuals, a few were rich (free blacks made up almost half of the 159 manumitters who sought the courts' permission to free their slaves), and they maintained strong solidarity in their metropolitan sub community. Despite the signs of their success, however, they now faced strong job competition from recent Irish and German immigrants, and they faced a white upper class fearful they would respond to the supposed radical ideological message of the Republican Party by conspiring to rebel.

As a result, early in 1857 the lawmakers in Baton Rouge put an end to the brief window of opportunity, voting to prohibit manumission altogether. They later went to the logical extreme in 1859. Although Louisiana's government had adopted various laws to discourage non-Louisiana free blacks from settling in the state, authorities now actively expelled those who had settled there anyway. More drastically, in 1857 the governor urged the legislature to expel all free blacks, in imitation of states like Arkansas. The Louisiana legislature did not go that far, but in 1859 they enacted a law strongly encouraging all free blacks to choose masters and voluntarily reenslave themselves.

Some free blacks reacted to the politically-charged white racial campaign by flight, if they could afford it, fearing that white violence might break out against them. Contemporaries estimated that five hundred people went to the Republic of Haiti, up to five hundred families went to the Republic of Mexico (where the



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revolutionaries had abolished slavery in the 1820s), and some went to other states. Only seventeen applied for reenslavement before the arrival of the US Army closed the local courts in 1862.

An apt epilogue comments on the fact that many able-bodied free black men in New Orleans volunteered to fight for the Confederacy in 1861. (Louisiana declined their services but bragged to the rest of the country that they had offered.) Since one might wonder how an oppressed minority could serve with the oppressor, Schafer explains that most of the volunteers were property-owners seeking to protect the city from destructive foreign invasion like other householders. They were also in false hopes that their service could reduce the persecution. As it happened, only when the US Army arrived were they enabled to begin the next, long phase of their struggle, which would lead to bloody battles in the streets of New Orleans after the war, and-after the US Army left-a century of Jim Crow and white lynching to keep all African Americans hemmed in by law.

This tragic tale Schafer chooses to relate in her usual restrained tone, which in this case comes off very effectively as hushed horror. The reader becomes increasingly breathless with indignant surprise as the long catalog of abusive laws and legal abuses rumbles off her pages. She tells the story in a highly economical 165 pages of text.

It is possible to take issue with a few aspects of this book. As is typical of Schafer's other work, she shows a slight inclination to fit her arguments into the historiography of slavery in Louisiana. She cites some scholars working in the field, others not. That imbalance reflects a weak enunciation of the thesis. Here and there, she alludes to the debate about whether Louisiana represents a genuine anomaly in the Deep South because of supposed white liberalism on race. From the evidence of scattered remarks, one might almost think she agrees with that view, except that everything about her story contradicts it so thoroughly.

New Orleans had always been a typical Deep South slave society concerning race relations, although its urban character made it increasingly atypical after 1803. In that regard, it is worth noting that Schafer makes no attempt to suggest that the state's Anglophone authorities were more reactionary and Francophone authorities more liberal on the question of free blacks. It appears that slaveholders were in nearly perfect sync with other white southerners in degrading, scapegoating and persecuting free blacks, but Schafer does not attempt to make that argument, nor to place what happened in the mid-1850s within the context of national events. She does suggest briefly that the anti-free black campaign began when northern abolitionists "whipped up antislavery sentiment in the North" (p. 8) but that unfortunately seems to imply that the northern radicals must share the blame for the backlash in New Orleans, without assisting a more general argument. Finally, Chapter Two concerns an attorney, Jean Charles David, who seems to have tried to



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specialize in suits for freedom by blacks, whose practice may have been unscrupulous. The purpose of this chapter is unclear. It seems to suggest that he worked cheaply, indicating yet another problem for free blacks: many of them could afford only the worst representation.

The strengths much outweigh the flaws, and one might consider this book for classroom use in a variety of legal history courses or upper division surveys about slavery. The author is deeply committed to allowing her case files to speak for themselves, and has looked at all the cases she could find concerning free blacks in this period. Her constant effort to keep contemporary individual free blacks and slaves in the forefront makes Schafer's book about people rather than about vague forces or concepts. The story line has a chronological sensibility that is sweeping yet sure-footed. Her careful distinction between law and judicial practice is a model worthy of emulation by any legal historian. This volume deserves a wide audience.

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2006

A revised edition of the so-called “Swiss [Thoreau](#)” [Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#)’s posthumous *ESSAIS, CRITIQUES*.



The latest and greatest in the series of feelgood publications about [Concord](#)’s famous male author guys, Samuel Agnew Schreiner, Jr.’s *THE CONCORD QUARTET: ALCOTT, EMERSON, HAWTHORNE, THOREAU AND THE FRIENDSHIP THAT FREED THE AMERICAN MIND*. Schreiner’s credentials include that he is a former editor at the [Reader’s Digest](#), and he obviously knows how to construct a good read. However, I found that his book did not for me start out in any reassuring manner. In the initial pages Schreiner describes the Old Manse as having been constructed by [Waldo Emerson](#)’s grandpa, he being seemingly is unaware that what had happened in 1770 was merely the remodeling of an older Concord home (without this we would never understand why the Manse’s rooms are so preposterously small). This warned me to be alert for what was to come.

The book displays a glaring absence of information about poor Emerson’s finances. In May 1834 the Reverend Emerson had received the initial payment from the estate of the immensely wealthy [Mrs. Ellen Louisa Tucker Emerson](#). This had been a staggering sum of money: the initial settlement check had been for \$12,000 at a time when one would have been able to purchase almost the finest home in Concord for some \$800. In effect the estate left by the deceased first wife had left Emerson with some \$23,200 after providing indefinitely for all his family’s future housing needs. Since one might in that era provide handsomely what one’s extended family needed by way of food and clothing and education for some \$500 per year, even if one omits taking the interest income into consideration, whatever family the Reverend Emerson would choose to establish was at this point going to be amply sustained for at least the following 46 years of their lives. Consider how much of today’s currency it would take, in winning a PowerBall lottery perhaps, to equal the magnitude of such a windfall. To purchase even a modest home in Concord today would cost better than a million dollars up front, and then to



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provide for one's family for the following 46 years at a decent standard of living would require perhaps \$50,000 per year, or a sum total of another \$2,300,000. This means that the Tucker inheritance would have been the equivalent of a lottery winning—today this would have to be after taxes—of well more than \$3 million. Emerson had overnight become the equivalent of a triple millionaire in an era in which this very term “millionaire” had only seven years before been coined. No wonder the young minister was able to become disenchanted with his day job — and would free himself up to go on the long culture schmooze of Europe that one needed to improve one's Boston social standing, staying in all the finest hotels. So what does this Reader's Digest scholar have to say about Emerson as he brought his mama to Concord several months after receiving this windfall? “It was not sentiment or pleasure that prompted this return to Concord. It was need. He could no longer afford to rent suitable quarters for himself and his mother in Boston and might never again be able to do so.” The sheer imaginativeness of this reminds me of a recent publication, now hopefully remaindered and pulped, in which an incautious biographer has characterized [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) of Concord as a short man (the guy happening to have been not only the very tallest man in Concord but noticeably taller even than President Lincoln).

Schreiner of course makes much of male bonding, such as the fact that [Waldo Emerson](#) was [Henry David Thoreau](#)'s lifelong “mentor.” He does not neglect to mention that the young Henry tried to look like Waldo — tried to act like Waldo — tried to sound like Waldo. (When, toward the back of the book, Schreiner provides a photo of Henry with a beard, however, his take on Henry's beard is that “perhaps” Henry grew the face fuzz in order belatedly to distinguish himself from this cleanshaven mentor.)

The sheer imaginativeness of this crowdpleasing publication boggles the mind. Very clearly, this author has sat himself down with the current trade-press biography of each of the Concord authors in question, Bronson Alcott, Waldo Emerson, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), and Henry Thoreau, and has “glossed” and “reworked” these four biographies together into what hopefully would become his own bestseller. The result is that if something happens to have remained unmentioned in these four derivative texts that Schreiner had before him, Schreiner had no way to be aware of it. The resultant work, the work which he has crafted, is a work in which all the blind spots of these four derivative treatments have been brought forward unchallenged, and mingled together more or less in the manner in which Thomas Jefferson rewrote the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John into one synthetic treatment. Throughout the book, casual remarks are placed within quotation remarks. I am unable to determine whether Schreiner has a source (unknown to me) for such casual remarks or whether they are entirely the product of his own vivid imagination and his imaginative writing style. I foresee, however, that in the future these casual remarks which Schreiner “quotes” are going to enter the canon and be accepted by incautious scholars as the actual words which Alcott, Emerson, Hawthorne, and Thoreau had enunciated upon such occasions.

For instance, on the day on which there was a great commotion in Concord because a black man was coming to lecture (Frederick Douglass the escaped slave), as has become conventional Schreiner erases the presence of that black man in Concord. The colored man becomes invisible and all the commotion of the day is reattributed to these honorable white people who have there assembled, about whose friendships we so enjoy reading.

When the time comes for Schreiner to acknowledge that Hawthorne was quite unlike the other three Concord authors because his politics were not only prosouthern but also proslavery, Schreiner fudges and obfuscates. You will not learn in this book that Hawthorne's sympathies were with the Southern white slavemasters.

When these men assemble in Concord on the day of John Brown's hanging in Virginia, you will not learn in this derivative work that they were forced to dissemble the reason for their get-together. You will not learn in



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this derivative work that the texts which they read to one another on this event were texts which had nothing whatever to do with what was happening on that day in Virginia. You will not learn in this derivative work that they carefully made no mention of John Brown being hanged. You also will not learn in this derivative work that on that day, just down the street, other Concord citizens were, in contempt and glee, hanging and burning an effigy of the condemned man.

In this work, when Thoreau travels west to seek relief from his [tuberculosis](#), there is no mention of his heading toward Minnesota because that was then thought to be a place where [consumption](#) might mysteriously be relieved. His Thoreau never travels up the Mississippi River! His Thoreau never stays in the twin cities of Minneapolis/St. Paul! His Thoreau never travels up the Minnesota River! (His Thoreau makes it only as far as Michigan before heading back toward Concord.)

In more of this Schreiner male-bonding bullshit, when Thoreau lay dying of [consumption](#), the author comments that Henry was the only person in Concord for whom [Hawthorne](#) really cared and omits that during the final illness this “friendly” neighbor paid no attention whatever.

To Schreiner’s easy ear Emerson’s oration over Thoreau’s corpse was dignified, and there is no notice of the fact that after the funeral Emerson stood on the steps of the church and negotiated the sale of his demeaning oration to a Boston publisher.

This author seems unaware of Thoreau’s attitude toward the American Civil War, writing of regret that Thoreau did not live quite long enough to learn the tide of the conflict was turning in favor of the North.

While Hawthorne is described as “not cheered” by the Emancipation Proclamation, this author again neglects to mention that Hawthorne’s sympathies were reserved for the Southern white slavemasters being unfairly deprived of their black property by [manumission](#) without proper compensation.

In summation, this is a derivative and ill-informed work which the undiscerning will peruse at their hazard. (It will therefore be welcomed into the canon and relied upon by all.)



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2007

March 8, Thursday: Several articles about Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) appeared in the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) newspaper, the “[ProJo](#).” One illustration, an oil by John Philip Hagen, has a caption saying “Hopkins, despite his accomplishments, lived an unpretentious Quaker lifestyle and never sat for a portrait.”



Yes, this 1999 oil is not based on any record of the actual appearance of Hopkins, the artist having based the painting upon the appearance of descendants. However, the allegation that Hopkins lived according to an unpretentious Quaker lifestyle seems not to be at all an accurate record of this man’s flamboyance and zest.

This newspaper didn’t quite make Governor Hopkins out to be a Friend, but it quoted Brown curator Robert Emlen as saying, “It’s not surprising that Hopkins would not have had a painting of himself done in life ... He was by all accounts a modest person. Later in life, he became a Quaker, so his values would have been ‘to shun vanity and to speak from the heart.’” That cited remark, which the newspaper made no attempt to evaluate, does claim as definite fact that Hopkins’s membership in the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was official and



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documented, but this, of course, is not accurate since in fact we have no historical record whatever of any application by this man to any monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends for membership, or of any acceptance of him by the Religious Society of Friends (the only record we have is that this man did get married with a Quaker woman and then did begin to wear Quaker-type clothing, and that the Friends dealt gently with the resultant situation).

Perhaps the reason the 18th-Century Quakers dealt gently with the situation was, that by their own standards they should have disowned the Quaker woman who married him, for “marrying out” was in that period a standard cause of such disownment. Clearly the Providence Quakers didn’t want to disown her if there was a way to stall and wait for the situation to mature. Apparently, the curator Emlen is not aware that local Friends here were sufficiently annoyed by Hopkins’ reluctance to free his slaves that they publicly disassociated themselves from him. (It would not be accurate to say that they read him out of his Meeting’s roster of members. This would be saying too much, for three reasons. The first of the three reasons is that we have no record of his ever either applying or being accepted by any monthly meeting as a member of the Friends. The second of the three reasons is that there simply never was any such thing in that period in this locality as a monthly meeting’s roster of members. I think I can safely say that the lists of names and addresses that we currently take for granted are a phenomenon of our present era, and that they do not extend back into the past. I have never seen a roster of members dating to the 19th Century or earlier, for **any** Quaker meeting. None whatever. The third of the three reasons is, the function of the disownment procedure that they followed in this case was **not** to “read someone out of his Meeting’s roster of members.” It was very different from that. It was a notification to the greater local community, that they should not consider this person to be in fellowship with the Friends, and it was a permission in the Meeting for Business to disregard this person’s objections. This is of importance because, in the case of Stephen Hopkins, uniquely, we **kept his disownment a secret** for about one year after thus disowning him. Keeping it a deep dark secret of course destroyed one of the two purposes that disownment fills!)

In this issue of the ProJo newspaper, in regard to John Greenwood’s oil-on-bed-ticking painting “Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam” painted between 1752 and 1758 and now in the Saint Louis art museum in Missouri, the caption writer speculated on whether a man seated next to Captain Esek Hopkins, Stephen’s brother, asleep with his head on his hand in the middle of the “raucous party” might be Stephen himself.



However, the article’s author, Journal Staff Writer Katherine Imbrie, points out that Stephen in 1757 spent September in Worcester suing a political enemy for slander, and then was campaigning for election in March 1758 to be governor, and thus wouldn’t have had time to sail to Surinam in South America and return. (This would be presuming that the painting was made in Surinam or that the painter visited Surinam and I do not have such evidence — I think it is quite likely to the contrary that the painting was done right here in New England.)

In the timeframe in question Hopkins was elected to his third one-year term as Governor during his total of



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nine years in that office and was deeply entangled in said lawsuit (the lawsuit was against his archrival, Samuel Ward, who twice unseated Hopkins before Hopkins finally succeeded Ward in 1767). Emlen says that Professor Robert Kenney decided that Stephen Hopkins was not only not a mariner, but not the sleeping drunkard in the painting, and that the drunkard must therefore have been another Hopkins brother, William. That seems to me to be likely.

The newspaper article credits Hopkins for freeing his slaves without indicating when that was supposed to have happened. Hopkins, in his will, did express a **desire** that his slaves, plural, be set free after his death. However, the will made no provisions for the costs of this and the slaves were part of the estate. It was not an easy thing, to grant [manumission](#) to a [slave](#): for one thing, the town needed to consent (because there might be public costs for later care) and we have no record that the town did consent in this case. Since, in a probate proceeding, the settlement of debts comes **first** before the disposition of any remaining assets, the slaves **could not** have been set free unless assets were available to do so. We therefore need to verify, before we draw any conclusions from this provision in this will, that the decedent's estate was large enough, and unencumbered enough, to leave sufficient funds to set these slaves free. I myself suspect that they were **not** set free, simply because there is no record of any manumission documents for them down at the town real-estate office where such manumission documents were stored. There is only one manumission record in that office, and it is a record in which his adopted daughter after his death took **one** man to the town office, Toney, testified that Toney "had been free for a long time" but that his manumission document had been "lost or misplaced," and obtained for him a new "copy." This action, of course, would have been unnecessary, had Hopkins's slaves indeed been freed in accordance with his will, because the office to which the daughter took the man would have possessed a written record of any such previous manumission. Also, except for this one person named "Toney," we don't even know the names of these Hopkins slaves. The conclusion I have to come to is that Hopkins's slaves, plural, with the single except of this one person Toney, **did not ever** become free.

Note well that in a parallel situation, George Washington would express the same sentiment in his will, about freeing the estate's slaves after his death and the death of his wife Martha — and we know, in the case of Washington, that despite this sentiment, these slaves **did not ever** become free (the widow Martha would be dead set against any of them becoming free, and they would merely become the property of her heirs).

The newspaper article says Hopkins had acquired those slaves through marriage, perhaps indicating his first marriage rather than his second; and says that although Hopkins was a merchant he was never involved in the slave trade. It is curious that the article makes that assertion, since nobody has ever suggested that Hopkins ever himself personally went on any of the slaving voyages. Before making such a historical assertion, however, we ought to have investigated whether he might have been a silent partner in some of Captain Esek Hopkins's slaving voyages—since he and Esek were thick as thieves—and I do not have assurance that this has in fact already been investigated.

Gov. Stephen Hopkins slept here

March 8, 2007

DAVID BRUSSAT

GEORGE WASHINGTON slept in the Stephen Hopkins House. Twice. We know the neat little wine-dark house in Providence where Stephen Hopkins lived, probably even better than we know the history of Hopkins himself. Yesterday was the 300th anniversary of his birth, on March 7, 1707.

The oldest part of the house that sits on the street that now bears his name was built in the same year he was born, although



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he did not move into it until they both were 36 years old. By the time he bought the house from John Field, Hopkins had held several official posts in Scituate, where he was raised. While its representative in the General Assembly, he was elected speaker in 1742. That year he moved to Providence and bought the house at the corner of the Town Street and Bank Lane, now South Main and Hopkins. He added four rooms to Field's two (now the rear el). The house is still becomingly modest by today's standards.

General Washington's first visit was on April 5, 1776. He was on his way to take command of the Continental Army in Boston. Hopkins himself was in Philadelphia, at the Continental Congress. His daughter-in-law served as host. Her family wanted to lend her better china for the occasion. "What's good enough for my father," she is said to have replied, "is good enough for General Washington." Modesty fit the Providence of the era, but Hopkins worked to change all that. He helped to start the Providence Library Company, a precursor to the Providence Athenaeum, and the Providence Gazetteer & Country Journal. In 1764 he was named the first chancellor of Brown University, then called Rhode Island College. He was elected governor nine times between 1755 and 1767. In the colonial politics of the era, he led Providence in the competition with Newport for civic and commercial supremacy.

Only after he left the governor's office did Hopkins begin his famous career as a founder and patriot. In 1772, as chief justice of the Superior Court, Hopkins directed the cover-up of the burning of the H.M.S. Gaspee, America's first major violent act against the crown. The tavern where the conspirators met, led by the town's richest merchant, John Brown, was a block south of the Hopkins house. Everyone knew who was involved, but Hopkins could find no one to indict. The whole town kept the secret from the enemy. (Imagine that today!)

Stephen Hopkins later served in the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence. In penning his shaky signature, he had to hold his right hand steady with his left. Aged 69 and in poor health, he is said to have declared to his fellow Rhode Island delegate, William Ellery: "My hand trembles but my heart does not."

Hopkins himself hosted General Washington in 1781. Moses Brown wrote: "I sat some time viewing the simple and friendly and pleasant manner in which these two great men met and conversed with each other on various subjects." Stop the presses!

Hopkins died in 1785 and was laid to rest in the North Burial Ground in Providence. This Saturday at 2 p.m., the Rhode Island chapter of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America will hold a procession to the gravesite, led by the [Pawtuxet](#) Rangers, the Newport Artillery and the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment, and a ceremony to commemorate his life. The Hopkins House will be open 1-4 p.m. that day. The Dames run the house as a museum on behalf of its owner, the State of Rhode Island. In 1804, the house, already of obvious historical status, was



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relocated half a block uphill, doubtless to save it from "progress." In 1927, this time to make way for a new Providence County Court House, it was moved even farther up the hill to where it sits today, at the corner of Hopkins and Benefit.

After the move, the house was restored by Norman Isham, the famous Rhode Island architectural historian. I toured the house last Thursday with Kiki Anderson, of the Rhode Island Colonial Dames, who showed me some old Journal clippings about Isham's work. One was about Isham's reaction to interference from the Women's Christian Temperance Union: "Isham Waxes Wroth Over W.C.T.U. 'No Bottles' Edict - Noted Authority on Colonial Architecture Irately Says He is in Mind to Put Some 'Good Old Stuff' in Every Room of Hopkins House."

No doubt Hopkins would be amused. He was portrayed in the 1972 film 1776 as the cranky old drunkard who kept a fractious Continental Congress's nose to the grindstone. This put the local bluenoses out of joint. A column by Journal art critic Bradford F. Swann was headlined "Stephen Hopkins a drunken buffoon? We should say not." Today, the "Good Old Stuff" is not in evidence. No matter. With or without the assistance of spirits, few houses can say, "George Washington slept here twice." Because of that, however, it is one of the few houses that can also say, "I was moved to a new location twice." You could say the house lives up to the exploits of its heroic resident.

Happy 300th, Stephen Hopkins

03/08/2007

By Katherine Imbrie
Journal Staff Writer

When the Founding Fathers of the country are mentioned, few people think first of Stephen Hopkins of Providence. But Hopkins was one of two signers of the Declaration of Independence from Rhode Island, and he had already had a long career in Colonial government by the time he put his signature to the Declaration at age 69.

The Hopkins signature on the most famous American document is not as bold as that of the better-known John Hancock. Hopkins' shaky hand was due to a medical condition that is now supposed to have been either Parkinson's Disease or another type of palsy. (For this reason, Hopkins earned a bad rap in the 1969 musical and 1972 musical, 1776, in which he was portrayed as a cantankerous drunkard - a characterization not based in fact.) Hopkins' most famous quote acknowledges his disability while at the same time testifying to his strength of purpose in signing the Declaration: "My hand trembles, but my heart does not." He made the statement when his fellow Rhode Island signer, William Ellery of Newport, seemed to look askance at his shakiness while signing.

Hopkins was born in Providence 300 years ago yesterday, and on Saturday he will get his due with a birthday celebration. A free three-hour open house - complete with cider, cookies and ginger



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cake – will be held at his home to mark the occasion, and there will be a ceremonial procession and plaque dedication at his gravesite.

The open house is a good opportunity to see the inside of the 1707 Stephen Hopkins House, normally open four days a week in summer, or by appointment. The little red house, set in its small formal garden overlooking the Financial District, is a beloved landmark of the historic East Side. For Saturday's event, its tiny Colonial rooms will be enlivened by the presence of a costumed actor portraying Hopkins, David Ely.

A flawed person

Ely, who teaches theater at Lincoln School in Providence, has made a sideline of portraying famous historical characters of Rhode Island for a couple of decades, since he began by playing Roger Williams and Samuel Slater in a Rhode Island school program called "Legacy Plays." For the past five years, he's made a specialty of portraying Hopkins for 4th- and 5th-grade Rhode Island school programs about the Revolutionary War, and he also steps into the role on occasions such as Saturday's, for which he's hired by the Rhode Island Chapter of the Colonial Dames of America, the society that operates the historic Hopkins house.

Besides donning his Hopkins costume (which consists of black slip-on shoes, Colonial-style knickers and white hose, and a dark-blue coat and vest), Ely says he gets into the role of the Colonial leader by trying to integrate the good and the bad things he's learned by reading about Hopkins over the years: "He was a flawed person. He had a long-term nasty dispute with his archrival in state politics, Samuel Ward. In governor's races of the time, Ward tended to be backed by the southern landholders in the state, while Hopkins had the backing of the merchant Brown brothers. There was a certain amount of political goings-on, such as an accusation of having paid voters likely to support Ward to stay home."

But on the positive side, says Ely, "Once the two rivals became united in the bigger fight against Britain, they stopped squabbling and even became friends.

Hopkins was always a big supporter of public education – he helped establish the first library and the first college in Rhode Island," Brown.

"He freed his slaves, which he had acquired through marriage, and although he was a merchant, never was involved in the slave trade. He was a highly educated person at a time when not many people were."

For Saturday's event, Ely will not present a performance on Hopkins, but will be in period costume, along with Kim Clark portraying his wife, Sarah.

Famously modest

Besides his house, few artifacts have come down through history



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from Hopkins, who was famously a modest person, according to Brown University curator and senior lecturer in American Civilization Robert Emlen.

"Among the stories I like about Hopkins is that when George Washington came to stay in Providence, he chose to stay in the Hopkinses' very small and modest house, rather than at a more imposing house such as John Brown's. At the time of the visit, Hopkins was away at the Continental Congress, and someone is said to have urged his wife to at least get in some better china dishes in honor of Washington's arrival. But she said no, what was good enough for her husband to dine on was good enough for anyone."

Besides being a nine-times-elected governor of Rhode Island, a state chief justice and a delegate to the Colonial and Continental Congresses, Hopkins was the first chancellor of Brown University, which owns a portrait of him similar to one that hangs in the Rhode Island State House.

Emlen explains that, although the portraits are intended to represent Hopkins, they both are actually 1999 simulations made by Newport artist John Hagen. Hagen worked from a sketch made by John Trumbull in 1793 for his famous group portrait of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the painting that hangs in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol.

"By the time Trumbull got to Rhode Island to make his sketches, Hopkins had been dead several years," says Emlen. "But everyone told him that Hopkins' nephew looked exactly like him, so Trumbull painted the nephew as a stand-in for Hopkins."

"Brown (University) had never had a portrait of its first chancellor, so we had Hagen work from the Trumbull sketch. So in fact, the so-called Hopkins portrait is not actually him, but is a 1999 rendering of a 1793 sketch of Hopkins' nephew."

"He kept the chair"

It's not surprising that Hopkins would not have had a painting of himself done in life, says Emlen. "He was by all accounts a modest person. Later in life, he became a Quaker, so his values would have been 'to shun vanity and to speak from the heart.'"

"Hopkins didn't make a public spectacle of himself the way his contemporary Benjamin Franklin did. He didn't need to show off, but he had a good reputation, and from the number of times he was elected and served in public offices, he was trusted and well-respected by the people of Rhode Island."

He had a sense of humor, too.

A historic Spanish leather chair that is the official chair used for public occasions by presidents of Brown University was a gift to the university from a Hopkins descendant, says Emlen.

"The story is that Hopkins, who was a merchant, had a share in a privateer during one of the 18th-century wars with Spain. When the privateer captured a Spanish ship, some of Hopkins' friends got him this chair, telling him that it was one that he 'couldn't



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be unseated from' – a reference to the fact that Hopkins had been in and out of the Rhode Island governorship so often. "So he kept the chair, and his grandson gave it to Brown, which allows us to describe the presidential chair as pirate loot." The 300th Birthday Celebration of Stephen Hopkins will be held Saturday at the Stephen Hopkins House, 15 Hopkins St. at the corner of Benefit Street in Providence. Admission is free. The house will be open from 1 to 4 p.m., with costumed actors portraying Stephen and Sarah Hopkins. Cider, cookies, and ginger cake will be served. At 2 p.m., a commemoration ceremony will be held at the Hopkins gravesite in North Burial Ground, 5 Branch Ave. at the corner of North Main Street. Members of the Newport Artillery Company, the [Pawtuxet](#) Rangers, the Colonial Dames, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment will march from the cemetery gates to the gravesite beginning at 1:30 p.m. For more information, call the Colonial Dames, (401) 421-0694.

Although at the last minute I had been disinvented as a speaker at the 300th Birthday Celebration for Governor Stephen Hopkins at his gravesite, since I still had my engraved invitation card, I did attend that ceremony at 2PM as the card stated. Quite frankly, I was expecting to be turned away at the gate in the high iron fence that surrounds this graveyard. What I found, however, when I arrived at big gate, was that the guard accepted my invitation card and allowed me to enter the grounds. However, when I reached the gravesite at the top of the hill just prior to 2PM, what I discovered was that all the speechmaking at the podium had been already completed. (Imagine that: a public event that, instead of beginning ten minutes later than announced, is already over and done with by the time that they had advertised it to begin! –You don't suppose, do you, that they were doing things this way in order to make certain that I would have no opportunity for telling them truths they did not need to hear?) The only thing remaining for me to witness in the ceremony at the gravesite was the ragged volleys of black-powder musket fire by uniformed re-enactors, and the resultant clouds of acrid gunsmoke. I stood there and endured this and then listened as a guy who clearly was not part of the ceremonies stepped forward and volunteered to inform all onlookers that he was proud to be himself personally a descendant of Stephen Hopkins. He added that his ancestor had been a Quaker "although," he added, "I'm not sure what that meant, I don't know much about the Quakers."

Back at Providence Monthly Meeting, later, there was no channel by which I could express any of this to any other Friend — since this was not an approved-by-Ministry-and-Counsel topic on which to report at the monthly meeting for business, and was not an approved-by-Ministry-and-Counsel topic "relating to the life of the community" on which I might be allowed to report during the announcements period after meeting for worship. And, since the "Media Committee" has already informed me (in writing) that no submission would be accepted for publication in the meeting newsletter –if they suspected it to be written by me– there had been no way whatever for me to respond to their war-celebratory front page center entry in the February 2007 issue of our meeting newsletter, "The Provident FRIEND."



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(I think that a lot of this has to do with Friends in our meeting who have been “silently uncomfortable” with the Quaker Peace Testimony, in the same manner in which some of them are known to be “silently uncomfortable” with gay marriage. I suspect that, because this situation has been obtaining for me ever since I helped aged Friend John R. Kellam, a WWII prisoner of conscience, write his autobiography about his years in federal maximum security prison as a Conscientious Objector, <http://www.kouroo.info/RSOF/FriendJohnKellam.pdf>. We had copies printed and bound at Kinko’s, and he had presented one of these bound Kinko’s copies to the library of the Moses Brown School. Almost all the kiddies at this school are now non-Quaker, and I don’t think they want them or their parents to have their noses rubbed in the fact that the Quakers are traitors.)

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: June 2, 2015



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.



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